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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

CONTENTS.

A Strange Inconsistency.....	5	British Treatment of us.....	26
The Cause of Peace.....	7	Our Offer to Arbitrate.....	27
The last legalized Wrong.....	10	Our Hereditary Policy of Non-in-	
Means necessary in Peace.....	12	terference.....	27
Missionary Force of the World.....	13	Military Expenses—Navy—Army.....	28
Horrors and Fiendishness of War.....	14	Pensions.....	29
Petition to Congress.....	15	National Finances.....	29
Our Present Financial Prospects.....	21	Social and Moral Results of the Re-	
Life sacrificed in our Rebellion.....	22	bellion.....	31
Catholic Influence against Liberty.....	22	Religious Results of the Rebellion.....	31
Increased Railway Earnings.....	22	How Prize-Money is sometimes won.....	32
Prize Money.....	22	Our Present Dispute with England.....	32
Chalmers on Peace.....	23	The Jamaica Massacres.....	35
How Good comes from War.....	25	The Franco-Mexican Imbroglia.....	35
Prodigality and Economy.....	26	Abuse of the Monroe Doctrine.....	35
Intercourse Necessary to Peace.....	26	Fenianism.....	36
President's Message.....	26	Reconstruction of the Rebel States.....	36

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BOSTON:

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.

1866.


THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by rational, peaceful expedients more effectual for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations, for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men

FUNDS. — In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State, one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

SOURCES OF INCOME. — Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up a collection.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE. — Devoted to the Peace Question in its manifold bearings, and containing discussions of principles, and measures connected with the peace movement, statistics, anecdotes and illustrations from history, biographical sketches of distinguished friends, reviews of books on the subject, and general facts respecting the progress of the cause through the world.  Monthly, or a double number once in two months, making a volume in two years; \$1.00, or ten cents a number. To auxiliary societies, or clubs of not less than ten. 30 per cent. discount.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1866.

A STRANGE INCONSISTENCY.

THE continuance of war among Christians must be regarded as a startling inconsistency. Followers of the Prince of peace, professing a religion that we all believe fitted and destined one day to spread permanent peace over all the earth, we still, in this last half of the nineteenth century since the birth of our Saviour, lend our connivance, if not our active support, to a war-system that contradicts every one of its peculiar principles, and occasions even in time of peace an amount of evils which no arithmetic can fully compute.

Look at some facts patent to every eye. When our Saviour was born, "a multitude of the heavenly hosts" sang "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace." These "tidings of great joy to all people," Christians of every name accept as an incipient fulfilment of the promises uttered more than seven centuries before by Isaiah and Micah, — "Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war no more."

Such is our faith as Christians; but what is our practice? What are we doing to hasten the fulfilment of such promises as these? No prophecy fulfils itself without appropriate means; and what means are we now using in this case? What more are we doing as Christians than might be expected of pagans equally civilized? For the fulfilment of other promises, like that for the world's evangelization, we are em-

ploying, with more or less zeal, the means that God has appointed for the purpose; but what have we yet done, what are we now doing, or purposing to do, towards hastening the day when at least nations reputedly Christian shall actually cease from learning the art of war any more? Means are just as indispensable in one case as the other; but how differently do we act in the two cases! Christendom is contributing millions of dollars every year to do away the abominations of paganism, but not a hundredth part as much to do away among ourselves an abomination little less revolting that still lingers within the shade of her own sanctuaries.

On a point so well known to all men of ordinary intelligence, there can be little need of accumulating either proof or illustration. The great facts in the case stare us in the face at every turn. The war-system, though a constant libel on our religion of peace, is still allowed to remain the great characteristic institution of Christendom, resting as a mammoth incubus upon all her population. It drags into its service, and keeps them there in peace as well as in war, four or five millions of men, and in payment for past wars, and preparation for wars to come, spends not less than one thousand million dollars every year; a larger amount of money and moral power than would suffice, with God's blessing, to evangelize half a score of such worlds as ours.

Surely these are startling facts; but is it not the most wonderful of all that the mass of *real* Christians should still slumber so quietly over such facts, and show so little sympathy or respect for those who are laboring to do away this master sin and scourge? We would indulge no reproaches that we do not take to ourselves for past neglect; but, with our views of duty in the case, we cannot refrain from pressing this long and strangely neglected subject upon the attention of the Christian public, especially through the Christian pulpit and press, in the full belief that the men controlling these great engines of moral power can, if they will, set at work influences sure in due time to christianize public opinion on this whole subject, and thus lead nations blest with the light of the gospel to supersede their war-system by far better expedients for securing their respective rights and interests.

It is in this hope we propose sending gratuitously the *Advocate of Peace*, and perhaps some of our stereotyped publications, to as large a number as possible of our leading periodicals, and of influential ministers and laymen. If we had the means, we would send them to a hundred times as many as we do. We trust that those who receive them

will give the subject a candid and careful examination, and will, when they see their way clear to such a result, co-operate with us in whatever way they can by pen, type or voice, by labor or by contribution.

THE CAUSE OF PEACE:

ITS SPECIFIC AND SOLE AIM THE CUSTOM OF WAR.

THE object of this great Christian reform may be stated in few words. The friends of peace, associated in the American and other Peace Societies, restrict their efforts to the single purpose of doing away the custom of war, or the practice of nations appealing, as their last resort, to brute force for the settlement of their difficulties. Here is our whole aim. This reliance on the sword as the only recognized arbiter of their disputes, so prevalent from time immemorial over all the earth, we wish, through the power of a christianized public opinion, to supersede by the introduction of other means, more rational, and more likely to vindicate their respective rights, to redress their wrongs, and promote in numberless ways their common and mutual interests.

Such has ever been our sole aim, distinctly avowed from the start, and kept constantly before the public. In one of our tracts stereotyped nearly twenty-five years ago, we said,* "All the social relations of mankind may be reduced to three classes: — the relation of individuals to one another; the relation of individuals to society, of citizens to government; and the relation of one society or government to another. The principles of peace are applicable to all these relations; but the cause of peace is concerned *only* with the *intercourse of governments*, and aims merely to *prevent war between nations*."

We published soon after another which began thus: "The cause of peace seeks, as its only object, the entire abolition of war. It has nothing to do with capital punishment, with the strict inviolability of human life, or with the question whether the gospel allows physical force in the government of states, schools and families. On such subjects we leave men to think as they please, and ask them merely to aid us in putting an end to that custom which lexicographers define to be "a contest by *force* between *nations*." It is not only a conflict unto death, but a conflict between *governments*; and neither a teacher punishing his pupil, nor a parent chastising his child, nor a father defending his

* No. 1, Cause of Peace.

family against a midnight assassin, nor a magistrate inflicting the penalties of law upon a criminal, can properly be termed war, because the parties are not nations or governments alone, but either individuals, or individuals *and* governments. Such questions may be important; but associated solely for the abolition of war, we restrict ourselves to this single object.”*

Some years later we gave in another tract a still farther statement of the specific and sole purpose sought in this reform: “Its precise object is to do away the custom of war. It does not inquire how murder, or any offences against society, shall be punished; how force shall be used for the suppression of mobs, and other popular outbreaks; by what specific means government shall enforce its laws, and support its rightful and indispensable authority; to what extent an individual may protect himself or his family by violence against murderous assaults; how a people, deprived of their rights, shall regain and preserve them, or in what way any controversy between a government and its own subjects shall be adjusted. With such questions, however important, the cause of peace is not concerned; but concerns itself solely with the intercourse of nations for the single purpose of abolishing their practice of war. It is peace in this sense alone that it seeks, and thus labors to abolish merely the practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword.”

To these views and this policy we have steadily adhered from the first; and when our late rebellion came as a fiery trial of our firmness and consistency, we merely made, as we needed nothing more for our vindication, a re-statement of our object, and means by which we seek, its attainment. In our Society’s last report, we say, —

“While restricted to the single object of doing away the custom of war between nations by the substitution of rational, peaceful means in its place, we still recognize civil government as necessary for the welfare, if not for the very existence, of human society, and abstain from interference with its ordinary, legitimate functions in dealing with its own subjects. If a real government, it must of course have the right, a discretion, to enact laws and put them in execution. By recognizing its existence we concede to it the exercise of all these powers; and a due enforcement of law, whether against one offender or a million, we regard as a proper and necessary measure of peace, and no more to be stigmatized as war than would be an effort to arrest and bring to condign punishment the leaders of a mob, or a gang of robbers, incendia-

* No. 34. Claims of Peace on all Christians. We have, in all, stereotyped nearly 100 tracts from four to twenty-four pages each.

† Sketch of the Cause of Peace.

ries, or murderers. It may be *called* war, and certainly is accompanied with some of the worst evils of war; but, after all, it is only a legitimate, indispensable enforcement of law against its wholesale violators. Our government in the present case has professedly attempted nothing more than such an enforcement; and without the right and the power to do this, it ceases, in fact, to be a government except in name.

To stigmatize such enforcement as properly war, would be a misnomer. It has neither the legal nor the moral characteristics of war. War can exist only between two or more nationalities; but here is merely a single nationality. It is not at all a conflict between nations, but exclusively among ourselves, a domestic dispute between our government and its own subjects; and the sole question agitated through all these years of blood has been, whether our laws shall be enforced against those who violate them, or whether these wholesale transgressors shall be allowed to trample all lawful authority under their feet with impunity. On such an issue we see not how any Christian or man of common sense can fail to take a firm, instant stand in support of the government. It may in many cases have been wrong in its mode of enforcing its laws; but it must have the right, and is solemnly bound, to execute them at its own best discretion. If this be wrong, then all government must be wrong, and can never be more than a mere figment and mockery.

In accordance with these views, always frankly avowed, we did everything in our power before the rise of this rebellion to dissuade the parties from resorting in any event to the sword. We issued at the time a special appeal, and sent it to more than five hundred leading papers in every part of the land, portraying the guilt and suicidal folly of such a course, warning the combatants of the vast, incalculable evils it would inevitably inflict on them both, and reminding them that the points in dispute, after all, could be finally settled only by rational means. Such means had been jointly provided in their common laws and courts, designed expressly for a peaceful, equitable adjustment of all such controversies; and we urged them, as a matter alike of duty and of interest, to use only such means as these, and cheerfully abide the result. All loyal men were willing to do so; but the rebels, bent on having their own way at all hazards, rushed in hot haste to the sword, and thus left the government no alternative, but either to abdicate in favor of armed rebels, or assert its rightful authority by enforcing its laws against them.

This issue, fraught with such fearful consequences, we strove hard to avert; but when it came, we were driven at once to take sides either for or against the government. No other choice was left us. Neutrality was out of the question; and every attempt at neutrality, whether at home or abroad, has been, as common sense should have foreseen it would be, only a practical support of the rebellion, since our rebels, like most wrong-doers, asked nothing more than to be let alone, or, in other words, allowed to do as they pleased. All our modes of reasoning as Christian reformers compel us to be loyal; and loyalty,

if it means anything to purpose in such an emergency, must mean a hearty, steadfast support of the government in maintaining its authority and executing its laws. It has done, in the present case, nothing more than this; and however great the cost in treasure and blood, we see not how it could have acted otherwise without abandoning all government, and leaving society to drift down into anarchy and utter ruin.

Is it possible, then, to prevent such terrible evils as these? We believe it is possible, but not without a general prevalence of such principles and habits as are inculcated by the friends of peace. *It is our specific mission to educate every Christian community into these views; and if they had been woven into the habits and character of our own people fifty years ago, THIS REBELLION COULD NEVER HAVE COME.* Such an education of our people will be a sure antidote to like evils in future; but without such an education, we shall be liable to them through all coming time on the rise of any great all-absorbing dispute."

THE LAST LEGALIZED WRONG.

THE laborers for the abolition of war have as yet been a meagre few. Their cause is not one to rally the enthusiastic, or gain such helpers as hold authority and power. But truth works rather as a leaven than a hammer, and, however few may be its advocates, will at last prevail.

The argument for Peace is backed by history; philosophy, reason, self-interest, domestic affection, and religion. Let us glance at the argument from history. Civilized society has, from the introduction of Christianity, made progress in the reform of authorized abuses. Customs which, in their day, were approved, admired, and adopted by all classes, have come to be regarded with universal execration. What nation would now establish gladiatorial shows, or the devouring of criminals by wild beasts, or the burning of heretics and supposed witches, or duelling, or knight-errantry, or imprisonment for debt, or crusades, or trial by ordeal?

These huge abominations have passed away, and left two of their class surviving, — *slavery* and *war*; and one of these is already becoming a thing of the past. A century ago, slavery prevailed almost uncontested. But ANTHONY BENEZET, a Quaker of Philadelphia, threw out some pamphlets which woke up the slumbering sympathies of the age. One of these fell into the hands of THOMAS CLARKSON, while in college; and from that time he stood forth the champion of human freedom. He published a dissertation on the subject, which attracted

to his aid the Rev. James Ramsay, Granville Sharp, and Lord Brougham. He procured an accurate engraving of a slave-ship, with its nets, and gratings, and mode of packing "cargo," which was distributed over England. He published a pamphlet on the subject every year, though it was not till 1788 that he produced his great work on the subject. He was assailed by a host of contestants, who thought they saw, in the prevalence of his sentiments, not only the ruin of a most lucrative commerce, but the ruin of the West Indies. But he made converts; and among these was WILBERFORCE of the British Parliament. The monster crime received heavy blows in the House of Commons, and the press continued to diffuse light among the people. The result is known.

Where now are the advocates of slavery? Where is the nation that cherishes and sustains the infernal system? The last of its defenders were in the Southern States of America. These grew mad on their idol, and, as often hitherto, infatuation preceded downfall. They wrought steadily and stealthily for years to go out from the Union, and found an empire, the corner-stone of which was to be SLAVERY. When they thought the time had come, they threw off restraint and rushed into war. Their righteous and ruinous failure will forever stand as the final scene in the history of this great wrong.

Thus, of all the great abominations, which law and custom have sanctioned among civilized nations, war alone remains to be abolished. Can any one believe that a custom which suspends business, destroys improvements, bereaves households, creates national debts, entails heavy taxation, demoralizes all classes, and settles no principles, shall always remain a blot on civilization, and a defiance to the law of Christ? Were prophecy silent, we could not believe it. The very nature of Christianity is against it; and no church in any age, composed of true believers, has sanctioned it.

Now that public opinion is corrected on all other grand moral questions, we may surely hope that general attention will be turned to this. Philanthropists and Christians will not be idle because so many great evils have now neither rule nor approbation. One giant evil remains to be abolished, an evil including every form of immorality; and the friends of humanity will now concentrate their forces against it. The wail of the widows and orphans of soldiers slain will be heard uniting with the eloquence of the Forum, and the power of the Pulpit and the Press, till rulers and kings shall discard armies and navies, except as police, and "the nations shall learn war no more."

MEANS NECESSARY IN PEACE.

No end can be expected without proper means. This principle is universal, and quite as applicable to the cause of peace as anywhere else. Special efforts, indeed, are even more necessary here than in most cases, because it aims at results that require the consent and co-operation, not merely of individuals, but of the civilized world. If intemperance could be checked in our own land, slavery abolished in the British dominions, and the slave-trade put under the general ban of Christendom, only by associated action, much more is such action needed to combine the great brotherhood of nations in effective measures for the gradual disuse and ultimate abolition of their war-system.

For this purpose, moreover, specific means must be used. These are all confessedly found in the gospel; but how shall it reach such a custom as war? It is, indeed, God's remedy for this great evil; but, like every other remedy, it must be rightly applied, before it can effect a cure. How can it be thus applied? Not solely by addressing individuals; for it is not individuals as such, but governments alone, or individuals acting as governments, that make war; and hence we must reach the latter before we can get any mastery over this mighty evil. No preaching of the gospel merely in the abstract will suffice; for it has been thus preached eighteen hundred years without abolishing war in any land. There must be such an application as shall reach this particular evil. We must so apply the gospel to governments as to bring them under the control of its pacific principles in the settlement of their disputes.

Now, how can this be done? We know only one way; we must change the public opinion on which war, like every other custom, depends for its support. The only necessity for war is a *moral* necessity, like that for intemperance or duelling, a necessity springing solely from the wrong choice of men; and whenever you can change this choice, and make the people as a body resolve that war shall cease, it must, in time, come to an end forever. Public opinion decides in fact; if not in form, every such question, not only under a popular government like our own, but even under a monarchy or a despotism; and hence, if this mighty power should really require the adoption of other expedients than the sword for the adjustment of national difficulties, rulers under every form of government would be forced to comply with its demands, and thus come at length into the practice of settling all their disputes by peaceful means.

How, then, shall we produce the change of public opinion requisite for such a result? By a ceaseless, ubiquitous agitation of the subject. We must bring it in the light of the gospel before the whole people, and keep it before them year after year, from age to age, until their wrong habits of mind in this respect shall be thoroughly and permanently changed. For this purpose we must set at work all the chief engines of influence on the popular mind, — the pulpit and the press, the family, the church, and the school. We must give society a new education on this subject, and train all future generations in the pacific principles and habits of the gospel.

Here, under God, is our only hope of success in this cause. In no other way can the custom of war ever be abolished. In this way it certainly can be; but by whom? Only by the mass of Christians combining their efforts for the purpose. A few peace reformers can never do it; and our chief business as a 'peace society' is merely to stimulate, direct, and aid them in this work. No single society can ever do it. There must be a joint effort; all the friends of God and man must unite in it, and continue their labors until the object is fully accomplished in the entire overthrow of the war-system, and the permanent reign of peace wherever Christianity prevails.

MISSIONARY FORCE OF THE WORLD.

THE whole number of American Foreign Missionary Societies is 16, having under their charge 2,388 missionaries, native preachers, etc., 54,000 church members, 22,000 pupils, and receipts amounting to \$1,100,000. In Great Britain there are 20 Missionary Societies; missionaries, native preachers, etc., 5,216; members, 185,090; pupils, 201,000; receipts, \$8,094,000. On the continent of Europe there are 12 Societies, of which six are in Germany. They have 811 missionaries, etc., 79,000 church members, receipts, \$267,000. Total of Protestant Missionary Associations, 58; missionaries and native helpers, 9,418; church members, 518,000; pupils, 235,000; receipts, \$4,481,000. This is exclusive of minor missionary efforts, undertaken, as on various Pacific islands, by converts from among the heathen, for the benefit of other and still more degraded tribes.

Here we have an exhibit of operations and results in the Missionary Enterprise that is doubtless regarded as highly creditable. Comparatively it certainly is so; but how small and insignificant in contrast with what we find in the vast war-system of Christendom! The men of all classes employed in one case are less than 10,000, in the other from four

to five millions ; five hundred times as many. The former spends a little less than \$4,500,000 a year ; the latter, more than 1,000,000,000 ; about 225 times as much. Thus nations reputedly Christians are, in a time of peace, wasting in money, life and moral power from two to five hundred times as much upon their war-system as the followers of Christ are in converting the heathen world to his religion.

Now, the friends of peace think it would be a wise economy to use some of the means thus wasted on the war-system in creating such a public opinion as would be sure in due time to save most of this enormous waste, by the adoption of such expedients for the settlement of disputes, and the regulation of intercourse among nations as would obviate the alleged rights of war by substituting far better means than the sword for these purposes. Whenever this shall be done, how much of money and moral power would it save for the world's enlightenment and salvation ! And are not the men who are trying to do this as truly laboring for the welfare of immortal souls, and their final recovery to God and heaven, as missionaries themselves ?

HORRORS AND FIENDISHNESS OF WAR.—No pencil can draw in its true colors the portrait of war. It is all extreme, all horrible, all devilish. It is a sight sufficiently odious and repulsive, to see two men quarrel and fight, even without any real intention of killing ; but when a great many thousands on each side, in Europe often some hundreds of thousands, **MEET FOR THE KNOWN PURPOSE OF KILLING EACH OTHER**, to see them by thousands dashed in pieces by cannon-balls and grape shot, pierced by musket bullets, cut down by swords, transfixed by bayonets, crushed by carriages, and trampled by horses ; to hear their groans and cries, their curses and execrations ; to see them rushing on with fury, or retreating with precipitation and despair, presents a scene which neither tongue, pen, nor pencil can reach.

Sir, the first and most prominent feature of war, is its destruction of human life ; and whoever would attempt an estimate of this, must not limit his calculations merely to such as fall in battle, but must extend it to all whose ordinary term of life is cut short by means of war. In this view of the question, I should not hesitate a moment to say, that war has destroyed a third part of the human race. For it often brings pestilence and famine in its train. Now, the first object of society is to render life secure and happy ; and we see by what means this object has been frustrated. -- *Whelpley's Letter to Gov. Strong.*

PETITION TO CONGRESS

IN FAVOR OF A CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled :

The undersigned, officers of the American Peace Society, ask leave respectfully to memorialize your honorable bodies, and represent,

That, in common with all good citizens, we rejoice in the successful termination of the great struggle in which our country has been engaged to preserve order, suppress insurrection, and restore constitutional authority. While we greatly deplore the necessity which compelled the government to resort to the sword, we have carefully abstained from every act that might in any way give aid and comfort to the common enemy, and our sympathies have ever been with that cause which we believed to be the cause of justice and freedom.

The bloody conflict has terminated; and your Petitioners now ask leave to present to the consideration of Congress the propriety of taking immediate measures to bring before the different governments of Christendom the desirableness of making such arrangements as shall hereafter prevent the necessity of resorting to war as the means of settling international disputes. Having full faith in the practicability of such an undertaking, we ask leave to present the following considerations : —

1. That the present moment is peculiarly favorable and opportune for bringing this subject before the different nations of the earth.

2. That the Government of the United States is now very fortunately situated for the initiation of such a movement, having just passed triumphantly through one of the most formidable contests in human history, and astonished the world by the exhibition of its resources and power. Having thus shown that it need fear no enemy, however powerful, it cannot be suspected of any interested motive arising from a consciousness of weakness.

Placed by divine Providence in this commanding position, we think it proper and becoming for the United States to be the first to propose to other nations, that measures be mutually taken with a view to calling a grand Convention or Congress of Nations chiefly for the following purposes : —

1. For securing an authoritative Law of Nations, or reducing to a regular code what now passes under that name, and supplying any such

deficiencies as now confessedly exist in its ill-defined and often conflicting provisions.

2. For providing a general Tribunal, composed, not of princes and sovereigns, but of distinguished citizens of the different countries, as a High Court of Arbitration, to whom may be referred all disputes arising between the contending parties.

3. To take into consideration the propriety of some plan for a mutual cessation of armaments.

To these three great measures the American Peace Society desires to call the special attention of Congress. Some of the arguments by which your Petitioners enforce the necessity and importance of these measures, are the following : —

1. That the want of a code of international law to define clearly and determine conclusively the rights and duties of belligerents and neutrals, has ever been a prolific source of dispute, leading often to an appeal to arms, and causing a great and needless destruction of life and property, and the infliction of untold misery and suffering. How sad have been the experiences of this nation during the last four years of trial and suffering arising from this source alone, it is quite unnecessary for us to rehearse ; and if there were but this single object to be attained, it would fully justify the calling of such a Congress.

2. In regard to a Tribunal of Arbitration, it would seem to be needless that any argument should be made in its behalf. It is self-evident that the establishment of such an institution is a necessary step in the progress of civilization. That nations have no settled method of adjusting their disputes, except the arbitrament of brute force, is as monstrous and absurd, as that private differences should be adjusted, as they once were, by the wager of battle. An appeal to arms between nations never of itself insures justice, but simply determines, not which party is in the right, but which is the strongest, or most favored in the chances and fortunes of war. Every consideration of expediency, every sentiment of justice, every feeling of humanity, pleads loudly in favor of a high court of arbitration to which the nations of the earth may refer all matters of dispute arising between them.

There are in every country men whose high intelligence, great legal acquirements, well-established integrity, and sound judgment, secure the confidence of the government and people. From this class of men each country might select, upon some satisfactory basis, such representatives as they might prefer, and the persons so chosen could meet together at some place mutually agreed upon (alternating perhaps from

one national capital to another), and hold their sessions for the adjudication of all questions submitted to their decision.

3. But it is especially to the last object proposed, that the undersigned ask leave to call the attention of the Congress of the United States, — the CESSATION OF FURTHER ARMAMENTS by the different nations of Christendom. This measure is regarded as immediately pressing and important. The war of the American Rebellion has revolutionized the naval and military systems of the world. They can never be in the future what they have been in the past. When the *Merrimac* sent the *Cumberland* to the bottom, she carried with her all the wooden navies of the world; and when the *Monitor* in turn met the great destroyer, and pierced his iron-clad sides, it was shown that, terrific in power and enginery as was the marine monster under the Confederate flag, there was a still mightier, before which its boasted invulnerability could not stand for an hour.

So in the great contest on land, what new and terrible instruments have been invented! What fearfully destructive forces have been brought into collision! What was the artillery that strewed the plain of Waterloo with dead, compared with that which belched forth its missiles of destruction on the bloody field of Gettysburg? What were the siege trains at the Malakoff, compared with those which surrounded the fortifications of Vicksburg?

Now, what do these great inventions and discoveries prove in regard to preparation for war? They show, first, that the expense of military preparations is to be vastly greater in the future than in the past. The splendid ships of the line with which Nelson fought at Trafalgar, cost 100,000 pounds sterling, while the British iron-clad *Warrior* cost a million. So of all the paraphernalia of war; the expense is increased a thousand per cent.

Again, past experience shows that, however well we may prepare for war, we shall find, whenever it arrives, that the rapid march of invention has rendered useless a great part of all our armaments, and that we are still unprepared.

But the most important consideration is, that since all nations are engaged in constant competition in building more and heavier ships, fortifications and batteries, none of these nations are in any degree safer than they would have been, if they had severally made no preparation at all. Should every nation during the next ten years increase its armaments by twenty-five per cent., would either of them be any more secure than before? Would not each be relatively as poorly prepared for war as before this addition was made? And if these

nations go on in their senseless endeavor, and add in every decade an equal amount of guns, ships, and war material, would they not be just as much exposed to injury or insult as ever? If so, is not the whole system of mutual armament a palpable absurdity? Is there anything in it which reason or common sense can approve? If not, should it be longer continued?

There can be only one answer given to this question; namely, that one nation must arm if another does; that because England builds five iron-clads, France must build five to match; while both, so far as offence or defence is concerned, will be just where they were before they had built any. Would it not be more sensible, that the two great rival nations should agree that neither would build additional ships of war?

If this be true in regard to England and France, why should not all the great nations of the earth enter into mutual stipulations to discontinue such preparations? The moment this should be agreed upon, the war system of the world would be doomed, a general DISARMAMENT would follow, and then, as a matter of course, there would be permanent peace wherever this arrangement should be adopted. "Nation would not lift up sword against nation," for the sufficient reason that there would be no swords to lift up, neither would they "learn war any more," because there would be no such trade to learn.

Your Petitioners need not dwell on the vast importance of the measures we propose, or on the immense relief they would give to our own people, as well as to the war-taxed people of Europe. Already a national debt of three thousand millions is upon us. We have, too, an immense and increasing pension list. We shall have, besides, an almost endless series of claims for losses and spoliations during the war; and unless the general policy we have recommended be adopted, we shall have, as an inevitable necessity, a large standing army and navy. All this will impose a severe taxation upon the people, and necessarily deprive the many of a large share of those comforts and luxuries to which they have hitherto been accustomed. Indeed, so heavy will be the public burdens that the payment of the national debt will be impossible, and the people must go on, like the oppressed nations of Europe, in the bondage of a hopeless indebtedness, paying many times the amount of the original debt in interest, with no other prospect than that of never-ending taxation. *Neither our own war debt, nor that of any of the chief powers of Europe will ever be paid, unless the present system of naval and military preparation is discontinued; for they will of necessity swallow up all the resources that the several governments can command.* If the insane competition in armaments is

continued, the people of this country must inevitably sink down into a condition little better than the serfdom of the Middle Ages.

To put an end forever to a system so cruel and needless, it is only necessary that some one of the leading nations of Christendom should take the initiative, bring the matter to the attention of other governments, and invite their co-operation. Can any government do this with greater propriety and effect than that of the United States? Does any government stand to-day in a more elevated and independent position? Can any sinister motive be attributed to a government which has nothing to fear from foreign aggression, and whose interests in agriculture, manufactures and commerce are especially linked with the general welfare of all mankind?

Your Petitioners are the more encouraged to urge these considerations upon our own government from the fact, that the measures they propose have already commended themselves to many of the ablest statesmen and publicists of Europe, and public sentiment is evidently ripening for the great movement.

The example of the French Emperor in the remarkable proposition he made to the different powers of Europe in 1848 for an "International Congress" to adjust all questions in dispute, past and prospective, and the language he held at the opening of the French Chambers in that year, give us ample assurance, that one at least of the most powerful governments on earth is ready to give to this measure its earnest and hearty support.

On the occasion referred to, the Emperor said, "What, then, more legitimate and sensible than to invite the powers of Europe to a Congress, in which self-interest and resistance would disappear before a supreme arbitration! What more conformable to the ideas of the epoch, to the will of the greater number, than to speak to the consciences and reason of the statesmen of every country, and say to them, 'Have not the prejudices and rancors which divide us lasted long enough? Shall the jealous rivalries of the great powers unceasingly impede the progress of civilization? Are we still to maintain mutual distrust by exaggerated armaments? Must our most precious resources be indefinitely exhausted in a vain display of our forces? Must we eternally maintain a condition of things which is neither peace with its security, nor war with its happy chances?'"

In these noble words did the French Emperor address the Chamber of Deputies, and the proposal he made was promptly accepted by the governments of Continental Europe; but England, the nation which of all others should have taken the lead in the movement, declined,

and the measure consequently failed of being carried into effect. Russia, Austria, Prussia, and other governments fully appreciated the propriety and desirableness of the pacific proposal; but England declined! Her statesmen doubtless expected with great confidence that the war then raging in the United States would eventuate in the dismemberment of our republic, and if this were effected, that her supremacy amongst the nations would be secured for an indefinite period to come. But circumstances have greatly changed since she made this refusal. The United States, triumphing over all its internal and external foes, has taken a higher and more influential position among nations than ever before, and the vaunted supremacy of the mistress of the seas no longer exists. There is good reason for believing that England will now enter into the measure of establishing an international congress, and high court of arbitration, as readily as any other power in Europe. Especially do we expect this, because it is well known that there is a large and powerful party in England who regard the proposed measure as of the highest importance to the welfare of England and the world. This party was ably represented by Richard Cobden while he lived, and is still represented by his worthy friend and coadjutor, John Bright, and many other gentlemen of distinction and character in the British Empire.

In view of the foregoing considerations and many others that might be urged, your Petitioners believe it the duty of the Government of the United States, to whom Providence has assigned the position so influential and favorable, to extend the olive-branch of peace to the world. Feeling thus, we earnestly desire to press upon the attention of Congress the propriety of authorizing and requesting the President of the United States to open a correspondence, as soon as convenient, with all those governments with which it has diplomatic relations, with reference to calling an International Congress for the examination of these and other cognate questions, and to report their conclusions to their respective governments, for their ratification or rejection as they shall deem best.

On behalf of the American Peace Society,

HOWARD MALCOM, *President.*

JOHN FIELD, *Treasurer.*

GEO. C. BECKWITH, *Cor. Secretary.*

WILLIAM C. BROWN, *Rec. Secretary.*

A large deputation were appointed to present the above petition, among whom were Howard Malcom, D. D., LL. D.; Hon. Amasa Walker; Charles D. Cleveland, LL. D.; Hon. Gerrit Smith, Stacy B. Collins, Jos. A. Copp, D. D.; Jos. W. Parker, D. D., and others.

OUR PRESENT FINANCIAL PROSPECTS. — These are far more encouraging than anybody had expected. It is estimated that the receipts from internal revenue during 1866 will be large enough to defray the expenses of the Government, which are estimated at \$100,000,000, and pay the interest on the public debt, which is now \$165,000,000. In that case the receipts for customs duties may be devoted to a sinking fund, and we shall begin to diminish the principal of our debt. The customs duties for the year will yield nearly or quite twice as much gold as will be needed to pay the gold interest on the public debt.

DEBTS OF THE SOUTH. — It will be quite impossible ever to ascertain the exact amount of debts incurred by the rebels in their four years' struggle for the overthrow of our government. Everything about the finances of the Confederacy was so much at loose ends, that nobody can guess how large liabilities they assumed. Most of these, especially among their own adherents, were expressly on the condition that they should be paid only in the event of their being successful; and thus their utter failure must be held to have cancelled nearly, if not quite, all the claims of rebel creditors in this country.

There are, however, *legitimate* debts of rebel States due chiefly to foreign creditors. These were "honest liabilities incurred before the rebellion." We know not their precise amount; but some English holders of Southern bonds state them to be as follows: — "South Carolina, £700,000; Missouri, £5,000,000; Tennessee, £800,000; do. guaranteed, £3,300,000; North Carolina, £1,800,000; Georgia, £600,000; Arkansas, £600,000; Virginia, £11,200,000; Louisiana, £1,100,000; the total being £25,000,000. Arrears of interest, unpaid dividends, &c., will swell the sum to £30,000,000, which, in the present exhausted condition of the South, is a sufficiently serious matter. The greater portion of this is believed to be due to creditors in the United States. The interest had been promptly paid until the outbreak of the rebellion."

"It is stated that a committee of gentlemen representing the English bondholders have determined to address the Governors of the various Southern States concerned, so that the matter may be laid before the different Legislatures. The proposal is to fund the indebtedness of the past five years, the new stock not being 'preference shares,' but 'original.' The payment of interest is to commence at such date as the various States may decide upon, and the dividends for the time elapsing between that period and the present, to be likewise funded."

Nearly the whole South must be for a long time under a terrible financial pressure. She must gird herself in earnest to pay her honest debts, or she cannot get the further credit which she so deeply needs, and must have, or sink. "They will need money for their present most pressing wants; but the markets of the world, at home and abroad, will be closed against them at once upon the slightest sign of repudiation. The gross amount of honest obligations far exceeds their ability to pay; and it will be only by the strictest economy and the most skilful management that they will be able to pay the bare interest."

LIFE SACRIFICED IN OUR REBELLION. — We shall never know the full number of its victims. The havoc which war makes of life is seldom half reported; and in this case the rebel leaders, with their characteristic disregard of the rights and interests of the people, took special, incessant pains to conceal their losses. We believe that our government admit a loss of more than 300,000 on our part; and we doubt whether even this startling number is more than half of what we actually lost from the nameless casualties and results of the conflict. It left, according to common report, few except women, children and old men in any part of the South. The rebel leaders, with the reckless ferocity of their own blood-hounds, swept into their rebellion nearly all their fighting men, and fought on in their desperation just as long as anybody could be coaxed or forced to die for them.

CATHOLIC INFLUENCE AGAINST LIBERTY. — So it is now, as it always has been. It has all along been in favor of our rebels. That Church is made up chiefly of foreigners. Its archbishops, bishops, priests, and people are nearly all of foreign birth or extraction. The masses are honestly in favor of freedom, but in their ignorance and prejudices are used as tools in the hands of an ecclesiastical aristocracy as real as the world ever saw. Though many of them came to our shores from oppression and poverty at home, they still have little sympathy with our institutions. The Catholic Church to-day is not the friend of liberty, but practically one of its deadliest foes.

INCREASED RAILWAY EARNINGS. — The following statistics show the steady increase in the earnings for the last eight years of these main railways to the Atlantic, and in some of our other railways, especially at the West, it is still more striking: —

	Penn. R.R.	N.Y. Cen.	Erie R.R.	Total.
1857,	\$4,855,669	8,027,251	5,420,606	18,303,526
1858,	5,185,330	6,528,412	5,151,806	16,865,548
1859,	5,302,355	6,200,848	4,394,527	15,957,730
1860,	5,932,791	6,957,241	5,180,229	18,070,261
1861,	7,300,000	7,309,042	5,590,916	20,199,958
1862,	10,304,280	9,356,827	8,400,332	28,061,451
1863,	11,891,412	10,897,889	10,169,481	32,958,524
1864,	14,759,057	12,997,889	13,295,619	41,052,565

PRIZE MONEY. — It seems that some \$9,500,000 have already been distributed, and on captures still pending about five millions and a half more are expected, making in all \$15,000,000. Admiral Lee has already received about \$100,000; Porter more than \$90,000; Dupont \$58,000; Farragut \$55,000; and others in smaller sums. In one case an officer of minor grade obtained more than \$38,000 from a single prize! Now, to say nothing about the intrinsic morality of this whole business, what must be its effect on the individuals and on the community? Must it not necessarily demoralize both? How far is it in fact removed from robbery and piracy?

CHALMERS ON PEACE:

OR THE WAY IN WHICH WAR IS TO BE DONE AWAY.

THERE are a great many passages in Scripture which warrant the expectation that a time is coming, when an end shall be put to war, — when its abominations and its cruelties shall be banished from the face of the earth; and many and delightful are the images which the Bible employs, as guided by the light of prophecy, it carries us forward to those millennial days, when the reign of peace shall be established, and the wide charity of the gospel, which is confined by no limits, and owns no distinctions, shall embrace the whole human race within the ample grasp of one harmonious and universal family.

Let me first attempt to do away a delusion which exists on the subject of prophecy. Its fulfilments are all certain, say many; and we have therefore nothing to do, but to wait for them in passive and indolent expectation. It is very true that the Divinity will do his own work in his own way; but if he choose to tell us that that way is by the instrumentality of men, might not this sitting down into the mere attitude of spectators, turn out to be a most perverse and disobedient conclusion? It is true that his purpose will obtain its fulfilment, whether we shall offer or not to help it forward by our co-operation; but if the object is to be brought about by the putting forth of human exertion, then, let us keep back our co-operation as we may, God will raise up the hearts of others to do that which we abstain from.

Now, this is the very way in which prophecies have actually been fulfilled; and the same holds true of the prophecy of universal peace. The abolition of war will be the effect, not of any sudden or resistless visitation from heaven on the character of men, not of any mystical influence working with all the omnipotence of a charm on the passive hearts of those who are the subjects of it, not of any blind or overruling fatality which will come upon the earth at some distant period of its history, and about which, we of the present day have nothing to do, but to look silently on, without concern, and without co-operation. The prophecy of a peace as universal as the spread of the human race, and as enduring as the moon in the firmament, will be brought about by the activity of men. It will be done by the philanthropy of thinking and intelligent Christians. The conversion of the Jews, the spread of gospel light among the regions of idolatry — these are distinct subjects of prophecy, on which the faithful of the land are now acting, and to the fulfilment of which they are giving their zeal and their energy. I conceive the prophecy which relates to the final abolition of war, will be taken up in the same manner, and the subject will be brought to the test of Christian principle, and many will unite to spread a growing sense of its follies and its enormities, and the public will be enlightened by the mild dissemination of gospel sentiment through the land, and the prophecy contained in this book will pass into effect and accomplishment by no other influence than the influence of its ordinary lessons on the hearts and consciences of individuals, and the measure will first be carried in one country by the control of general opinion, and the sacred fire of good-will to the children of men will spread itself through all climes, and through all latitudes. Thus by scriptural truth conveyed with power from one people to another, and taking its ample round among all the tribes and families of the earth, shall we arrive at the magnificent result of peace throughout all its provinces, and security in all its dwelling-places.

The mere existence of this prophecy of peace, is a sentence of condemnation upon war, and stamps a criminality on its very forehead. So soon as Christianity shall gain a full ascendancy in the world, from that moment war is to disappear. We have heard that there is something noble in the art of war; that there is something generous in the ardor of that fine chivalric spirit which kindles in the hour of alarm, and rushes with delight among the thickest scenes of danger and enterprise; that man is never more proudly arrayed, than when, elevated by a contempt for death, he puts on his intrepid front, and looks serene, while the arrows of destruction are flying on every side of him; that expunge war, and you expunge some of the brightest names in the catalogue of human virtue, and demolish that theatre on which have been displayed some of the sublimest energies of the human character. It is thus that war has been invested with a most pernicious splendor; and men have offered to justify it as a blessing and an ornament to society; and attempts have been made to throw a kind of imposing morality around it; and one might almost be reconciled to the whole train of its calamities and its horrors, did he not believe his Bible, and learn from its information, that in the days of perfect righteousness, there will be no war; — that so soon as the character of man has had the last finish of Christian principle thrown over it, from that moment all the instruments of war will be thrown aside, and all its lessons will be forgotten.

It is only by the extension of Christian principle among the people of the earth, that the atrocities of war will at length be swept away from it; and each of us in hastening the commencement of that blissful period in his own sphere, is doing all that in him lies to bring his own heart, and the hearts of others, under the supreme influence of this principle. It is public opinion, which in the long run governs the world; and while I look with confidence to a gradual revolution in the state of public opinion from the omnipotence of gospel truth working its silent but effectual way through the families of mankind, yet I will not deny that much may be done to accelerate the advent of perpetual and universal peace, by a distinct body of men embarking their every talent, and their every acquirement in the prosecution of this as a distinct object. This was the way in which, a few years ago, the British public were gained over to the cause of Africa. This is the way in which some of the other prophecies of the Bible are at this moment hastening to their accomplishment; and it is in this way, I apprehend, that the prophecy of peace may be indebted for its speedier fulfilment to the agency of men selecting this as the assigned field on which their philanthropy shall expatiate. Were each individual member of such a scheme to prosecute his own walk, and coöperate forward with his own peculiar contribution, the fruit of the united labors of all would be one of the finest collections of Christian eloquence, and of enlightened morals, and of sound political philosophy, that ever was presented to the world. I could not fasten on another cause more fitted to call forth such a variety of talent, and to rally around it so many of the generous and accomplished sons of humanity, and to give each of them a devotedness and a power far beyond whatever could be sent into the hearts of enthusiasts by the mere impulse of literary ambition.

Let one take up the question of war in its principle, and make the full weight of his moral severity rest upon it, and upon all its abominations. Let another take up the question of war in its consequences, and bring his every power of graphical description to the task of presenting an awakened public with an impressive detail of its cruelties and its horrors. Let another neutralize the poetry of war, and dismantle it of all those bewitch-

ing splendors which the hand of misguided genius has thrown over it. Let another teach the world a truer, and more magnanimous path to national glory than any country of the world has yet walked in. Let another tell with irresistible argument how the Christian ethics of a nation is at one with the Christian ethics of its humblest individual. Let another pour the light of modern speculation into the mysteries of trade, and prove that not a single war has been undertaken for any of its objects, where the millions and the millions more which were lavished on the cause, have not all been cheated away from us by the phantom of an imaginary interest. This may look to many like the Utopianism of a romantic anticipation; but I shall never despair of the cause of truth addressed to a Christian public, when the clear light of principle can be brought to every one of its positions, and when its practical and conclusive establishment forms one of the most distinct of Heaven's prophecies — "that men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; and that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

HOW GOOD COMES FROM WAR. — Everybody must admit that good, sometimes a vast deal, does come from war; but, in most cases, if not in all, it is by processes, and with incidental evils so deplorable that we might well doubt whether the cure is not worse than the disease. The sword is always a rude, if not a suicidal way of gaining *any* end; and its inevitable evils are so vast, and its good results so uncertain, that common sense as well as our peaceful religion, would dissuade us from its blind and terrible arbitrament. God may safely use it, as he did Judas, and does the devil, in accomplishing his purposes, just as he can properly do many things which are not permitted to us, and which we cannot attempt without great peril and guilt. Often does he overrule the wickedness of men for good; but no thanks to them for the result. So is war made at times the means or occasion of vast, permanent good; but is the credit fairly due in *any* case to war? No more than the incidental benefits of a conflagration are to the villains that set fire to a village or city; nor any more than the blessed and glorious results of the Saviour's crucifixion are to the baseness that betrayed him, or to the guilt of our first parents in rendering by their fall such a process necessary for the salvation of our race.

Let us, then, thank God for the good results that come from our slave-mongers' rebellion, without stultifying ourselves by the supposition that the credit is due to the rebellion itself, or by attempts, unworthy of Christians or men of sense, to prove that this domestic conflict, fraught with such an overwhelming amount of evils every way, has not been, and will not continue to be, a vast and fearful curse, a pregnant and terrible commentary on the folly of reliance on the sword to redress and rectify social wrongs.

In saying this we are careful to distinguish the "sword of the magistrate" from that of the rebels. We believe in one, but discard and denounce the other. The former is quite distinct from the latter; as much so as the justice which punishes crime, is from the crime itself, or the fire company that extinguishes a fire, from the incendiaries who attempted the conflagration of a city. The use of the sword in the hand of lawful authority to suppress a mob or a rebellion, is surely not to be confounded with its use by that mob or rebellion to gain its guilty ends. While clearly and utterly wrong in one case, it *may* be right and indispensable in the other. The use of the sword in breaking law is not the same moral act with its use in enforcing law against its violators, whether few or many, one man or a million. Here is certainly a very palpable distinction; and any one who cannot see it, is quite incapable of understanding the subject.

PRODIGALITY AND ECONOMY. — No conceivable economy can do more than merely mitigate the enormous prodigalities inseparable from war. It is quite impossible, especially in such times as these, to carry on military operations so vast, without an amount of expense almost incredible; but we find now and then some rather remarkable proofs of economy on the part of government officials. The Paymaster-General's recent report shows disbursements exceeding \$430,000,000 the last year, more than half to 800,000 disbanded volunteers through 447 paymasters. The total disbursed in four years, from July, 1861, was more than \$1,020,000,000, at an average expense for the disbursement of only one-seventh of one per cent.

INTERCOURSE NECESSARY TO PEACE. — Isolation, conflict, or supposed antagonism of interests, or all combined at times, have been among the chief obstacles to peace among nations. Rev. H. Stebbins, San Francisco, Cal., says with as much truth as beauty: — "Human society was made for religion, for the ends and aims which religion suggests. Whatever promotes the assimilation of mankind, whatever brings nations and peoples into communion, thus supplementing each other in the completeness of humanity, is a step in the advancing kingdom of God. This earth is a musical instrument not yet fully strung. When every coast shall be peopled, every mountain barrier overcome, every abyss spanned, and the peoples of the earth shall flow together as in prophetic vision to the mountain of the Lord's house, and harmony of common good shall persuade the lion and the lamb; when laws shall be greater than conflict, and order than violence; when manners shall enrobe the races as a garment of beauty, and religion conserve society as virtue conserves the soul, — then this earth shall give its sound in harmony with the infinite intelligence, and the providential purpose shall gleam from every summit as the beacon lights of mankind."

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

THIS document, as an index to the policy, condition, and prospects of our government, has been very naturally received, both at home and abroad, with unwonted interest and even anxiety. It is in most respects better than our fears, and remarkably free from objection in its general tone and spirit. Its treatment of our foreign relations, the chief topic in which we are specially interested as peacemen, is at once frank, decided, and conciliatory. We give an abstract of the points with which our cause is most concerned: —

BRITISH TREATMENT OF US. — Our domestic contest, now happily ended, has left some traces in our relations with one at least of the great maritime powers. The formal accord of belligerent rights to the insurgent States was unprecedented, and has not been justified by the issue. But in the systems of neutrality pursued by the powers which made that concession, there was a marked difference. The materials of war for the insurgent States were furnished, in a great measure, from the workshops of Great Britain; and British ships, manned by British subjects, and prepared for receiving British armaments, sailed from the ports of Great Britain to make war on American commerce, under the shelter of a commission from the in-

surgent States. These ships, having once escaped from British ports, ever afterwards entered them in every part of the world to refit, and so to renew their depredations.

OUR OFFER TO ARBITRATE. — The consequences of this conduct were most disastrous to the States then in rebellion, increasing their desolation and misery by the prolongation of our civil contest. It had, moreover, the effect, to a great extent, to drive the American flag from the sea, and transfer much of our shipping and our commerce to the very power whose subjects had created the necessity for such a change. These events took place before I was called to the administration of the government. The sincere desire for peace by which I am animated, led me to approve the proposal, already made, to submit the questions which had thus arisen between the countries, to arbitration. These questions are of such moment that they must have commanded the attention of the great powers, and are so interwoven with the peace and interests of every one of them as to have insured an impartial decision. I regret to inform you that Great Britain declined the arbitrament, but, on the other hand, invited us to the formation of a joint commission to settle mutual claims between the two countries, from which those for the depredations before mentioned should be excluded. The proposition, in that very unsatisfactory form, has been declined.

The United States did not present the subject as an impeachment of the good faith of a power which was professing the most friendly dispositions, but as involving questions of public law, of which the settlement is essential to the peace of nations; and, though pecuniary reparation to their injured citizens would have followed incidentally on a decision against Great Britain, such compensation was not their primary object. They had a higher motive, and it was in the interests of peace and justice to establish important principles of international law. The ground on which the British Minister rests his justification is, substantially, that the municipal law of a nation, and the domestic interpretations of that law, are the measure of its duty as a neutral; and I feel bound to declare my opinion, before you and before the world, that that justification cannot be sustained before the tribunal of nations. At the same time I do not advise to any present attempt at redress by acts of legislation.

OUR HEREDITARY POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE. — From the moment of the establishment of our free Constitution, the civilized world has been convulsed by revolutions in the interests of democracy or of monarchy; but through all those revolutions the United States have wisely and firmly refused to become propagandists of republicanism. It is the only government suited to our condition; but we have never sought to impose it on others, and we have consistently followed the advice of Washington to recommend it only by the careful preservation and prudent use of the blessing. During all the intervening period the policy of European powers and of the United States has, on the whole, been harmonious. Twice, indeed, rumors of the invasion of some parts of America, in the interest of monarchy, have prevailed; and twice my predecessors have had occasion to announce the views of this nation in respect to such interference. On both occasions the remonstrance of the United States was respected, from a deep conviction, on the part of European governments, that the system of non-interference and mutual abstinence from propagandism was the true rule for the two hemispheres. Since those times we have advanced in wealth and power; but we retain the same purpose to leave the nations of Europe to choose their own dynasties, and form their own systems of government.

This consistent moderation may justly demand a corresponding modera-

tion. We should regard it as a great calamity to ourselves, to the cause of good government, and to the peace of the world, should any European power challenge the American people, as it were, to the defence of republicanism against foreign interference. We cannot foresee, and are unwilling to consider, what opportunities might present themselves, what combinations might offer to protect ourselves against designs inimical to our form of government. The United States desire to act in the future as they have ever acted heretofore; they never will be driven from that course but by the aggression of European powers; and we rely on the wisdom and justice of those powers to respect the system of non-interference which has so long been sanctioned by time, and which, by its good results, has approved itself to both continents."

Here is an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in which we can heartily concur as being in the interests of peace. At first we felt a strong aversion to this doctrine as a species of upstart democratic menace or defiance to European powers; but, viewed as merely insisting that the people on this continent shall be left free to decide for themselves what shall be the form of their government, and who shall be their rulers, we must regard its spirit and bearings as eminently a measure of peace. Thus understood, we should rejoice very much to see this Monroe Doctrine, not as a challenge of American Democracy to European Monarchy, but as the inauguration of a policy and diplomacy especially demanded on this continent. As friends of peace, we look with alarm upon any effort to introduce here the diplomacy of the Old World with its incessant and interminable interference, in one form or another, with the internal affairs of governments. Ours is the true policy, the only just or safe one; and God forbid that any other should ever be tolerated on this continent.

MILITARY EXPENSES. — NAVY. — While, at the commencement of the present year, there were in commission 530 vessels of all classes and descriptions, armed with 3,000 guns and manned by 51,000 men, the number of vessels at present in commission is 117, with 830 guns and 12,128 men. By this prompt reduction of the naval forces, the expenses of the Government have been largely diminished, and a number of vessels, purchased for naval purposes from the merchant marine, have been returned to the peaceful pursuits of commerce.

ARMY. — A general summary is given of the military campaigns of 1864 and 1865, and the operations of the War Department detailed, with an estimate of the appropriations that will be required for military purposes in the fiscal year commencing the 30th day of June, 1866. The national military force on the 1st of May, 1865, numbered 1,000,516 men. It is proposed to reduce the military establishment to a peace footing, comprehending 50,000 troops of all arms, organized so as to admit of an enlargement by filling up the ranks to 82,600, if the circumstances of the country should require an augmentation of the army. The volunteer force has already been reduced by the discharge from service of over 800,000, and the Department is proceeding rapidly in the work of further reduction. The war estimates are reduced from \$516,240,131 to \$33,814,461, which amount, in the opinion of the Department, is adequate for a peace establishment. The measures of retrenchment in each bureau and branch of the service exhibit a diligent economy worthy of commendation."

Here is certainly an illustration of our peaceful policy and habits worthy of all admiration. One of our worst fears from the rise of our rebellion was, that it would make us intensely bellicose, and lead to such a change in our habits as would seriously peril our liberties: but the result is showing how little ground we had for such fears, and how spontaneously both our people and our Government return in most respects to the old order of things. In Europe, not excepting England herself, it has been exceedingly difficult to secure the disbandment of troops raised on any plea of necessity; but here we see nearly a million of loyal troops sent back in a few months to the pursuits of peace, all not only without mutiny or complaint, but with eager delight, and the military expenses reduced more than 1,000 per cent. Gen. Grant, at the command of the Government, is still pushing on the work of reduction to the farthest point deemed safe, and with the hearty approval of everybody except those vampires of the body politic, greedy contractors, and lazy officials. All this tells well for our peaceful habits, and shows how little other nations have to fear from any military habits created during the rebellion.

PENSIONS.—Here is one of the legacies bequeathed by war. "The lamentable events of the last four years, have swelled the records of the Pension Bureau to an unprecedented extent. On the 30th day of June last, the total number of pensioners was 85,986, requiring for their annual pay, exclusive of expenses, the sum of \$8,023,445. The number of applications that have been allowed since that date will require a large increase of this amount for the next fiscal year." Such claims have a long tail; those from our Revolutionary War, which closed more than eighty years ago, not being all discharged even now; and at this rate the pensions from this rebellion will reach to the middle of the next century, and probably exceed at times the entire expenses of our General Government thirty-five years ago.

On two points we regret, though not disappointed, to find the President's recommendations so much at variance with our own views—our militia system, and the employment of our navy abroad as a display of our power. These hereditary follies, however, it will take a long time to cure.

NATIONAL FINANCES.—From the Treasury Department we gather these results:—October 1, 1865, the public debt amounted to \$2,808,519,437. During the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1865, it had increased \$941,902,537, and on the first quarter of the present year \$138,773,097, making an increase of \$1,080,675,634 in fifteen months, or a little more than 72 millions a month, nearly two millions and a half every day! Such is the prodigality of war, and yet we have heard patriotic financiers talk of our growing rich all this time, wonderfully prosperous, because forsooth we could borrow meanwhile a thousand millions in a year to be repaid when the millennium comes! All this, too, not half the pecuniary loss occasioned by the rebellion, for the rebels suffered more than we did.

The finances of war are a study alike for the patriot and the reformer. We can hardly go amiss; but take the figures for 1864-5, receipts and expenses:—

Balance in Treasury July 1, 1864.....	\$96,739,905 73
Receipts from loans.....	\$864,863,499 17
do. do.	607,361,241 68
	<hr/> 1,472,224,740 85

Receipts from customs.....	84,928,260	60
Receipts from lands.....	996,553	31
Receipts from direct tax.....	1,200,573	03
Receipts from internal revenue.....	209,464,215	25
Receipts from miscellaneous sources..	32,978,284	47
	<u>329,567,886</u>	66

\$1,898,532,533 24

Expenses meanwhile to pay the public debt.....	607,361,241	68
For the civil service.....	44,765,558	12
For pensions and Indians.....	14,258,575	38
For the War Department.....	1,031,323,360	79
For the Navy Department.....	122,547,776	12
For interest on public debt.....	77,397,712	60
	<u>1,290,312,982</u>	41

\$1,897,674,224 09

Here is a total for a single year of nearly \$1,900,000,000, and of little less than \$1,300,000,000 actually spent in supporting the government, and suppressing the rebellion; an average of more than three millions and a half every day during the year!

For the current fiscal year, here are some of the figures for the first quarter:—

To redeem the debt.....	\$138,499,163	35
For the civil service.....	10,571,460	99
For pensions and Indians.....	6,024,241	86
For the War Department.....	165,369,237	32
For the Navy Department.....	16,520,669	81
For interest on the public debt....	36,173,481	50
	<u>\$373,068,254</u>	

For the other three quarters the expenses are estimated to be—

For the civil service.....	\$32,994,052	38
For pensions and Indians.....	12,256,790	94
For the War Department.....	307,788,750	57
For the Navy Department.....	35,000,000	00
For interest on public debt.....	96,813,868	75
	<u>\$484,853,462</u>	

Total for this very year..... \$857,931,716

For the next year, 1866-7, we may surely calculate on a very large reduction. Here are the estimates:—

For the civil service.....	\$42,165,599	47
For pensions and Indians.....	17,609,640	23
For the War Department.....	39,017,416	18
For the Navy Department.....	43,982,457	50
For the interest on public debt....	141,542,038	50
	<u>\$284,317,181</u>	88

Thus in two years after the rebellion, our expenses are to be reduced only to \$284,000,000 a year!—more than twenty times as much as they were during the administration of John Quincy Adams some thirty-five years ago! Nor is this all; but the above facts and figures will suffice to show what war now costs. We commend the subject to those who think for themselves. These financial results none can gainsay; and the only question of practical value in the case is, how shall they be averted in the future? Is there no remedy or relief? Did Christianity, after a trial of 1800 years, promise among nations reputedly Christian, nothing better than this? Must such a state of things continue? If not, how is it to be changed?

SOCIAL AND MORAL RESULTS OF THE REBELLION. — These results are developing themselves in many ways all over the land. We see them at the North as well as the South, not only where the conflict raged in bloodshed, plunder and devastation, but where the people thought themselves safe from all danger, and were in fact safe from its ordinary forms of violence and outrage. Its moral virus, injected into the public mind, is working its legitimate malign results everywhere in murders, robberies and garrotings where they were little known before, and largely increased where they used to occur only in few cases. Even in places like Boston and vicinity, where such crimes were seldom known before, they have become so common that persons are boldly garroted in some of the most frequented streets early in the evening, if not in open day, insomuch that the courts deem it necessary for the public safety to punish offenders with more than tenfold severity. On these points our journals have teemed of late with startling facts: and it will be long before this gangrene is worked out of the community. These evils, in their present increase and aggravation, are clearly traceable to the rebellion as one of its legitimate, most deplorable results. We shall record some specimens as soon as we can.

RELIGIOUS RESULTS OF THE REBELLION. — There has been so much said quite at random about the good effects of the late struggle for the rescue of our government from the grasp of rebellion, that the time must come ere long to ascertain the real facts touching this aspect of the case. We have no space at present to do this in detail; and we just allude to it now for the purpose of calling attention to it, and in the hope that persons of more leisure than we have, will collect the facts, and lay them before the public. We see that the Baptists in New Hampshire report a startling decrease of their number in that State from what it was twenty-five years ago; and the last official statement of the regular Methodists throughout our country gives their increase during the last year as less than 1,000 in a membership of nearly a million! A very sorry report for a body of Christians so large, so zealous, and usually growing more rapidly than any other one in the land. They have been wont, we believe, to increase faster than our population; and that has averaged for the last seventy years from thirty to thirty-five per cent. every ten years. At this rate the Methodists would have gained last year, not some 900, but full 10,000. We doubt whether other denominations, taking the whole country, North and South, into the account, will be found to have done better; but if not, what must have been the effect of the war upon the interests of religion even in the loyal States? A decrease in prosperity below ordinary times of nine hundred per cent.! As to rebeldom, what has become of religion there? Collect its statistics; and what would be the result for the last five years? Its churches, its Sabbath-schools, its religious periodicals, its revivals of religion, its theological seminaries, its

colleges and academies, its enterprises of Christian benevolence, — where or how have they been all this time? Is it possible for a whole generation to repair the general wreck and ruin?

HOW PRIZE-MONEY IS SOMETIMES WON. — The bays and inlets, so numerous along the Southern coast, made it very difficult to blockade effectually any Southern port. This could be done only by shutting up its harbor, and thus excluding all, or nearly all blockade-runners. But this would cut off the hope of prizes. Admiral Dupont, while blockading Charleston, “kept his ships,” we are told, “*outside the bar*,” thus giving blockade-runners pretty easy ingress and egress, “and thereby made \$580,000.” President Lincoln, understanding this game played at the country’s expense, “issued an imperative order to move his ships *inside*, and thus seal the harbor against blockade-running. Dupont disobeyed.” He was too greedy of prize-money to do his duty to his country, and another commander was put in his place. Dahlgren, who succeeded him, “moved his ships,” as Dupont *should* have done; “and blockade-running was so completely destroyed that Dahlgren’s prize-money amounts to only a little more than \$9,000.” A loss to the blockaders of more than half a million of dollars, by honestly serving his country as the President bade him do. Certainly here is a sore temptation to avarice; and such cases, a hundred-fold more than the public will ever know, were strewn thickly along the whole course of the war. We trust that some of them will yet be dragged into the light, and if they are, the public will be startled at the facts.

OUR PRESENT DISPUTE WITH ENGLAND.

WE have much reason for gratulation that our rebellion has directly entailed upon us only one serious dispute with any foreign power. It is with Great Britain in the matter of the pirate *Alabama*; a case briefly and fairly stated by the London Herald of Peace in its comments on the latest correspondence on the subject between the two governments: —

“This correspondence relates to the claims which the United States Government makes against our own for reparation and indemnification on account of depredations committed on American commerce by cruisers built and equipped in British ports during the late civil war. It has excited great attention, not only in this country, but throughout Europe, inasmuch as it involves questions of international law of the gravest character, in which all States, and especially all maritime States, are deeply interested.

The points raised by Mr. Adams are mainly two. The first is, whether England was in the right in recognizing the belligerency of the Southern States so early as she did. The second is, whether England faithfully fulfilled her duties as a neutral, as respects those ships which went forth from our ports to prey on American commerce. Mr. Adams maintains the negative, and Earl Russell the affirmative on both these points. It appears to us, we own, after reading the whole correspondence with the utmost care, that, in regard to the former, Mr. Adams fails in his attack, and in regard to the latter, Earl Russell fails in his defence.

But the question now rises — What is to be done? There is the dispute. No reflecting man can doubt that it is full of peril to the pacific relations of the two countries. How is it to be settled? There is one method so obvi-

ness, so rational, so easy of application, that it cannot fail to suggest itself to every mind. Let the matter be referred to arbitration. Well, it seems that, so far back as October, 1863, the Government of the United States signified their readiness to refer the matter to 'any form of arbitration.' It is with more sorrow than we can describe we are obliged to add, that this proposal has been peremptorily rejected by Earl Russell. His reasons are given in the following paragraph of his closing despatch:— 'Her Majesty's Government are the sole guardians of their own honor. They cannot admit that they have acted with bad faith in maintaining the neutrality they professed. The law officers of the Crown must be held to be better interpreters of a British statute than any foreign Government can pretend to be. Her Majesty's Government must therefore decline either to make reparation and compensation for the captures made by the Alabama, or to refer the question to any foreign State.'

This reasoning, if such it may be called, appears to us utterly untenable. It proceeds on that old and false idea of honor which has been banished from the sphere of private morality, as though it were something distinct from right: It is the duellist notion of honor. Cannot our statesmen see that in public as in private morality nothing can be dishonorable that is right? And what possible way is there of deciding which of two parties differing from each other is right, except by the judgment of some third and impartial authority? Does any man who goes to a court of law, if honestly believing his own side to be right, feel himself dishonored by that act? The question is not at all as to whether the British Government acted with bad faith. On that point the amplest concessions have been made beforehand by Mr. Adams and Mr. Seward. But we all know that it is possible to fail in fulfilling our obligations, from other causes than bad faith or bad intentions."

The Herald, in a subsequent issue, says it is a "matter of endless regret that Lord Russell, by his peremptory refusal of arbitration when proposed by the American Government, has shut the only door of escape from the difficulty in which we are involved. And the reason he has assigned for the refusal is worse than the refusal itself. 'We are the only judges of our own honor,' he says. Now, if every State against which a sister State makes complaint, has a right to say in reply to all remonstrance, 'No, we will neither grant you redress, nor submit the matter in dispute to the judgment of an impartial tribunal, for we stand on our honor,' it is quite clear that the sword must always remain the only umpire between nations. There is no nation on the face of the earth that has so much to apprehend from leaving the question as to the duty of neutrals where he has placed it, as England has. No nation in the world has so much at hazard as we have. It is estimated that England has always afloat on the sea property to the value of from £100,000,000 to £120,000,000. She has, moreover, 10,000,000 people, in the year, to feed upon food brought from foreign countries. And most truly and forcibly has it been said by Mr. Adams:— 'If it be once fairly established as a principle of the international code, that a neutral Power is the sole judge of the degree to which it has done its duty, under a code of its own making, for the prevention of gross and flagrant outrages, initiated in its own ports by the agents of one belligerent in co-operation with numbers of its own subjects, and perpetrated upon the commerce of the other on the high seas; if it be conceded that the neutral upon reclamation made for the injuries thus done by the reason of the manifest inefficiency of its means of repression, which it has at all times the power to improve at will, can deliberately decline to respond to any such appeal, fall back upon the little that it has attempted as an excuse, and thenceforward claim, with

justice, to be released from the inevitable consequences that must ensue from its inaction, then it must surely follow that the only competition between neutral Powers hereafter will be, not which shall do the most, but which shall do the least, to fulfil its obligations of interdiction of the industry and enterprise of its people in promoting the conflicts that take place between belligerents on the ocean.' And with such an enormous commerce always at sea as we have, and so large a portion of population dependent for food upon foreign imports, who has so much right to dread such a lax interpretation of the duty of neutrals as we have? ⁵

We cannot believe that England will persist in declining the perfectly fair and honorable mode we have proposed for the settlement of this whole dispute. It would be a burning shame for two such nations to plunge into war about such a controversy as this; and we rest in the full confidence that the British Government will either assent to our offer of arbitration, or propose some other peaceful method of adjustment. We trust we are too near the millennium for England and America, the chief representatives of Protestant Christianity, and leaders in the great enterprises of Christian benevolence and reform the world over, to act the part of civilized savages by going to war for the settlement of any disputes likely to rise between us. There are doubtless some mad-caps in each country that would gloat, just as the devil would, over such a conflict; but thanks to the God of Peace for so general a prevalence of peaceful, Christian sentiments among us as to defeat the aims of such war-spirits.

With these views, we much regret to find Lord Clarendon, the successor of Earl Russell as Foreign Secretary, closing apparently the whole discussion of these piratical depredations from England upon our commerce, in the following way: — "It is nevertheless my duty, in closing this correspondence, to observe that no armed vessel departed during the war from a British port to cruise against the commerce of the United States, and to maintain that throughout all the difficulties of the civil war by which the United States have lately been distracted, but in the termination of which no nation rejoices more cordially than Great Britain, the British Government have steadily and honestly discharged all the duties incumbent on them as a neutral Power, and have never deviated from the obligations imposed on them by international law." *Every one of these positions* is regarded by our people and our government as *notoriously untrue*; and the question now is whether the points thus in issue shall be referred to the decision of impartial arbiters mutually chosen. This we proposed long ago; but England, under excuses that seem to us quite unsatisfactory, still persists in refusing. We trust that neither party will ever be so insane as to think of going to war about the matter; but our people never will be, nor ever ought to be satisfied with the position now taken by the British Government.

DENSE POPULATION. — The island of Jersey has an area of less than 70 square miles, Guernsey of about 50 square miles. Neither island is manufacturing or mineral; yet the population of the former in 1861 was 55,613, in the latter 29,850, being at the rate of over 800 per square mile for Jersey, and 600 for Guernsey. The average population of Great Britain is under 280 per square mile, in Belgium it is 440, in Holland 280.

THE JAMAICA MASSACRES. — When we first heard of these, we could not for a moment doubt that British justice and humanity would in due time treat them with the disavowal and reprobation they so richly deserve, and would bring the authorities in Jamaica to a strict account for such horrid outrages perpetrated by them in the name of law. We are not disappointed; and, since reading the grand demonstration in Exeter Hall, Dec. 12th, its noble resolutions and speeches applauded throughout to the echo, we breathe freer. England's herself again, and her good name, though sadly tarnished for a time, will yet come out of the trial fair and bright as ever. Had it been otherwise, we should have deemed it a deplorable calamity to the world. It is true, none of her titled nobility were in Exeter Hall; but her truest and highest nobility, the men who create and control the public opinion that ultimately dictates to Parliament and the throne, were there in full force. The result, we doubt not, will prove the decisive superiority of moral power over brute force in dealing with the wrongs and evils of society.

THE FRANCO-MEXICAN IMBROGLIO. — The President, in his Message at the opening of Congress, represented our foreign relations as all friendly; but he must have said this with a full understanding of the dangers to which Napoleon's interference with Mexico is exposing us to collision with France. Public sentiment here is not likely to remain quiet under a long continuance of such an insult and menace to democratic government, and, unless Napoleon changes his policy, will probably lead to diplomatic difficulties with France; but we feel quite confident that the matter will be adjusted by diplomacy, and never reach an actual appeal to the sword. It may disturb, if not suspend for a time, our friendly relations; but farther than this the "sober second-thoughts" of the people will not let our war-demagogues go, and a "masterly inactivity" on one side, if not on both, will doubtless suffice to insure in time a far better decision than could ever be expected from the sword.

ABUSE OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. — This doctrine, as a measure of peaceful precaution, we have always regarded with favor; but we are well aware of its liability to perversion, and are sorry to see it just now used by unwise, if not unprincipled men as a watchword to rouse the dogs of war from the lair to which they have lately gone to rest. Against such an abuse of the doctrine all good men should earnestly protest; and we are glad to find so many and so influential journals frowning on the quixotic idea of a crusade by us in favor of popular government on this continent. It would be a folly fit only for a mad-house; and we shall be sadly disappointed if many of even our most reckless politicians shall be found ready to echo the watchword of the first French Revolution, "War to the throne, and peace to the cottage!" Such a battle-cry may stir the passions of the rabble; but all thoughtful men will remember how it ended, after more than twenty years of general war, after the sacrifice of more than ten million lives, and the accumulation of nearly ten thousand millions of debt, in crushing democracy all over Europe.

FENTIANISM.—We are at some loss to describe this novel movement. It is not long since we first heard of it, and now it comes before the world very like Minerva full-armed from the head of Jupiter. We did suppose for a time it must be a sort of Irish Don Quixote started on his Rozinante, or a second Peter the Hermit preaching to all Irishmen the world over a crusade for the rescue of their Green Isle from British rule. Such is their avowed object; and for its accomplishment, they attempt to set up in this friendly country the entire machinery of an Irish Republic on the model of our own, to be transplanted to Ireland, and put in operation there, all without asking leave of Her Majesty, the Queen of England. So to these enthusiasts it would seem to be already a grand and glorious reality; for they have adopted a form of government, framed a constitution, and elected their rulers, a Senate, Representatives, and an Executive, all three thousand miles off, and without the slightest prospect of being able to reach Ireland with this democratic engine for its political regeneration. A wilder, more Utopian scheme was never broached, and so clearly a piece of political nonsense and humbuggery, that our government seems to have taken no notice of it whatever. It is said to have collected already some \$7,000,000 from its dupes for the personal benefit, we suppose, of its leaders.

If there be anything really serious in this movement, we should deem our government inexcusable for not putting its foot upon it at once. We all indorsed Mr. Sumner's complaint against England for allowing our rebels to make her the base of their naval operations against our government; and equally wrong would it be for us to let Irish enemies of the British Government here to plot or abet rebellion in Ireland. "It is a poor rule that wont work both ways;" and we must either cease to complain of British collusion with our Southern rebels, or frown in earnest upon this bold, impudent attempt of Irishmen in America to hatch or nurse rebellion in Ireland. In any view of the case we marvel that our journals take so much notice of a movement that can be excused only on the ground of its being too ridiculous to work any serious mischief. They talk about it day after day just as if it were an earnest, hopeful reality, rather than mere moonshine. If the entire press here had treated it with the contemptuous neglect that it so well deserved, we doubt whether we should ever have heard of this wild, visionary scheme of an Irish Republic. Everybody knows, the leaders especially, that it must all end in smoke, and benefit only the few who contrive to grow rich or notorious on the hard earnings of their dupes.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE REBEL STATES—Is a subject scarcely touched by us as yet; but we have all along had a strong impression, that it will, in its manifold difficulties and hazards, strikingly show the suicidal folly of attempting to settle disputes by an appeal to the sword. We grant that our rebels took the responsibility of making this appeal, and thus compelled our government, in the discharge of its well-defined duties, to use "the sword of the magistrate" in executing its laws against those who violated them; but the whole case is, nevertheless, a sad and fearful commentary on the folly of relying on mere brute force to decide a question of right. If such is to be the rule hereafter, and the experience of our four years of domestic conflict were to continue at the rate of three or four millions of dollars a day, and two or three hundred thousand lives a year on both sides, how long would either party be willing or able to bear it? Here is the practical issue between the war-system and the peace-system; and every one can judge for himself which is best.

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Unnecessary war.
April 11


GEO. C. BECKWITH, Cor. Sec., to whom all communications may be sent.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
MARCH AND APRIL.

CONTENTS.

War a Failure.....	37	Reimbursement of local Expenses for the War	54
How War is to be done away.....	40	Comparative Cost of the Militia.....	54
Peaceful Revolutions	43	An English View of our Condition.....	54
Appeal to Christian Ministers	44	Income of the Government.....	57
Reduction of Armies in Europe.....	46	Disarmament.....	58
State Debts increased by the Rebellion.....	46	Use of Force by Government.....	58
Rivalry in Armaments.....	47	Correspondence	59
Surgery of War	47	Perils of Reconstruction	61
Higher Law	48	Does the Old Testament inculcate War?	62
Effects of War.	48	Magnitude of War-Debts.....	64
Treatment due to Rebels	49	Robert Hall on War.....	64
Assumption of State Debts by the National Government.....	52	Intervention a Failure	66
Our Army still large.....	52	Gov. Brownlow on the Moral Results of the Rebellion.....	66
Financial Results of the Rebellion.....	53	Receipts	67
Finances of Massachusetts in 1835.....	53		
Estimates for 1866.....	53		

 See last page of cover.

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
THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by rational, peaceful expedients more effectual for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations, for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

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And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.—*Isaiah* ii. 4.

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace *there shall be no end*, * * *—*Isaiah* ix. 6. 7.

They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountains: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, and the waters cover the sea.—*Isaiah* xi. 9.

Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass. And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle-bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth.—*Zech.* ix. 9. 10.

And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,...
 Blessed *are* the meek : for they shall inherit the earth....
 Blessed *are* the merciful : for they shall obtain mercy....
 Blessed *are* the peace-makers : for they shall be called the
 children of God....Ye have heard that it was said by them
 of old time, Thou shalt not kill ; and whosoever shall kill
 shall be in danger of the judgment : but I say unto you, That
 whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be
 in danger of the judgment : and whosoever shall say to his
 brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council : but whoso-
 ever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.
 Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there
 rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave
 there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way ; first be
 reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift....
 Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and
 a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, that ye resist not
 evil : but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn
 to him the other also....Ye have heard that it hath been said,
 Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy : but I
 say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you,
 do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which
 despitefully use you and persecute you ; that ye may be the
 children of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh
 his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain
 on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which
 love you, what reward have ye ? do not even the publicans
 do the same ? ...Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that
 men should do to you, do ye even so to them : for this is the
 law and the prophets. (Matt. v. 2, 5, 7, 9, 21 to 24, 38, 39,
 43 to 46 ; vii. 12. See, also, Luke vi. 27 to 36.)

Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my
 brother sin against me, and I forgive him ? till seven times ?

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Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but, Until seventy times seven. (Matt. xviii. 21, 22.)

Then one of them, *which was a lawyer*, asked *him a question*, tempting him, and saying, Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets. (Matt. xxii. 35 to 40.)

And, behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out *his* hand, and drew his sword, and struck a servant of the high priest, and smote off his ear. Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. (Matt. xxvi. 51, 52.)

And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses. But if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in heaven forgive your trespasses. (Mark xi. 25, 26.)

And when his disciples, James and John, saw *this*, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did? But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save *them*. And they went to another village. (Luke ix. 54 to 56.)

A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another: as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all *men* know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. (John xiii. 34, 35.)

Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence. (John xviii. 36.)

And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and the malefactors; one on the right hand and the other on the left. Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. (Luke xxiii. 33, 34.)

And they stoned Stephen, calling upon *God*, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge! And when he had said this, he fell asleep. (Acts vii. 59, 60.)

Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good. *Be* kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another....Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves; but *rather* give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. (Rom. xii. 9, 10, 17 to 21.)

Owe no man anything, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if *there be* any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law. (Rom. xiii. 8 to 10.)

For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but

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righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that in these things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of men. Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another. (Rom. xiv. 17 to 19.)

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. ...Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up; ... And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity. (1 Cor. xiii. 1, 4, 13.)

For all the law is fulfilled in one word, *even* in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. *This* I say then, walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh. ...Now the works of the flesh are manifest; which are *these*; * * * * hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told *you* in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith. (Gal. v. 14 to 16, 19 to 22.)

And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all *men*, especially unto them who are of the household of faith. (Gal. vi. 9, 10.)

I, therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. ...Be ye angry, and sin not; let not the sun go down upon your wrath: ...And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice: and

be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you. (Eph. iv. 1 to 3, 26, 30 to 32.)

But now ye also put off all these; anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth. ... Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any: even as Christ forgave you, so also *do* ye. And above all these things *put on* charity, which is the bond of perfectness. (Col. iii. 8, 12 to 14.)

But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another. (1 Thess. iv. 9.)

Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all *men*. See that none render evil for evil unto any *man*; but ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves and to all *men*. (1 Thess. v. 14, 15.)

And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all *men*, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth. (2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.)

Wherefore, my beloved brethren, let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath: for the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. (Jas. i. 19, 20.)

Who *is* a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom. But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not; and lie not against the truth. This wisdom descendeth not from above, but *is* earthly, sensual, devilish. For where envying and strife *is*, there *is* confusion and every evil work. But the wisdom that is from above *is* first pure, then peaceable, gentle, *and* easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without

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hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace. (Jas. iii. 13 to 18.)

From whence *come* wars and fightings among you? *come* they not hence, *even* of your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust, and have not; ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not. (Jas. iv. 1, 2.)

Finally, *be ye* all of one mind, having compassion one of another; love as brethren, *be* pitiful, *be* courteous: not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing; but contrariwise blessing; knowing that ye are thereunto called, that ye should inherit a blessing. (1 Peter, iii. 8, 9.)

And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves; for charity shall cover the multitude of sins. (1 Peter iv. 8.)

In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness, is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother. For this is the message that ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another. Not as Cain, *who* was of that wicked one, and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous. Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you. We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not *his* brother, abideth in death. Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer: and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him. (1 John iii. 10 to 15.)

If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also. (1 John, iv. 20, 21.)

Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you. (2 Cor. xiii. 11.)

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MARCH AND APRIL, 1866.

WAR A FAILURE.

We all know what is meant by failure. If a man, intent on wealth, honor or power, does not gain his object, he is said to fail; and so any institution, custom or expedient that does not secure the ends it seeks, is regarded as a failure.

Apply this test to the custom of war. It has prevailed from time immemorial over all the earth; and what is the result of this long and world-wide experience? Does it prove war to be a success or a failure, a virtue or a crime, a blessing or a curse? It must be one or the other; and which is it?

Look at another aspect of the subject. War professes to act as a judge between nations, an arbiter of their disputes. Has it succeeded in this office? Has it either prevented controversies, or settled them to mutual satisfaction? It claims, also, to be a system of international justice and security. Has it been so in fact? Is it so now? Can it ever be? What means does it provide or propose for securing such ends? It has no laws to prescribe what is right, no court to interpret and apply such laws, nor any executive armed with authority and power to carry its decisions into effect. The war-system has not, never had, nor ever can have, a single reliable element of justice or safety; and if it secures either, it must be a matter of mere chance.

Such is the verdict of common sense and of all history. Look the world over in all past ages; and when has war proved itself a reliable arbiter between nations, a sure criterion of right and wrong, a trustworthy vindicator of right and avenger of wrong? It surely has been tried long enough to test the question of its fitness for these ends; but after an experience of more than 5,000 years, do nations now rely with any confidence, on war for these purposes? They may seem to do so; but do they in fact? No; after fighting long enough to cool their passions, and restore reason somewhat to its throne, they just sheathe

the sword, and then betake themselves to those rational, peaceful expedients which might have been used before the fight much better than after it. They seldom attempt a settlement until they have proved by bitter experience that they never can satisfactorily decide the dispute by mutual butchery. As a matter of right, or of satisfaction to both parties, you can hardly find in all history a case where war did not prove a failure.

In such respects as these, the custom of war must always fail in the future just as it has in the past. There may be great improvements in the art of war to make it more destructive, but none whatever to render it a better system of justice between nations, or a surer guarantee of their safety or their rights. In these respects it must forever remain an utter failure. Two savages, armed with rifles and revolvers, would be no more likely in a death-struggle to decide aright a dispute between themselves, than if they were to fight with arrows and tomahawks. A duel, with whatever weapons fought, can never be any criterion of right. The skill of the combatants has nothing to do with the merits of the case. A fight between two savage tribes with clubs and stones, would be as likely to insure justice in the result, as a war of ten or twenty years' duration between the foremost nations on the globe, with all the modern improvements in the art of war, and with the utmost resources of their skill, science, and wealth exhausted in the contest. No improvement in the tactics or the enginery of war can change its nature, but will always leave it to the end of time the same blind, brutal arbiter of national disputes that it has ever been. As a test of right, an Indian canoe is as good as an iron-clad ship-of-war that costs now five million dollars. Any nation that should rely for justice on such means, would prove themselves either fools or madmen.

As a matter of economy, too, the war-system has been a most signal failure. The world never saw such a piece of enormous, well-nigh boundless extravagance and waste. In order to settle disputes between nations, and guard their respective rights and interests against each other's cupidity, ambition, and injustice, Christendom is now spending in a time of peace more than would be requisite to maintain civil government at home, give every child a common education, and support all the institutions of religion, and all the enterprises of benevolence. In merely preparing for future wars, and paying the interest on debts incurred in past wars, the nations of Europe alone are now spending every year nearly one thousand million dollars, and employing in peace four or five million men, all in the full vigor of manhood, and not a few of them highly distinguished by their talents and eminent culture. What a waste of money and moral power; sufficient, if wisely used, to evangelize the whole earth, and turn it at length into a second paradise! In every view, what an egregious and gigantic failure has the war-system been in every age and clime!

Now, must such a monstrous piece of folly and crime, mischief and misery still continue? Is it not possible to supersede it by better means of regulating the intercourse of nations, adjusting their difficul-

ties, and redressing their wrongs? Must such a mammoth incubus rest upon civilized, Christian nations forever? Is there no possibility of cure or relief? Must two or three hundred millions of people, reputedly Christian, and standing at the head of the world's civilization, reel and stagger on through ten or twenty centuries more under these enormous burdens and evils?

'All this seems very plausible, but we *must* have government.' True; but the war-principle is no necessary part of government. It is only one of its expedients, and might, if we chose, be exchanged for other and better means of securing the same ends.

'But if men resist government, or break its laws, must they not be restrained and punished?' Certainly; but the execution of law upon its violators is not war; and we deceive ourselves and others by so regarding it. It is only a legitimate, indispensable operation of government.

'But force is used as in war, sometimes a vast amount of force, and with all the evils found in any war between nations.' Very true; but after all, it is not war, any more than the suppression of a mob, or the execution of a gang of pirates is properly war. In putting down the late rebellion, our government attempted nothing more than to execute its own laws against those who violated them. It was a legitimate operation of government; and the only reason why the process reached the proportions of a gigantic war was, that nothing less than this would suffice. As little force was used, and as little violence and mischief done as possible, and yet maintain the government by a due and indispensable enforcement of its laws.

'Be it so; but does not the result prove the necessity and success of war?' By no means; for such enforcement is *not* war. It does indeed prove the propriety, necessity and efficacy of government as "a minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath (inflict punishment) upon him that doeth evil." Such is its vocation; but it is a misnomer to call it war. It is indeed punishment, violence, death; but it is no more war than would be the hanging of a murderer, or the imprisonment of incendiaries or burglars. Whatever good results may come from the enforcement of law against our late rebels, are due not to war, but to the legitimate operations of government. Our rebels acted on a different principle, as much so as the execution of a murderer in pursuance of law is different from the act of murder that brought him to the gallows. Instead of relying on the peaceful provisions of law to gain their ends, they madly seized the sword; and how terribly did "they perish by the sword!" Such is the legitimate recoil of war upon its abettors. There never was a fairer illustration of its suicidal folly — nothing gained, but nearly everything lost; their whole country overrun and impoverished, every city captured, and some in ruins, perhaps half a million of men killed or permanently crippled, and property sacrificed, as stated by one of their friends in the United States Senate, to the amount of no less than ten thousand million dollars. Government triumphed; but rebellion, which alone went upon the war-principle, was an utter and most signal failure.

HOW WAR IS TO BE DONE AWAY.

THE Peace Reform is as simple and well defined as it is vast and difficult. It seeks to do away a custom familiar to everybody — the practice of nations settling their disputes, and regulating their intercourse, by the sword. This practice, prevalent from time immemorial over all the earth, we propose to supersede by the adoption of such legal, peaceful expedients as shall in time obviate the alleged necessity of war, and secure far more effectually all its legitimate ends of mutual safety and justice between nations. We believe all this *can* be done; and, when done, it will render war among nations just as unnecessary as duels are now between individuals.

Do you doubt the possibility of such a consummation? We know well how difficult it is, and would not deny that it must require ages of strenuous, persistent effort for its full accomplishment. It is no easy, brief task that we are undertaking, but the most difficult and most comprehensive social reform ever attempted. War is not a mushroom that springs up in the night, and may be brushed away in the morning. It is not only an offshoot of depravity in its worst forms, but the steady and hardy growth of such depravity for more than five thousand years; and during all this time we find it rooted in the habits of society, imbedded in the structure of government, and woven into the web and woof of the world's immemorial character. It is fastened upon our race by influences stronger than screws of iron, or hooks of steel. Almost everything around us is subsidized for its support. Power and prestige, education and example, the school and the fireside, the press and the pulpit, the pen, the pencil and the chisel, poetry and eloquence, history and philosophy, the widest and mightiest influences of society, all are at work everywhere to confirm and prolong its baleful sway.

All this we admit as too sadly true; but does it all prove war to be incurable? Not at all. Customs very like this, such as knight-errantry, trials by ordeal and judicial combat, and the private wars of feudal times, have actually been abolished. War itself has already been stripped of more than half of its primitive horrors, and undergone changes greater than would now suffice for its utter extinction. Already is its doom prospectively sealed; and all over the earth we see at work causes that must in time exterminate it from the world. The gospel, when fully developed and rightly applied, has ample power for this purpose; and the promises of God so expressly assure us of a day when all nations shall cease from war, that we must either discard the whole Bible, or believe the absolute certainty in due time of universal and permanent peace.

On this point, then, it would seem impossible for the Christian to doubt; but how is a consummation so vast and glorious to be reached? We can expect no miracle, no supernatural interposition of Providence, no reversal or suspension of the laws which require an adequate cause

for every effect, and, least of all, no such change in the nature of mankind as shall extinguish their war-passions, and make them a race of angels instead of men. Every promise of God implies the necessity of appropriate means for its fulfilment; and his promise of peace, like all his other promises, can be fulfilled only by a proper use of the means he has appointed for the purpose. These means are all included essentially in a right application of the gospel to the case; and such means Christians are bound to unite and persist in using until a stop is actually put to all wars in Christendom, and an end to her whole war-system.

How shall this be done? By the gospel, of course; but how is the gospel to reach and remove the evil? Though a sovereign remedy, it can do away no evil to which it is not properly applied; and how shall we secure such an application to this master-sin and scourge of our race? Not by preaching merely its general truths to individuals; for it has been thus preached all over Europe for fifteen centuries without putting an end to war in any country. Indeed, no government in Christendom has yet dreamed of abolishing the custom, while her standing armies, in little more than one hundred years, increased some six or eight hundred per cent., from half a million to three, four, and now nearly five millions in peace. Why all this under the full blaze of the gospel? Simply because its pacific principles have never yet been rightly applied to the case by any Christian community. That application must go to the seat of the disease; the gospel must put its hand on the real main-spring of the mischief. War is the work, not of individuals as such, but of governments or rulers alone; and until the gospel, in its pacific principles and influences, shall be faithfully applied to these, the custom will never cease from any land. But how can it be made to bear effectually upon rulers? Under a government like ours, if not under every other, we can reach them mainly, if not solely, through the people, whose will, even under a despotism as well as a democracy, must rule in the long run. Among us the power is all in their hands; and rulers, as their servants, must heed their wishes, or give place to those who will.

Our duty, then, is clear. We must christianize public sentiment on this subject, and get from the mass of the people such a demand for the settlement of all national disputes without the sword, as no rulers in Christendom will dare or desire to refuse. That demand would in time, if not very soon, work out the consummation we seek. It would lead to the gradual disuse of war by the adoption of far better means for the adjustment of difficulties between nations.

Such means are certainly possible. Nations could, if they would, settle their disputes without bloodshed just as well as individuals do theirs, and will do so whenever public sentiment shall become sufficiently enlightened to insist upon it. The best way by far is to agree between themselves; but if they cannot do this, let them accept the offer of mediators, or appeal to umpires mutually chosen. Let them beforehand stipulate for such mode of final adjustment. Let them expressly

agree to have all their future controversies adjusted in the last resort by some form of arbitration, to abide by the decision of their referees, and ask, if dissatisfied, only a new hearing, or a different reference, thus making sure of a settlement in every case without a resort to arms. Such a measure, once adopted in good faith by any two nations, would be pretty sure, under God, to prevent all war between them; and their example would probably be followed in time by the other governments of Christendom, and thus unite them all at last in a League of Perpetual Peace. Let England and the United States, for example, try the experiment long enough for a fair trial; and before the expiration of such a period, both the parties would doubtless cease from all thought of ever appealing to the sword for the settlement of any controversy with each other.

The vast importance of such results as these, none will question; nor can we doubt the possibility of securing them in time by the power of a thoroughly christianized public opinion. Let such an opinion diffuse its omnipresent influence through every community; let it speak to rulers by votes and petitions; let its voice be heard through the press, from the pulpit and the rostrum, in the school and the family, on the farm and in the shop, in store and street, in the counting-room and the market-place, in the whole intercourse of men throughout all the ramifications of society.

Such a public opinion Christians must and should form in every Christian land. Children of the God of Peace, followers of the Prince of Peace, it is their appropriate business, their high and glorious privilege; and, having in the principles of the gospel, in the promises and the providence of God, ample means of success, they could, if they would only gird themselves in earnest for the work, leaven all Christendom with such sentiments on this subject as would render war between any of its nations morally impossible, and lead in time to the adoption of such substitutes for it as must obviate every plea of necessity for its blind and brutal arbitrments.

On this point, then, is not the duty of Christians perfectly plain? Their very profession binds them to the Cause of Peace; nor can they neglect its claims without treachery to their Master in heaven, the Prince of Peace. Let them be careful to learn and do their whole duty in regard to it. Let them examine the subject well in the light of his gospel, and deeply imbue their own souls with his spirit in this respect. Let them inculcate the principles of peace on every one under their care, and breathe its spirit into all around them. In the family, the school and the church, from the pulpit and the press, let them enforce the pacific principles of the gospel, just as they would its requisitions of repentance and faith. Let them embalm this cause in their purest, strongest affections, and pray for it as often and as fervently as they do or should for the world's evangelization. Let them give to it with the same liberality, labor for it with equal zeal, and wait with similar anxiety to witness its triumphs over the earth. Let them watch for opportunities to promote it. Let them touch every

chord that can be made to vibrate in its favor. Let them set and keep at work in its behalf the great engines of popular influence through the community. Let every pulpit and church, every Sabbath and common school, every seminary of learning from the highest to the lowest, every fireside in Christendom, be pressed into its service to train up everywhere a generation of such peace-makers as shall spontaneously plead for peace as the great earthly boon of the gospel, and protest against war as the master-scurge of our world. Could the mass of Christians do all this without insuring ere long perpetual peace in every Christian land, and eventually over the whole earth?

PEACEFUL REVOLUTIONS;

OR, HOW TO GET POLITICAL RIGHTS BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

We cannot well conceive a problem more vital than this to the welfare of nations. Torrents of blood have been shed, myriads of money spent, and vast communities kept for years, in some cases for ages, in commotion and ferment, to insure changes in government favorable to the mass of the people. Such changes must come sooner or later; and if they can be secured by peaceful means, it would certainly be a consummation most devoutly to be wished alike by conservatives and reformers.

We are glad to see attention in Europe called in earnest to this question. We see it stated that "the celebrated Professor Welcker, formerly one of the editors of the *Conversations-Lexicon*, has offered a reward of one thousand florins for the best essay on the means, without having recourse to revolutionary measures, of getting rid of governments which systematically violate the constitutional rights of the people." We see a report at the same time of "a council of German Democrats" lately held in Germany, "which is regarded as the beginning of a great party movement for the whole of Germany in favor of a free federative government. The meeting numbered about one hundred and twenty, comprising men of all classes of society, lawyers being in the largest proportion." The drift of these efforts is to secure the changes desired in government by legal means, without resort to violence and bloodshed.

The secret of doing this has come to be pretty well understood in England; and in this country we made from the start ample provisions in our State and national constitutions for bringing about by peaceful processes whatever changes the people might desire. This principle, universally allowed by existing governments, and adopted by political reformers, would go far, very far toward preventing rebellion and civil war. It would leave moral causes to work out, as they alone ever can with safety and success, the political regeneration and permanent prosperity of nations.

APPEAL TO CHRISTIAN MINISTERS:

THEIR DUTY AS PREACHERS OF THE GOSPEL TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

THE cause of peace has been for some time before the public. Its sole object is the abolition of war; and this object it hopes to accomplish only by the influence of the gospel rightly applied. Its principles, pervading more or less the whole New Testament, we regard as an integral part of Christianity, and binding equally with its other truths, on all the followers of Christ. These principles, too generally neglected for ages, we wish to have re-enforced, "line upon line, precept upon precept," until they shall leaven all Christendom, and cause its nations to cease from the art of war forever. Our measures all aim at this single object. We wish, mainly through the pulpit and the press, to illustrate the guilt and the evils of this custom, and thus form a public sentiment which shall lead to the establishment of some permanent tribunal for the peaceful adjustment of all difficulties between civilized nations.

Here is certainly a proper field for *Christian Reform*, and makes a strong appeal to every follower of the Prince of Peace. The object is well defined and vastly important; its main principles are clear, and fully settled in the word of God; and the measures proposed for its accomplishment are simple, feasible, and likely in time to prove successful; while the long continuance, wide diffusion, and deep inveteracy of the evils to be done away, will require combined and vigorous efforts for their removal.

The chief reliance of such a cause must, of course, be upon Christians; and as their appointed religious teachers, we have a right to rely with entire confidence upon the spontaneous and effective co-operation of Christian ministers. They ought to be everywhere our main allies, if not our chieftains; and gladly would we rally under their banners in prosecuting our great and arduous work. The cause is pre-eminently their own; and sooner or later they must lead its van, or it never can succeed. Ambassadors of the Prince of Peace, we deem it their appropriate business, their imperative duty, to foster this cause, and become its pioneers and champions.

Nor will the ministers of Christ disappoint the confidence we thus repose in them. Their character and their office pledge them to this cause. Leaders in every other good work, they will not permanently neglect this. They need only the light requisite for full conviction; and we beg their candid, earnest, prayerful attention to the *special claims of this cause on all preachers of the gospel*.

These claims come very much from their special opportunities and power to promote it. The influence of the clergy is proverbial. Their character, their office, their relations to society, all arm them with a vast amount of moral power. Their talents and knowledge, their

mental discipline, their skill in the arts of logic and eloquence, their high repute for virtue, piety and benevolence, enable them to give tone to public sentiment on all moral and religious subjects.

Such is the design, such the effect of their office. God has appointed them as spiritual guides to his people. They are the moral guardians of the community. They are pioneers of truth, righteousness and salvation. They are chosen for the very purpose of moulding opinion and character to the will of God. And they have the best facilities for this purpose. They speak in God's name, on God's day, from God's word. They can reach the individual and the general conscience. They are welcomed to the bridal throng, to the quiet fireside, to the sick-chamber, to the bed of death, to the group of weeping mourners. Almost every mind is open more or less to their influence. They have the ear of parents and teachers; and these are scattering, thick and fast, the seeds of character through the community. They have access to the mother's heart; and her children will reflect the form and hue of her own image. Old and young, high and low, male and female, come every week, if not every day, under their influence. They touch the great main-springs of the moral world. Their influence is felt in the farthest and minutest ramifications of society. They wield in the gospel an instrument of vast power over the understanding, conscience and heart. They are the chief depositaries of moral power; they hold in their hand the helm and the main-spring of nearly all the instrumentalities employed for the spiritual renovation of mankind; and, without their co-operation, no enterprise of benevolence or reform can ever work its way to complete success.

We appeal to the past and the present. Who disenthralled half a continent from papal bondage? Who roused the mass of British minds to crush slavery and the slave-trade? Who led the van in the cause of missions, of temperance, and every kindred work? Who are still the chief agents in sustaining all the great moral enterprises of the day? We challenge you to show us one that has reached any considerable degree of success without their hearty and zealous co-operation.

The Cause of Peace is equally under their control. As messengers of the Prince of Peace, it is peculiarly their own; its fate under God is in their hands; and it is obviously in their power to set and keep at work a train of influences sufficient to extirpate war from every Christian land. Let them gird themselves in earnest for this work; let them pray, and plan, and toil for it as one of the main objects of their ministry; let them concentrate upon it their utmost energies, and use aright every means within their reach; let them all unite as one man in this blessed cause, and make every pulpit on earth echo the Sermon on the Mount; and ere long would they revolutionize the war-sentiments of all Christendom, and put an end forever to its trade of robbery and blood.

We would not press the claims of this cause, or any other, upon ministers of the gospel against their conscience; but it seems to us clearly incumbent upon them to examine the subject until they ascer-

tain beyond a doubt what their duty to God and humanity requires of them. We fear, from indications meeting us on every side, that scarce one in ten of our forty thousand preachers has investigated the question with any considerable degree of care or thoroughness; and not a few seem quite ignorant of its nature or aims, its principles, its means, or even its existence. Ought such ignorance or indifference to continue any longer? Is it not more than time for ambassadors of the Prince of Peace, heralds to a warring world of that song from angel harps over the manger of Bethlehem, *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace*, to inquire into the claims of such a cause as this upon themselves, and upon the Christian community whom they are appointed to instruct? If this great reform is not the cause of God and humanity, if it is not part and parcel of the gospel they are commissioned to preach, if its success would not honor our religion of peace, vastly diminish the miseries of our race, and fill the world with untold blessings for time and eternity, we would not press its claims; but if it would do all this, as we are quite sure it would, we cannot, with a safe conscience, refrain from beseeching them, in the name of our common Master and final Judge, to unite with us in strenuous, persistent efforts to sweep this great folly, crime and curse from every land blest with the light of the gospel.

REDUCTION OF ARMIES IN EUROPE. — It is an auspicious sign that some of the leading governments in the Old World are reducing their armies, especially France and Russia. The latter did so some time ago; and the next report from St. Petersburg says that "fifty thousand more soldiers will be sent to their homes." These reductions in Europe, along with the disbandment of our own troops, both loyal and rebel, will have left at the close of 1865, nearly a million and a quarter less men, all nominally Christians, engaged in the work of human slaughter, than were employed in 1864. Let us be thankful for the improvement; but what a sad and shameful state of things do such facts reveal among the reputed followers of the Prince of Peace, more than 1,800 years after his ascension to heaven!

STATE DEBTS INCREASED BY THE REBELLION. — These have been largely increased in all the loyal States. In Rhode Island, the smallest of all our States except one, the debt, which was \$400 000 before the rebellion, rose to \$4,000,000; an increase of a thousand per cent. It is a very creditable fact, however, that there seems a general, if not universal disposition in states, cities, and towns, to reduce these debts as fast as possible, and in some cases, to pay them all off in a year or two. Small towns may do this, as some towns in Vermont are doing; but States and large cities will have to bear the burden many years, if not for generations. Such legacies are inseparable from war.

RIVALRY IN ARMAMENTS. — The neck-and-neck race towards universal bankruptcy in which one nation now vies with another in military expenses, would render each one prosperous beyond example! As time goes on, and the competition becomes more terrible, as the armies of half a century ago, which consisted of 80,000, or 100,000 men, swell to hosts of two, or three, or four hundred thousand, and only desolating conscriptions can supply the vast levies they demand, the problem becomes daily more urgent, and its possible solution more important. The cost of a great European army, such as statesmen deem indispensable at the present day to give the nation supporting it a place among the great continental powers, is from £60,000,000 to £90,000,000 per annum. This charge may, in a certain sense, be considered as doubly imposed on the country; for it has to be raised in money to pay and support the soldier, and it has to be deducted from the productive labor, to which the soldier, if left in his civil capacity, would have contributed. The nation is drained of the finest of its youth, and also compelled to pay down an enormous annual sum to support them in unproductive labor, the *per contra* of their expenditure in the country neither making up for the loss of their hands, nor for the taxation needed for their payment. To conceive the relief to the revenue, and the impulse given to every kind of free labor by the return of 400,000 men to civil life, is to imagine probably a greater boon to any country in Europe than any territorial conquests, any colonial acquisitions, any mechanical discoveries, or any political reforms could possibly effect; yet this boon is every year further and further away under the present order of things. — *Frances Power Cobbe.*

SURGERY OF WAR. — Military surgeons necessarily become familiar with facts that would startle and horrify most men. The surgeon-general has lately published a partial report, with results like the following: —

“An aggregate of 3,470 wounded for the first two years of the war, and the battle-field lists for 1864–5 include over 114,000 names. These reports are yet to have added to them the names of those killed in battle. The deaths from disease alone in the first two years were 56,193, those dying while prisoners, or after being discharged for disability, not being included. The mortality from disease was more than five times as great as that of men of the same age in civil life, being 48.7 per 1,000 of the total strength in the first year, 65.2 per 1,000 in the second. The number sick was constantly about 10 per cent. of the strength, and the number of cases treated, including wounds, was 878,918 during the first year, and 1,711,803 during the second.”

Just reflect on such facts; and what a horrible idea do they give you of the sufferings and havoc inseparable from war!..

THE HIGHER LAW.—Human government is indispensable to the happiness and progress of human society. Hence God, in his wisdom and benevolence, wills its existence, and in this sense, and this alone, the powers that be are ordained by him. But civil government cannot exist if each individual may, at his pleasure, forcibly resist its injunctions. Therefore, Christians are required to *submit* to the powers that be, whether a Nero or a slave-catching Congress.

But obedience to the civil rule often necessarily involves rebellion against God. Hence we are warned by Christ and his apostles, and by the example of saints in all ages, in such cases not to obey, but to submit and suffer. We are to hold fast our allegiance to Jehovah, but at the same time not to take up arms to defend ourselves against the penalties imposed by the magistrates for our disobedience. Thus the divine sovereignty and the authority of human government are both maintained.

What was the "den" in which John Bunyan had his vision of the "Pilgrims' Progress"? A prison to which he was confined for years for refusing obedience to human laws. And what excuse did this holy man make for conduct often denounced as wicked and rebellious? 'I cannot obey, but I can suffer.' The Quakers have from the first refused to obey the law requiring them to bear arms; yet they have never been vilified by our politicians as rebels against the powers that be, nor sneered at for their acknowledgment of a "higher" than human law. The Lord Jesus Christ, after requiring us to love God and our neighbor, added, "There is none other commandment greater than these." — *Wm. Jay.*

EFFECTS OF WAR.—The wars of civilized nations make very slow changes in the system of empire. The public perceives scarcely any alteration but an increase of debt; and the few individuals who are benefited, are not supposed to have the clearest right to their advantages. If he that shared the danger enjoyed the profit, and after bleeding in the battle grew rich by the victory, he might show his gains without envy; but at the conclusion of a ten-years' war, how are we recompensed for the death of multitudes, and the expense of millions, but by contemplating the sudden glories of paymasters and agents, contractors and commissaries, whose equipages shine like meteors, and whose palaces rise like exhalations? These are the men, who without virtue, labor, or hazard, are growing rich as their country is impoverished. They rejoice when obstinacy or ambition adds another year to slaughter and devastation, and laugh from their desks at bravery and science, while they are adding figure to figure, and cipher to cipher, hoping for a new contract from a new armament, and computing the profits of a siege or a tempest. — *Dr. Johnson.*

THE TREATMENT DUE TO REBELS.

AN intelligent friend of our cause, in forwarding recently his annual contribution, puts the following query: "Would not a pointed, well-written article on the necessity of punishing capitally the leaders in the late rebellion, while lenity should be shown to the multitude, be timely and useful? Had our government seized and hung from 50 to 100 of the chief conspirators directly on the close of the rebellion, disfranchised every commissioned rebel officer, and confiscated every rebel estate consisting of more than 80 acres, thus reducing the entire oligarchy to poverty, and giving every slave family say 20 acres as a homestead, the rebellion would have been crushed forever."

We must remind our friend, that it is no part of our business as a Peace Society, however settled and sharply defined our convictions as individuals may be, to say how rebels, or any other class of criminals, ought to be treated. Such questions come not within our province, but belong to civil government in its dealings with its own subjects; while we restrict ourselves to the single object of doing away the practice of such governments resorting to the sword as the final arbiter of disputes between themselves. Our cause has just this extent, and no more. What each government may do in its own proper sphere at home; what shall be its form or its powers; who shall be rulers, or how chosen; what laws shall be enacted, or how enforced; what penalties shall be affixed to specific crimes, or how such penalties shall be inflicted; what means shall be employed by government for maintaining its own authority, and insuring the public peace and the general welfare — such questions, however important and deeply interesting, it is not ours as peacemen to consider.

On two points of this government question, however, we do, as we must, take implicitly a definite stand — the existence of civil government as an ordinance of God, and its right at discretion to enact laws, and put them in execution. Such powers we regard as essential to the very idea of government; and if it may not do these things, it is in truth no government at all. It exists solely for these ends, and deserves the name only so far as it secures them. Having enacted laws, it is bound to see them obeyed, and, when violated, to inflict the penalties prescribed for their violation.

Is treason, then, a crime? If so, it ought, just like any other crime, to be punished with condign severity. So every government says by affixing to it the severest penalties, and thus branding it as the greatest of crimes. So it is in fact; for its very purpose is to break down all law and all authority. It aims a death-blow against the government itself; and hence the latter must either crush the rebellion, or cease to exist in aught but name. It *must*, as the guardian of the general weal, treat rebellion as the climax and culmination of all crimes. If it fails to do this, it proves itself a traitor to its high trust. It commits a

species of suicide, and would deserve only a suicide's infamous burial. It has no right, as guardian of the public weal, either to tolerate rebellion, or to let the men chiefly responsible for its crimes and calamities, go without the punishment due to their offences.

With these views, we can have no sympathy and little respect for the lenity so strangely shown to the leaders in our late rebellion. Pardon, if you safely can, all the common people that were decoyed or dragged into this great maelstrom of crime; but it would be an outrage on justice, a burlesque and mockery of all government, to let its responsible authors go unpunished. What moral right have we to remit the punishment due for such crimes as they committed? Pardon Jefferson Davis! On the same principle God ought to have pardoned Satan, and received him back to heaven while reeking with all the guilt of his rebellion still upon him. Here is the leader of a rebellion that sought to overthrow our government, and establish on its ruins a slave empire to dominate this continent, that drenched our country for four long years with fraternal blood, filled with sorrow and mourning nearly every house, and either killed or crippled for life a million of men in the bloom or vigor of their days. The man guilty of all this, the greatest criminal of the age, if not of all ages, the man steeped in the guilt of more than half a million murders, shall we hesitate or delay to punish in the way prescribed by our own laws? What is the use of penalty, or law, or government itself, if such a prince of criminals is not to be visited with its severest penalties? The guilt of Booth in assassinating President Lincoln was innocence compared with that of Jefferson Davis, who engineered the entire rebellion, and made himself responsible before God and the world for all its waste of property, all its havoc of life, and the whole sweep of its atrocities and horrors! Measured by any standard you please, can there be this side of pandemonium, greater guilt than this? If such a criminal is not to be visited with the severest penalties known to our laws, why keep up the farce of police and courts to punish the thousand comparatively trivial offences that crowd our prisons, or glut the gallows?

Nor have we the slightest sympathy with the logic or the sensibility that would save such a giant offender from condign punishment. Our pity we reserve, as every man should, for the millions who have suffered so much from his villainies. We know nothing that can either excuse or palliate them. He sinned against the clearest light and the strongest motives. He knew well how much mischief he was attempting, coolly planned it all, and persisted in it all just as long as he could. We have reason to believe that he would, if he could, have fought on till not only the South but the whole country should become one vast aeldama and golgotha.

But we are told that Davis has suffered enough already. Let us be thankful that he is feeling at last the suicidal recoil of his own guilt; but is this the punishment due to crime, such as any government, human or divine, metes out to offenders? A man, in stealing your purse, burning your house, or taking your life, may involve himself in mani-

fold evils; but does justice or common sense accept such consequences of his guilt to himself, as a proper, full punishment of his crimes? The logic is palpably absurd. Would you, on such grounds, have rescued Booth from the gallows?

Equally futile or fallacious is the plea, that we must not punish rebels lest we discourage the friends of freedom in other countries from rebelling against their own governments, or expose them to severe penalties if they should. Queer logic! Here is confessedly a very great crime; but we must not punish it, lest, forsooth, we should restrain our friends elsewhere from committing similar crimes, or exposing them, if unsuccessful, to heavy penalties! We must not harm murderers here, lest we tempt government in other countries to inflict the full vengeance of law upon such offenders there! If rebellion is a crime, the greatest of all crimes, it ought to be so treated everywhere; and any other treatment is absurd, and inconsistent with the nature and design of government.

This lenity to treason bodes ill to our country. It is an apology for its vast and far-reaching crimes. It is in fact a sort of premium on rebellion, and practically says to all future rebels, 'You need not fear much to undertake rebellion. You may indeed fail; but you have nothing to fear beyond that in the way of punishment. True, the laws say it is the greatest of all crimes, and affix the severest penalties; but nobody supposes that these penalties are to be inflicted. Public opinion would denounce the infliction as a cruelty not to be borne in such an age as this! The law and the penalty are both mere bugbears to scare men away from treason.'

In opposition to such morbid sentimentalism, we hold that the perpetrators of crime ought to be punished in proportion to their guilt, and must be if we would prevent the repetition of their crimes. We bear no ill-will to our late rebels; but, having committed crimes that deserve death, they should be made as an example to suffer for the fearful mischief they have done. The ends of justice may doubtless be secured by punishing to the full extent of the law only a few leaders; but a large number of men who entered actively into the rebellion, ought to be punished by fine, confiscation or banishment, and no voluntary, persistent supporter of the rebellion should ever be allowed to take any part whatever in our government. So far they should be perpetual outlaws. The class of men who got up the rebellion, the slave-holding aristocracy, ought to be stripped of their wealth, and their property given in small portions to the poor loyalists at the South, white and black. It is a suicidal clemency that treats them in any other way; and we much fear that the undeserved favor shown to rich, aristocratic rebels will come back upon us in a long train of well-nigh incurable evils.

We may, perhaps, be referred to the Sermon on the Mount, and exhorted to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, and overcome evil only with good. We have no space now for a full answer to this; but we beg to say that such an application of these and kindred passages would prove all government, both human and divine, to be utterly

wrong. None ever did or ever can proceed on this principle. What government deals in this way with the violators of its laws? Can it, as a government, overcome evil with good, and return to law-breakers only good for the evil they have done? When a man steals, murders, or commits any other crime, does it treat him only with smiles and caresses? No man in his senses can admit such an absurdity. It is certain, then, that either such passages are not applicable to government, or that government itself is entirely wrong in its fundamental principles. We are told in the sermon of Christ to imitate our Father in heaven; but how did he treat the first great rebel against his own government? Did he turn the other cheek to the devil? Did he excuse, or tolerate, or let go unpunished rebellion against the throne of heaven? No; God's example, as a Governor, will require us to punish with signal severity such gigantic criminals as the leaders of the late rebellion.

ASSUMPTION OF STATE DEBTS BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. — We see almost everywhere a strong disposition to saddle the nation with the debts incurred by States, cities and towns in suppressing the rebellion. It was so at the close of our Revolutionary War; and not only is the desire natural, but there are some very plausible arguments in its favor. We do not now sit in judgment upon its wisdom or its justice; but, if the thing is done, we must calculate upon seeing the national debt swollen to enormous proportions. If not only States, but cities and even small towns are allowed at will to claim from the national treasury repayment of what the rebellion has cost them, we should like to know in what year of our Lord the public debt is to be paid. When a Quaker, who had loaned money to Fox, so notoriously a spendthrift, politely asked him to name his time to pay, replied "The day after the final judgment." How much sooner should we pay a debt so enormously increased?

OUR ARMY STILL LARGE. — We have heard, month after month, that the government was constantly reducing its number by thousands and tens of thousands; but it seems, after all, we have what would have been considered in past years a very large and very expensive force, a grand total, by a recent report from the War Department, of 152,611. The estimated annual expense of the army, as now organized and distributed, is \$120,302,878. Deduct the estimate for troops ordered to be mustered out, viz., \$32,940,118, and this leaves an aggregate of \$87,362,759. A few years ago it was only six or eight thousand.

FINANCIAL RESULTS OF THE REBELLION.

WE are only beginning to learn the sum total of pecuniary liabilities entailed upon us by the late rebellion. We must expect them to come upon us from all quarters, like the frogs and lice in Egypt. Besides our national debt of nearly \$3,000,000,000, we shall find a multitude of smaller debts incurred by States, cities and towns. To how much all these will amount in the end, we can at present only guess; but from the way in which they are coming in, and from the increase of local taxes, often several hundred per cent., they are likely to reach a grand total that will startle us all. We begin with Massachusetts, and quote an abstract of the liabilities she has incurred in consequence of the rebellion.

FINANCES OF MASSACHUSETTS IN 1865.—While the financial operations of the State heretofore have seldom exceeded one or two millions of dollars a year, "its aggregate of receipts and expenditures for the last year is \$50,000,000," as stated in an abstract of the Treasurer's report. The income is put at \$24,876,163, and the expenses at \$23,916,790, with nearly a million on hand January 1, 1866.

What became of all these millions? "The State last year incurred military expenses amounting to \$6,244,938 68, including interest on war loans. Of this amount, the sum of \$5,863,188 69 was allowed in payment of bounties and other expenses growing out of the prosecution of the late war; and the residue of \$381,744 99 accrued in the maintenance of the military departments of the State, including the purchase of uniforms, equipments and other munitions for the use of the State militia." The total expenses charged to the United States, are \$9,545,023, of which an ultimate and almost complete reimbursement is anticipated. The expenses actually paid by Massachusetts on account of the war, have exceeded \$54,000,000.

Here are a few of the items of expense incurred by the war:—

Coast defences,.....	50,358
Sick and disabled soldiers,.....	20,250
State militia,.....	232,966
Arms and equipments,.....	68,647
Bounties to volunteers,.....	630,400
Pay of volunteers,	2,022,810
Aid to families of volunteers,.....	2,196,250

ESTIMATES FOR 1866.—"Upon the best data obtained since the commencement of the year, the ordinary revenues for 1866 may be safely estimated at \$1,400,000. The expenses for the year will be materially diminished from the amount incurred in 1865, and may be thus stated:—

Ordinary expenses,.....	\$1,200,000
Aid to families of volunteers,.....	1,500,000
State militia,.....	125,000
State police,.....	65,000
Interest on public debt,.....	1,250,000
Premium on gold,.....	250,000
Other extraordinary expenses,.....	15,000

Deducting the estimated ordinary revenue, and a balance of \$3,000,000 remains to be provided for by taxation or otherwise." So that the State is expected this year to run three millions deeper in debt, chiefly in consequence of the rebellion. Of the above expenses, about two thirds are clearly entailed by the rebellion. The amount paid out to the families of volunteers since the beginning of the war, is put at \$6,819,474, with claims still pending that increase it to \$8,519,275; a kind of expense never before incurred, we believe, in any war.

REIMBURSEMENT OF LOCAL EXPENSES FOR THE WAR.—We see a demand coming up from various parts of the country, that the national government shall assume these expenses. Several State legislatures have started the question, and we presume that sooner or later each State will make itself responsible for the debts incurred by its cities and towns in suppressing the rebellion, and will then claim ultimate reimbursement from the national treasury. Something like this was done after the close of our Revolutionary War; and the reasons for such a measure are now stronger than they were then. If this be done, we shall find these claims, and an interminable list of others for losses from the war, will reach fabulous amounts. We little knew on either side what liabilities were incurred when the late desperate, gigantic struggle began. If so bad for us, what must it have been for the rebels!

COMPARATIVE COST OF THE MILITIA.—Her Legislature cost Massachusetts in 1865 \$218,302, and her militia \$232,966. If the wishes of military men had been carried out, much more would have been spent on the latter; but we are glad to see in some, if not most, of our Northern States, an unwillingness to incur for this purpose any large amount of expense, and trust they will ere long return, at least in part, to the economy of former years.

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF OUR CONDITION.

"It is impossible for us not to watch with eager and sympathetic interest the progress of affairs on the other side of the Atlantic. The war is over; but the difficulties and dangers growing out of the war are not over. We are told on all hands, sometimes in tones of gratitude, and sometimes in tones of triumph, that at any rate one thing is certain, — that slavery is abolished forever. We hope so most devoutly; for it would be a miserable balm, if after the tremendous price paid, the object were, after all, not attained. In any case, let the abolition be as complete as may be, we must maintain that it was accomplished in the very worst way that was possible, amid all the infinite combinations of human affairs. What arithmetic can compute the amount of suffering, the waste of human happiness, the cumulation of human agony, which this war has occasioned? To do this, you must range over battle-fields, dive into hospitals and prisons, and gather up the

groans of the wounded, the sick, the starved, the exiled, the dying. You must penetrate into the myriads of homes where faithful hearts have been stretched for years on the torturing rack of terror and suspense. You must bring into one ocean the rivers of waters that have flowed from the eyes of childless mothers, of desolate widows, of orphan children.

Still less possible is it to form any estimate of the moral damage which the war has inflicted on the community. That it is deep, deadly, and wide-spread, and that it will continue to extend its blighting influence far into the future, no one can doubt. The most deplorable effect that it cannot fail to have is this, that *for one whole generation at least, it will be vain to expect any acceptance in that country for the Christian doctrine of peace.* The late excellent William Ladd, who labored and travelled for many years in promoting the cause of peace in America, especially among ministers, remarks in the account of one of his journeys, that he found all the old ministers very warlike, and the young ones in favor of peace. What was the explanation of this? Simply this, that the former had been brought up under the influence of the traditions of the War of Independence. And even so the whole present generation of Christians, lay and cleric, in America, having been baptized in the waters of bitterness, will, we may be assured, be to the last moment of their lives, the abettors and defenders of the doctrine and policy of war. They *must* be so to pacify their own consciences, and to maintain their own consistency. — *Herald of Peace.*

There is a great deal of truth in these statements. Four years of such a struggle must have produced, of course, an amount of waste and expense, of vice, crime and misery in countless ways, that no imagination can fully conceive. Nor will it be possible for us to rid ourselves entirely of its malign moral influences for long ages; and most of those who attempt to excuse or palliate them, show how far they have themselves been corrupted or perverted by its spirit.

After all, however, there are some mitigations in the case. The mass of our people, whether right or wrong in this view, looked upon their support of the government in suppressing the rebellion, very much as intelligent, right-minded Englishmen would have looked upon an effort of their own rulers to put down a vast, ferocious mob in London, or an attempt to overthrow their entire government, and fill the land with anarchy, robbery and bloodshed. Good men would, of course, have deplored, just as we did here, the necessity of using force to arrest such wholesale violation of law and order; but, deeming it indispensable, they would have insisted on its being done, and continued until the evil should be suppressed, and the government restored to its rightful authority. It is quite conceivable that this might convulse all England with fearful excitement, and perhaps make London and other places appalling scenes of rapine, conflagration and bloodshed. Still every good man there would have said the government *must* be sustained at all hazards in enforcing law against its violators, whether few or many, one man or a

million, and would have rejoiced to see law and order triumphing over anarchy and crime. There might be a tinge of bitterness and even vengeance; but only such as usually attends the execution of law upon such desperate, wholesale wrong-doers. Let any community be thus assailed; and could we expect, so long as men shall be men, to see law executed upon such villains without many feelings and deeds which the gospel would condemn? Impossible; and still law must be enforced, or society crumbles into anarchy and ruin. The evils incident to such enforcement would be chargeable not upon the government for executing its laws, but solely on those whose crimes made their execution a stern necessity; and so far from censuring such execution, we should commend rulers for a faithful discharge of their duty in bringing such wholesale offenders to condign punishment.

We would not, however, undervalue any good that may inadvertently come even from war. Though a terrible sort of moral surgery, we have no wish to deny that it has sometimes led to very desirable results, just as the worst crimes occasionally do, and as the betrayal of Christ by Judas occasioned more good to the human race than almost any other event in their whole history. Does this fact alter at all the guilt of Judas? So if the sword shall be found in the case of our rebellion to have killed or permanently crippled slavery, we would give it all the credit due for such a result, while we insist strenuously that such a mode of curing social evils is the most suicidal that we can well conceive, and that the only wise or Christian way of removing or mitigating them is by moral, legal, peaceful means. This position we have taken from the first, and find at every step stronger and stronger reasons for adhering to it. We admit the right and the duty of government to execute its laws against those who violate them; but in the case of such a wholesale violation, it is a terrible necessity which all good men must desire to see avoided. In the flush of victory we may keep out of sight for a time the countless crimes and woes inseparable from such a conflict as ours; but history will record them, and the sacrifice of nearly a million lives, and the thousand millions of property, with all the bereavement, sorrow and suffering occasioned, must make posterity, if not ourselves, feel that the sword, even when wielded by the hand of lawful authority, is still a terrible way of gaining any good.

We cannot wonder, then, at the forebodings of our English friends about the effect of our rebellion, especially on the cause of peace in this country. It could not be otherwise than disastrous; and before its rise, as during its progress, we shared fully these fears; but we are glad to find at its close, that its influence in this respect, though deplorable enough, is not likely to be so malign or so lasting as we feared it would be. Its character as a legitimate, indispensable enforcement of law, seems to have averted or mitigated some of its moral evils. To the conception of our people as a body, it was simply an effort to sustain the government in the exercise of its rightful authority; and they went forth with views and feelings quite different from those of ordinary warfare, very much as they would have rallied to put down a mob, or

a gang of incendiaries and robbers. They betrayed very little ill-will towards the mass of our rebels, and showed all along that they sought only the full and permanent restoration of rightful authority; and just as soon as this object was gained, they gladly returned to their old peaceful pursuits, and were soon merged as ordinary citizens in the community whence they came. Their term of service was as much an episode in their own life as the rebellion was in our country's history; and when their work, as a grand, national police was done, they doffed the soldier at once, and resumed the garb of the peaceful citizen. A finer illustration the world never saw of popular loyalty to law; and the result is to leave our people, after four years of desperate conflict, nearly as much opposed to war, and as much inclined to peace as they ever were. Though accompanied by so many of the worst evils of war, it was, nevertheless, only such a war as we have just described — an effort to restore order, to restrain and punish crime, and reinstate government in its rightful, permanent authority. Hence it has given birth to no Cæsar, Cromwell, or Napoleon. In this respect, as in many others, it is honorably distinguished from nearly all civil wars; and we shall be disappointed if our country shall not be found, after all, more ready than any other in Christendom to favor measures for avoiding the alleged necessity of war by the adoption of peaceful substitutes for the attainment of its legitimate ends.

All this results from the position we have always taken, that while war is a wrong way of securing any end whatever, civil government has permission from God to use at discretion the sword of magistracy for the maintenance of its authority by the execution of its laws against those who violate them. Just this, and nothing more, our government has done in crushing the late rebellion. It was all a legal operation, as truly a process of justice against rebels as would be an effort by a police, armed or unarmed, to suppress a mob, and bring its leaders to condign punishment. The principle in both cases is the same; and hence the moral effect of our government's gigantic efforts for the vindication of its right and duty to enforce its laws, and thus insure permanent peace, order, and prosperity through the land, is found to be quite different from ordinary war, "a conflict by force between nations." There has been but one nationality in the case; and the whole struggle was to decide whether the government should restrain and punish the violators of its laws, or whether the latter should be allowed to trample at will upon them all with impunity. We are entirely misunderstood if we are supposed, as peace reformers, to resist or censure a proper enforcement of law, as a measure indispensable to the peace and welfare of society.

INCOME OF THE GOVERNMENT — Was \$162,186,200 from July to Oct. 1865, or \$650,000,000 a year, exclusive of loans, or nearly two millions a day. In John Quincy Adams' administration (1824-8) the expenses of the government averaged only about one million a month.

DISARMAMENT. — This question, so vital to the welfare of Europe in particular, is gradually attracting more and more attention from thoughtful men in different countries. A late number of the *London Herald of Peace*, contains letters from several Frenchmen, in one of which, they say, —

“A great question is now occupying the attention of public opinion in Europe, viz., that of disarmament. The populations are groaning under the weight of gigantic armies, which have no excuse, and which can be but a permanent danger to liberty and the public peace, at the same time that they are the source of evils and miseries without number. The budgets have taken such proportions as to frighten the governments themselves, and they seem to be trying to find the way to stop the fever for armament which has moved them of late years. Is it not the duty of those who believe that all war is fratricidal, to encourage this movement of public opinion by all the means in their power? The idea of a Peace Congress has been put forth. Would it not be well for us to exert ourselves to see it realized? We propose that an address should be drawn up, pointing out to the Peace Society the opportunity of a Congress, whose especial mission should be to seek the means of influencing European governments in favor of disarmament.”

USE OF FORCE BY GOVERNMENT. — Some good men, who believe in civil government as an ordinance of God, still deny it the right to use the force necessary for executing its own laws. Here is a practical contradiction. They hold to government; but the power to enact and execute law is just what makes government. If it cannot do both, it is in fact no government; for in performing these functions, it must of course be allowed to use at discretion all the force it may find indispensable.

Such is the view practically taken by even the staunchest advocates for the strict inviolability of human life, when put to the test of actual experience. They ask government to protect the rights of individuals, or of society at large; but how shall this be done? If you say, it shall not use all the physical force requisite for the purpose, you demand an impossibility, a result without allowing the means for its attainment. Here are men stealing from a store, robbing a bank, or committing other outrages. If you may not use force, how can you restrain them, and bring them to condign punishment? Would you read them a homily from the gospel? You might as well preach to a den of hyenas, or a conclave of demons. What care such desperadoes in villany for the Sermon on the Mount, or even the thunders from Sinai? Nothing but sheer, irresistible force will suffice in many, if not most cases; and if you deny the right and the duty of government to use such force at discretion to any extent that may be necessary in executing the laws, you nullify in fact all government, and make it a delusion and a mockery.

We question not the motives of those who plead thus for the strict inviolability of human life; but their logic, if put in practice, would be fatal alike to government and society. No government or society ever did exist, or can in such a world as ours, without the right to use all the force necessary for the execution of law upon its violators; and even the men who deny this right, virtually insist on its exercise by asking government to protect its subjects in the enjoyment of their rights. In December last a deputation from the Quakers waited on our government, and "in all their interviews urged that the freedmen should not be left to local and State laws; that the United States should not withdraw its care and authority over them; and that the government has become bound by every consideration of justice and honor to assume their guardianship, and prevent them from suffering by their changed condition." These are all very just demands; but how are they to be enforced? Quakers have complained of us for simply recognizing the right of government to execute its own laws against rebels, as against all other criminals; but if government may not put its laws in force at all hazards, with what consistency can we ask it to throw its shield over freedmen? If it merely exhorts their late masters to do right, but tells them after all, whether they do so or not, we shall use no force to restrain or punish them, of what avail would it be? Would Quakers themselves be satisfied with such a mode of protecting four million freedmen? But here is all that their principles as sticklers for the strict inviolability of life will allow; and these principles, pushed to their legitimate application, must put an end to all effective, reliable government.

CORRESPONDENCE.

We are glad to hear from friends of peace in any quarter, but especially from the far West. From Iowa, where we have valued correspondents, we have just received from Rev. Wm. M. Stewart a long letter, from which we quote a few extracts:—

• "I have just read the last *Advocate of Peace* with much interest. I was for more than twenty years a strict non-resistant, and held that war under all circumstances is wrong; but my views on this subject have undergone a slight change. If all things were as they should be, there would of course be no war. War is the evidence of wrong, of sin, of God's displeasure. There are, however, evils which will not be cured but by violence and bloodshed. All sins are against God, and offensive to him; but some sins are directly against man, such as slavery, land monopoly and treason or rebellion.

There are, also, sins against our fellows, which may not be so directly against the government, or laws of the country; and among these sins there are some which cannot be forgiven, but must be punished, such as murder, or any crime which leads to murder, as rebellion; and these crimes may be so accumulated and aggravated as to make a re-

sort to the sword the only remedy. Not that war for its own sake could in any case be desirable; but I suppose God saw that pride, prejudice and injustice were more deeply rooted among us than perhaps in any people on earth, and that war would be the only means of reaching the case, to probe the *sores* and commence a cure.

Now Christ did not die for nations. The sins of nations must be visited on themselves here on earth as nations. When a nation oppresses the poor by cruel laws, that nation cannot escape the wrath of Heaven. Oppression, violence and bloodshed, when legalized and practised, must be visited upon the government or people. From this there is no escape; and things may be in such a shape as in the judgment of God to require war. When true religion prevails, however, war will cease; and meanwhile it is our duty 'to follow after peace; — to seek peace, and pursue it.' 'Blessed are the peacemakers.'

What our friend says about land-monopoly may be true, and he certainly urges some strong arguments against it, especially against the extent to which it is allowed, if not encouraged in our country; but such discussions, however important in themselves, do not come fairly within the sphere of a reform whose sole aim is to do away the practice of nations settling their disputes by the savage butcheries of the battle-field. As peace reformers, we stick to our text, and shall certainly find enough to do in carrying it out to all its confessedly legitimate applications. Still we will quote what our friend says on one or two salient points: —

"The man, the company, or the government that would restrain the people from the free use of the soil, would restrain them from the free use of light and air if they had the power. Nothing can be more out of order than hoarding the soil, not murder itself; for it is like slavery in this matter, it has murder in it. In Ireland a few years ago, 1,500,000 human beings were literally starved to death by landlordship; and then, to cover their own shame and brutality, they put this wholesale murder to the account of the potato-rot! Slavery is totally wrong; but I believe that land-monopoly is fundamental to slavery; that it always leads to slavery in some form, and that our nation never did a more false or more foolish thing than to put a price on land, and allow any one to buy an unlimited quantity because he had the means. This is a national sin, and must be atoned for.

Our nation is full of pride, injustice and oppression, from the head to the foot. 'There is no *peace*, saith my God, to the wicked.' Let us first be pure, then peaceable. Love to God, and love to man, to *all* men; universal good-will, without regard to color or birth; securing to every man by law all his *natural rights*, — these will put a perpetual quietus on war."

THE PERILS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

WE never doubted that our government would sooner or later force our rebels into submission ; but when this should be done, we expected to find at this point the real crisis of our dangers, in disputes among ourselves as to what should be done with them. Events are sadly verifying our predictions. Never in the darkest night of the rebellion, was our country in more imminent peril than at this moment, and on the result are suspended issues big with the weal or woe of our republic for long ages, perhaps to the end of time.

Most of these dangers are now concentrated in what is called Reconstruction, the process of reinstating our late rebels under the government which they made such desperate efforts to overthrow. They find the process vastly more difficult than they expected. They can no longer have everything as of old in their own way, but must wait the pleasure of loyal men. It would seem as if they once thought they could at pleasure try their hand at rebellion, and, if defeated, could come back as soon as they should choose to their former places in the Union, without being called to any serious account for the gigantic crimes committed in their efforts to destroy our government. No wonder they are sorely disappointed ; and in their mortification and chagrin, they reveal such feelings and traits, such purposes and plans, as forbode at no very distant day results most disastrous to our country. Unless this question of reconstruction shall be settled aright, we fear we are doomed, from the slaveocratic element still working among us, to evils in the future well-nigh, if not quite as great as in the past ; but at present we see little reason to hope for such a settlement.

Its difficulties thicken at every step. President Johnson, acting on his own theory of reconstruction, and assuming that it was his business virtually to decide the whole matter, undertook to prepare the way for a speedy restoration of the lately rebellious States to all their former rights in the government, without consulting Congress. Both Houses are dissatisfied with what he has done, and having confessedly the right and responsibility of saying on what terms these rebels shall be restored, set themselves at work to investigate the whole case for themselves. This brings on a collision between Congress and the President. They obviously feel and reason quite differently on the subject. The former practically say that none who were leaders or voluntary supporters of the rebellion, shall ever take part in the government ; while President Johnson's policy would reinstate these very persons in power all over the South, and bring into Congress men still retaining their rebel spirit and principles. The result is a dead-lock in the government ; and the fate of our country for ages is likely to depend very much on the issue of this controversy.

We look now at this subject only in its bearings on the future peace of our land ; and in this view we confess we have many sad forebodings. The sword alone never decides anything except the relative strength of the combatants, but leaves all questions of right, duty and interest to be settled by rational, moral means. Nothing else ever can settle them.

We may talk otherwise, as most people do; but not one of the questions now supposed to be settled by the sword, will stay settled unless public opinion shall permanently so decide. We marvel at the logic of those who tell us the war has decided this, that and the other question. War itself decides nothing in morals or politics. It is not in the power of lead and steel to put such questions at rest. The sword is indeed sheathed for a time; but the moral and political conflict, on which everything ultimately depends, still continues, and will probably wax warmer and warmer, and may keep the country in ferment and peril for half a century. The struggle is only transferred from the battlefield to Congress and the ballot-box. It is going on in fact all over the land; and God only knows when or how it will end.

We thought to condense some of the well-ascertained facts on this subject, but must omit them altogether, or reserve them for another number. One thing is certain—the war has not given us morally or politically any satisfactory or permanent peace. It is only a truce; and the South, still nearly, if not quite, as rebel and pro-slavery as ever in heart, will bide her time, and nurse her wrath for such future revenge as shall atone for the bitterness and mortification of present defeat.

DOES THE OLD TESTAMENT INCULCATE WAR?

THIS question is a practical one. As war now lays claim to the sanction of the Great Supreme, so it has in every age and in every land sought its justification from some invisible superhuman source. So universal has this been that we may presume public opinion cannot exist without religious support of some sort; and especially among Protestant Christians, who hold that no man can serve two masters, is religious support essential to war.

Does the Old Testament, then, furnish such support? Here the question is not whether it furnishes support to wars of conquest when enjoined by special divine command. So understood, the question would not be a practical one, as that is not disputed. The question is, does the Old Testament inculcate wars of the character now in vogue among modern civilized nations?

In discussing this question I would give full credit to the doctrine, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable, that the man of God may be furnished to all good works." I will also avoid the too common practice of scanning Scripture for proof of a particular point, and seek the intent for which it is given, viz.: to "furnish to all good works." The Old Testament Scriptures, most readily presented to view by the theme before us, are the historic accounts of wars, the divine injunctions and promises relative to them, and the miracles attending them.

Now, if we look at these in the same light as we do at other miraculous displays of divine power, as attestations of the presence, the power and the supremacy of the one living and true God, we shall find no

more of example for imitation in the former than in the latter. Instance the miraculous plagues in Egypt, some of which were the reality of what the magicians counterfeited by necromancy, and all were triumphant judgments upon the gods of Egypt. These were no more *signal miracles* than those vouchsafed to Israel in the conquest of Canaan, or those in the wars of Gideon, Jephtha, or Samson.

When the nations of the earth, "not liking to retain God in their knowledge," had devised each to itself a tutelary deity, God saw fit to raise up a "*people to his own name*," by whom to manifest his own power and perfections; and the history of those times is handed down to us for our instruction in the world's progress under the divine administration. David fought a duel with Goliath, who defied the armies of the living God, and cursed him in the name of his gods; he succeeded by miracle. Shall we find in this a reason for reviewing the ordeal by private battle? Samson, by miracle, slew the Philistines when their champions set at defiance the strength of the Almighty. But it were profane in us to attempt to work miracles by the laws of nature, or to annul all difference between human and superhuman agency.

The wars of Israel, however, were not all of divine injunction or of divine approbation. When Israel, through the medium of Samuel, desired a king who should go before them and fight their battles, the thing displeased the Lord, and he said to Samuel, "They have not rejected *thee*, but they have rejected *me*, that I should not reign over them." And in proportion as they multiplied the munitions of war, and trusted in physical strength, their wars proved disastrous, and defeat was occasionally dealt out to them as special judgment for their faithlessness. In the review, then, we may well say the characteristics of the authorized wars of the Jews were a contrast to the wars of modern times, and afford no license for them.

But do we not find, in the character enjoined upon Israel, a worthy example of that national patriotism which must often result in war? We think not. The very first lesson Israel was taught as a nation was, kindness to strangers, and that by a tedious bondage in Egypt. To this they were often referred as admonition, "Ye know the heart of a stranger; be kind to the stranger." "The stranger that sojourneth among you shall be as one of your own people, and thou shalt love him as thyself." While contaminating alliances were forbidden to Israel, equal rights of man were inculcated.

We conclude, then, that the Old Testament affords no license for modern warfare. Is such license found in the New Testament? This question may be the theme of a future article.

Midd'ebury, February, 1866.

B.

MAGNITUDE OF WAR DEBTS. — It is difficult to form an adequate conception of such a sum as the war-debt of England or our own; and individuals have taxed their ingenuity to illustrate and impress on the mind its vast magnitude. Among other illustrations, we find the following by a Mr. Fair: —

“A silver dollar measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Hence, 8 dollars laid side by side make 1 foot, 24 one yard, and 74,240 an English mile. The circumference of the globe is 21,000 miles, and therefore \$912,384,000 laid in one line would girdle it. But even this enormous sum, being less than a quarter part of the British debt, the whole amount of the latter would encircle it four times, and overlap by 8,640 miles. Now, estimating the weight of a silver dollar at 1 ounce, 16 of them would make a pound; and reckoning 2,000 pounds to the ton, the entire debt would weigh 125,000 tons, and therefore 125 ships of 1,000 tons each, would be required to forward it by water. Again, allowing 2 tons for the burden of a heavy baggage wagon, 62,500 wagons would be needed to convey this monstrous mass of indebtedness in silver. Now, an elliptical circle formed of these wagons alone, ranged lengthwise with their teams, would encircle the three cities of New York, Albany and Troy. Could a man, counting by single dollars count 60 a minute, it would take 1,138,300 men to count the sum in one hour.”

ROBERT HALL ON WAR.

REAL war is a very different thing from that painted image of it which you see on parade, or at a review. It is the most awful scourge that Providence employs for the chastisement of man. It is the garment of vengeance with which the Deity arrays himself when he comes forth to punish the inhabitants of the East.

Conceive for a moment the consternation which the approach of an invading army would impress on the peaceful villages in this neighborhood. When you have placed yourselves for an instant in that situation, you will learn to sympathize with those unhappy countries which have sustained the ravages of arms. But how is it possible to give you an idea of these horrors? Here you behold rich harvests, the bounty of heaven and the reward of industry, consumed in a moment, or trampled under foot, while famine and pestilence follow the steps of desolation. There the cottages of peasants given up to the flames; mothers expiring through fear, not for themselves but their infants; the inhabitants flying with their helpless babes in all directions, miserable fugitives on their native soil! In another part you witness opulent cities taken by storm; the streets, where no sounds were heard but those of peaceful industry, filled on a sudden with slaughter and blood, resounding with the cries of the pursuing and the pursued; the palaces of nobles demolished, the houses of the rich pillaged, the chastity of virgins and of matrons violated, and every age, sex and rank mingled in promiscuous massacre and ruin.

The injury which the morals of a people sustain from an invading army is prodigious. The agitation and suspense universally prevalent are incompatible with everything which requires calm thought, or serious reflection. In such a situation is it any wonder the duties of piety fall into neglect, the sanctuary of God is forsaken, and the gates of Zion mourn and are desolate? Familiarized to the sight of rapine and slaughter, the people must acquire a hard and unfeeling character. The precarious tenure by which everything is held during the absence of laws, must impair confidence, and the sudden revolutions of fortune must be infinitely favorable to fraud and injustice. He who reflects on these consequences will not think it too much to affirm, that the injury the virtue of a people sustains from invasion, is greater than that which affects their property or their lives. He will perceive that by such a calamity the seeds of order, virtue and piety, which it is the first care of education to implant and mature, are swept away as by a hurricane.

The contests of nations are both the offspring and the parent of injustice. It is certain two nations cannot engage in hostilities, but one party must be guilty of injustice; and if the magnitude of crimes is to be estimated by a regard to their consequences, it is difficult to conceive an action of equal guilt with the wanton violation of peace. It sinks every other crime into insignificance. If the existence of war always implies injustice in one at least of the parties concerned, it is also the fruitful parent of crimes. *It reverses, with respect to its objects, all the rules of morality. It is nothing less than a TEMPORARY REPEAL OF THE PRINCIPLES OF VIRTUE.* It is a system out of which almost all the virtues are excluded, and in which nearly all the vices are incorporated. Whatever renders human nature amiable or respectable, whatever engages love or confidence, is sacrificed at its shrine. In instructing us to consider a portion of our fellow-creatures as the proper objects of enmity, it removes, as far as they are concerned, the basis of all society, of all civilization and virtue; for the basis of these is the good-will due to every individual of the species, as being a part of ourselves. From this principle all the rules of social virtue emanate. Justice and humanity, in their utmost extent, are nothing more than the practical application of this great law. The sword, and that alone, cuts asunder the bond of consanguinity which unites man to man.

The morality of peaceful times is directly opposite to the maxims of war. The fundamental rule of the first is to do good; of the latter, to inflict injuries. The former commands us to succor the oppressed; the latter, to overwhelm the defenceless. The former teaches men to love their enemies; the latter, to make themselves terrible even to strangers. The rules of morality will not suffer us to promote the dearest interest by falsehood; the maxims of war applaud it when employed in the destruction of others.

That a familiarity with such maxims must tend to harden the heart, as well as to pervert the moral sentiments, is too obvious to need illustration. The natural consequence of their prevalence is an unfeeling

and unprincipled ambition, with an idolatry of talents, and a contempt of virtue. The esteem of mankind is turned from the humble, the beneficent and the good, to men who are qualified by a genius fertile in expedients, a courage that is never appalled, and a heart that never pities, to become the destroyers of the earth. While the philanthropist is devising means to mitigate the evils and augment the happiness of the world, a fellow-worker together with God in exploring and giving effect to the benevolent tendencies of nature, the warrior is revolving, in the gloomy recesses of his capacious mind, plans of future devastation and ruin. Prisons crowded with captives, cities emptied of their inhabitants, fields desolate and waste, are among his proudest trophies. The fabric of his fame is cemented with tears and blood; and if his name is wafted to the ends of the earth, it is in the shrill cry of suffering humanity; in the curses and imprecations of those whom his sword has reduced to despair.

INTERVENTION A FAILURE. — It is a good omen that the efforts of one nation to interfere with the domestic concerns of another, are becoming in most cases such admitted failures. The whole world now sees how Louis Napoleon has burnt his fingers by intermeddling with the affairs of Mexico. Reports have long been rife that he is preparing to withdraw his troops, and leave Maximilian to manage for himself as best he can. The wily Frenchman finds that, in commercial phrase, "it does not pay." It is said to have cost \$135,000,000 and 11,000 men killed and disabled. This is paying dear for the imperial whistle. France and England both tried, under a thin disguise, to interfere in behalf of our rebels as far as they thought they safely could; and the events since transpiring in Mexico and Ireland, show how their selfish and guilty schemes recoil upon themselves. Had they acted the part of honest friendship in fulfilment of their treaty obligations, they would have saved not only us, but themselves a vast deal of expense and trouble. Let us be thankful for such providential retributions as insure to guilt its own punishment, and teach nations that honesty is the best policy for them as well as for individuals.

GOV. BROWNLOW ON THE MORAL RESULTS OF THE REBELLION. — The war has demoralized our whole country, and our best portions of territory are overrun with thieves and cut-throats, who need reform even more than the heathen masses of China, Japan or Persia. Many of the Protestant preachers, especially in the South, ought to have pious missionaries to convince them of the sin of lying, swearing and drunkenness.

ANNUAL ADDRESS. — Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D. D., Professor in Harvard University, has consented to deliver the address before our Society at its coming Anniversary.

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FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge.

☞ Be sure you give the Society its exact name, and have the will drawn in the way, and attested by the full number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or the will may be broken.

THE PEACE SOCIETY'S ANNUAL REPORT.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, Cor. Sec., to whom all communications may be sent.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
MAY AND JUNE.

CONTENTS.

Circulation of our Periodical.....	69	Soldiers in the late War.....	84
Rebel Dead.....	70	Duty of Ministers on Peace.....	85
Treatment of Soldiers' Bones.....	70	Soldiers' Bounties.....	89
Substitute for the Sword.....	71	Destruction of Churches in the Re-	
Obstacles to the Abolition of War....	75	bellion.....	90
Revival of our Militia System.....	76	Militia Trainings in England.....	90
Test of Principles.....	77	Rewards to Warriors.....	91
Gains of War dearly purchased.....	78	Indian Troubles — Their Origin....	91
Rebellion — is it War?.....	80	Anniversary of the Society.....	91
Wounded in War.....	82	Annual Report ..	93
Leaders of War when it is over.....	83	The Society's Finances.....	99
War a Suicidal Remedy	83	Permanent Peace Fund.....	99
Peace Convention in Boston.....	84	Officers.....	100

 See last page of cover.

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
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

SOURCES OF INCOME.—Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up an annual collection for the cause.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE—Devoted to the Peace Question in its manifold bearings, and containing discussions of principles, and measures connected with the peace movement, statistics, anecdotes and illustrations from history, biographical sketches of distinguished friends, reviews of books on the subject, and general facts respecting the progress of the cause through the world.  Monthly, or a double number once in two months, making a volume in two years, for \$1.00, or ten cents a number. To auxiliary societies, or clubs of not less than ten, 30 per cent. discount.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MAY AND JUNE, 1866.

CIRCULATION OF OUR PERIODICAL.

THE 'Advocate of Peace,' as the organ of our Society, we have of late sent gratuitously to several thousand influential ministers and laymen of different denominations throughout the land. We have done this from a conviction, long forced upon us, that the cause for which we labor is very imperfectly understood, not only by the community at large, but even by most leaders of public opinion. We have met everywhere, more especially since the rise of our late rebellion, strange misconceptions of its aims, its principles, and its means and methods of operation. We are surprised at the general lack of information on the subject; and, as we can expect no man to take an effective interest in what he does not understand, we are very anxious to bring before Christians and Christian ministers in particular such facts and arguments as will be found in our publications. It is mainly to such men as these that every good cause must look for support. Professing the same general principles as ourselves, we are quite confident that they will regard the cause of Peace essentially as we do, whenever they shall come fully to understand its claims. The considerations that have enlisted us in its behalf, cannot fail, when brought aright before their minds, to secure in "like manner their own approval, sympathy and support.

With these views, we have sent for a time the 'Advocate of Peace' to a select number of our 40,000 preachers of the gospel, that they may look for themselves at our cause, and see how we regard and pre-

sent its claims. Such facts and arguments as are found on its pages, we ask their aid in bringing and keeping before the mass of our people. They can do so more easily and effectually than any other class of men, except perhaps the conductors of the periodical press; and we trust they will not think we are asking too much when we urge them to perform such services as these for a cause that we regard so truly Christian, and so pre-eminently their own.

We would gladly spread, if we could, a million copies and more of the 'Advocate' through the land without charge; but, as we have not the means we can seldom send it *hereafter* except in return for either pay or services. We offer it, however, on such conditions that nearly every one who chooses can easily comply with them — either a single dollar in payment for a volume in two years, only fifty cents a year; or to ministers on their pledging themselves to preach on the subject at least once a year, and take up for the cause an annual collection, one half of which may be returned in the Society's publications. There is scarce a preacher in the land that cannot in one of these ways, — the latter we should much prefer — secure the 'Advocate' for himself. We hope a large number will do so, and forward their names *at once*, as we fear we shall not have the means of sending it any longer without some such pledge of aid to our cause. If we do send it *hereafter* to any who do not comply with one of the above conditions, we shall do so on our own responsibility, and without making any charge for it. We hope, also, that many to whom it has been sent, will become subscribers for it, if not habitual contributors to the cause, and will set themselves forthwith at work for it in their respective shares.

REBEL DEAD. — "On the two battle-fields of Shiloh and Corinth," says one writing from the spot, "are not less than 12,000 Confederate dead, whose bones, for the most part, lie bleaching above ground, the rains having washed away the thin layer of earth with which most were originally covered." How many such mementoes of war and its woes are scattered all over the South!

TREATMENT OF SOLDIERS' BONES. — Men in Petersburg, Va., are said to have been digging up skeletons of soldiers buried there, and selling them to be ground for manure! A kind of barbarity not entirely new in war; for the same thing was done on the field of Waterloo, whence large numbers were taken to enrich the soil of England.

A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE SWORD.

THE chief plea now urged in excuse for war is its alleged necessity. Its evils are confessed and deplored, yet justified as the only way of enforcing justice between nations. We are told that they have in the last resort no other means of settling their disputes, redressing their wrongs, and securing their respective rights and interests. There is no human power above them, no recognized arbiter between them; and hence they have no alternative but submission to wrong, or an appeal to the sword.

There is certainly some truth in these statements. It is quite true that nations have as yet no other way than war as their last resort for insuring these ends; but they might and should have. These ends are confessedly legitimate, and must be secured in some way; but we insist that they may be gained more effectually by other means than the sword. Nations will of course retain their war-system until its necessity shall be actually superseded by better means of international safety and justice.

It is just here that the cause of peace interposes its substitutes for war. We aim to supersede it by better means of international justice and safety. We propose in its place a rational, peaceful, Christian process of justice between nations, analogous to what every civilized society has provided not only for individuals, but for all minor communities. Such is our principle; and we contend that it may be applied to nations, as well as to individuals, with reasonable prospects of success. There are in the nature of the case no insuperable obstacles to such an application. Nations, regarded by all writers on international law as moral persons, are confessedly under the same general obligations to each other as individuals in society; and we simply ask the former to settle their disputes in essentially the same way that the latter do theirs. How, then, do individuals adjust their difficulties? Always in one of two ways—either by amicable agreement between themselves, or by reference to some third party as umpire. There is no other way possible; and hence, if nations cannot or will not adjust their own difficulties, they must of necessity resort to some form of reference.

Here is no new idea, but one as old as government or society itself. Common sense, the world over, has ever decided, that no man should be allowed to judge in his own case; and this principle is just as applicable to communities as to individuals. It underlies and pervades every process of justice in our courts of law. Every trial there is, in fact, a reference; and no litigant is allowed to decide in his own case, but must submit to the judgment of his peers. Ought not governments to adjust their differences in essentially the same way? We ask them merely to adopt for themselves this simple, elementary principle of justice, with such modifications in the mode of applying it as their circumstances may require. It would be far better if they would settle every dispute by themselves; but, if they cannot, then let them submit the points in issue to arbiters. We urge them to make this their estab-

lished method of adjustment, and to provide for it in their treaties by express agreement in advance. We would fain have them *stipulate* for it; and hence we call it Stipulated Arbitration. We ask them to incorporate in every treaty a clause binding the parties to settle whatever disputes may ever arise between them, by reference to umpires mutually chosen.

Now, what objection can there be to such an expedient? It relinquishes no right; it neither sacrifices nor endangers any interest; it contradicts no important principle in morals or politics; it requires no great or essential change in public opinion, but is well adapted to the present state of the world, and consistent alike with the precepts of Christianity, and the dictates of sound policy. It is level, also, to the comprehension of all, and commends itself strongly to their good sense as safe and just, as clearly feasible, and likely to prove successful.

Nor would such an experiment be entirely novel; for the principle has for ages been occasionally tried with the best results. "When sovereigns," says Vattel, a high authority on international law, "cannot agree, they sometimes trust the decision of their disputes to arbitrators. This method is very reasonable, and very conformable to the law of nations." He quotes a variety of examples, but dwells especially on that of Switzerland, and says, "the Swiss have had the precaution in all their alliances among themselves, and even in those they have contracted with the neighboring powers, *to agree beforehand on the manner in which their disputes were to be submitted to arbitrators, in case they could not themselves adjust them in an amicable way.*" This wise precaution has not a little contributed to maintain the Helvetic Republic in that flourishing state which secures its liberty, and renders it respectable throughout Europe."

Occasional arbitration has ever been a part of our own foreign policy. A question of boundary between us and Great Britain we united in referring to the Emperor of Russia in 1822, a similar one between the same parties to the King of the Netherlands in 1827, and matters in controversy with Mexico to the King of Prussia in 1838, with success in each case to the extent of preventing an appeal to arms. Forty years after our last war (1812-15) with England, a multitude of minor questions were satisfactorily adjusted by commissioners mutually chosen under the pledge of abiding by their decision, or their umpire, in every case. Such is the growing usage of civilized nations; and as the principle is fairly applicable to all questions between them, we now ask that it be made the ordinary method of settling all such disputes as cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by negotiation.

For some measure like this the Fathers of our Republic expressed a strong desire. "Will nations," asked Jefferson, "never devise a more rational umpire of their differences than force? Wonderful has been the progress of human improvement in other respects; let us hope that the law of nature will in time influence the proceedings of nations, and that we shall at length be sensible that war is an instrument entirely

inefficient towards redressing wrongs, and generally multiplies instead of indemnifying losses." Franklin wrote a great deal in the same strain. "All wars," said he, "are follies. When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their difficulties by *arbitration*?"

This substitute for war has begun at length to gain the ear of statesmen in both hemispheres. So long ago as 1849, Richard Cobden, in response to more than 200,000 petitioners, moved in the House of Commons a resolution in favor of this measure, and obtained for it no less than eighty votes—the largest number ever given by that body at the outset for any new measure of like importance. In our own country we have been still more successful. Some half-dozen of our State Legislatures, during their session in 1852–3, all before whom the subject was properly brought, passed resolutions, with entire unanimity in every case except one, decidedly in favor of stipulated arbitration as a substitute for war.

It has, also, met with like favor from our national rulers. In 1851, the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously recommended the resolve, "that it would be proper and desirable for the government of these United States, whenever practicable, to secure, in its treaties with other nations, a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation." In 1853, Judge Underwood, of Kentucky, made, on behalf of the same committee, an able and elaborate report strongly in favor of the same measure. President Fillmore, and his Secretary of State, Edward Everett, declared their own readiness, after a careful examination of the subject, to insert such a provision in the treaty then pending between us and Great Britain; and that treaty, when completed by their successors in office, contained an express stipulation for the adjustment, by arbitration in the last resort, of all such misunderstandings *under the treaty* as could not be satisfactorily arranged between the parties themselves, and thus fell short of our wishes only in not extending this provision to *all* disputes of *every kind* that may ever arise. We had just before entered into a treaty with England for adjusting in the same way a large number of minor disputes; and the same principle has been incorporated in our two last treaties with Mexico.

Thus is this great reform already started; and what we now need is to carry it forward until it shall become the permanent policy of all Christendom. This will of course take a long time; but it *can* be done; and we are perhaps the nation above all others to lead the van of such a movement. The way is surely preparing for it, and even now public opinion, if not ripe enough to demand it, is quite ready to sanction and sustain it. Should we attempt it in earnest, we could doubtless get England and France to come into the measure ere long; and if these three leading powers should by such a simple and easy precaution foreclose the chief dangers of war between themselves, their example, so rich in benign results, would soon be followed by minor states, and thus bring at length all civilized nations into a league of perpetual peace.

To such a measure, then, what objection can there be? Would you deem it 'inconsistent with national dignity'? It is confessedly honorable for individuals and minor communities to refer their disputes; and why not for nations?—Perhaps you think 'governments will not thus *pledge* themselves in *advance*.' A plea quite untenable, because every treaty of course binds them in advance; and if we discard such pledges, we must abjure all treaties; but, if they may pledge themselves on any point, they may equally well on this. Indeed, such a pledge in advance is the very thing needed to prevent a sudden rush to arms under the blind impulses of passion. Do you deem 'arbitration uncertain in its results'? Very true, but not half as uncertain as the sword; nor is there likely ever to occur any national dispute which it would not be far more safe to submit to arbitration than to the hazards of war.—Do you fear that 'the parties would violate their engagement'? We grant they might; but no such fears deter us from other treaties; and why should they from this? A multitude of the most powerful motives would conspire to keep them faithful to a stipulation so pre-eminently important. Public opinion, already the virtual ruler of civilized nations, and fast increasing in its power, would stand sentinel and security for the due observance of such a treaty. "There is," said Webster, "something greater on earth than arbitrary or despotic power. The lightning has its power, and the whirlwind has its power, and the earthquake has its power; but there is something among men more capable of shaking despotic thrones than lightning, whirlwind or earthquake; and that is the excited and aroused indignation of the whole civilized world."—Do you apprehend, however, that 'we being republicans, while other nations are nearly all monarchists, should have no fair chance of justice'? Questions touching the peculiar form of government in different countries, the sole hinge of this objection, never have been, nor ever will be, submitted to arbitration by any people, but only such disputes as men under any and every form of government may be equally qualified to decide aright. Nor is there any need of selecting rulers as umpires, instead of such men as a Mansfield or a Marshall, a Peel or a Webster; men in whose qualifications for the service the whole world would confide. Each party would unite of course in choosing the umpire; and this alone would be ample security for the rights of both.

We see, then, no serious objection whatever to such a measure, but a host of the strongest arguments in its favor; and we would fain urge every one to use his best endeavors for securing it as soon as possible, and especially to unite in petitioning our Congress to take such action as they may deem best to procure henceforth, in all our treaties with other nations, a provision for settling all difficulties in the last resort by umpires mutually chosen, and thereby open the way in time for a safe, gradual abandonment of the whole war-system by the adoption of substitutes that shall more effectually secure all its legitimate ends, and thus supersede its necessity entirely and forever.

Such a practice of stipulating for the peaceful adjustment of their disputes by reference, would do much to prepare nations for some estab-

lished *system* of justice between them, akin to what every civilized government provides in its laws and courts for its own subjects. Here would be the germ of a government, not perhaps in form, yet in fact, for the great brotherhood of nations, with a code, court and executive of their own to meet their peculiar exigencies. It would indeed be a long stride of improvement; but many things are steadily and strongly tending to such a result. All past ages, but more especially the last half-century, have been converging to this final consummation; and, when actually reached, it will appear so simple and reasonable, that everybody will then wonder why such a preventive of war, and such a guaranty of mutual rights and interests between nations, had not been adopted from time immemorial.

OBSTACLES TO THE ABOLITION OF WAR.

LET me hasten to some of the obstacles which stand in the way of the extinction of war. The first is the way in which the heart of man is carried off from its barbarities and its horrors by the splendor of its deceitful accompaniments. There is a feeling of the sublime in contemplating the shock of armies, just as there is in contemplating the devouring energy of a tempest; and this so elevates and engrosses the whole man, that his eye is blind to the tears of bereaved parents, and his ear is deaf to the piteous moan of the dying, and the shriek of their desolated families. There is a gracefulness in the picture of a youthful warrior burning for distinction on the field, and lured by this generous aspiration to the deepest of the animated throng, where, in the fell work of death, the opposing sons of valor struggle for a remembrance and a name; and this side of the picture is so much the exclusive object of our regard, as to disguise from our view the mangled carcasses of the fallen, and the writhing agonies of the hundreds and the hundreds more who have been laid on the cold ground, where they are left to languish and to die. There no eye pities them. No sister is there to weep over them. There no gentle hand is present to ease the dying posture, or bind up the wounds which, in the maddening fury of the combat, have been given and received by the children of one common Father. There death spreads its pale ensigns over every countenance; and when night comes on, and darkness around them, how many a despairing wretch must take up with the bloody field as the untended bed of his last sufferings, without one friend to bear the message of tenderness to his distant home, without one companion to close his eyes.

I avow it. On every side of me I see causes at work which go to spread a most delusive coloring over war, and to remove its shocking barbarities to the background of our contemplations altogether. I see it in the history which tells me of the superb appearance of the troops, and the brilliancy of their successive charges. I see it in the poetry which lends the magic of its numbers to the narrative of blood, and transports its many admirers, as by its images, and its figures, and its nodding plumes of chivalry, it throws its treacherous embellishments over a scene of legalized slaughter. I see it in the music which represents the progress of the battle; and where, after being inspired by the trumpet-notes of preparation, the whole beauty and tenderness of a drawing-room are seen to bend over the sentimental entertainment; nor do I hear the utterance of a single sigh to interrupt the death-tones of the thickening contest, and the moans of the wounded men as they fade away upon the ear, and sink into lifeless silence.

All, all goes to prove what strange and half-sighted creatures we are. Were it not so, war could never have been seen in any other aspect than that of unmingled hatefulness; and I can look to nothing but to the progress of Christian sentiment upon earth to arrest the strong current of its popular and prevailing partiality for war. Then only will an imperative sense of duty lay the check of severe principle on all the subordinate tastes and faculties of our nature. Then will glory be reduced to its right estimate, and the wakeful benevolence of the gospel, chasing away every spell, will be turned by the treachery of no delusion whatever from its simple but sublime enterprises for the good of the species. Then the reign of truth and quietness will be ushered into the world, and war, cruel, atrocious, unrelenting war, will be stripped of its many and its bewildering fascinations.

But another obstacle to the extinction of war is a sentiment which seems to be universally gone into, that the rules and promises of the gospel which apply to a single individual, do not apply to a nation of individuals. Just think of the mighty effect it would have on the politics of the world were this sentiment to be practically deposed from its wonted authority over the counsels and the doings of nations in their transactions with each other. If forbearance be the virtue of an individual, forbearance is also the virtue of a nation. If it be incumbent on men in honor to prefer each other, it is incumbent on the very largest societies of men, through the constituted organ of their government, to do the same. If it be the glory of a man to defer his anger, and to pass over a transgression, that nation mistakes its glory which is so feelingly alive to the slightest insult, and musters up its threats and its armaments upon the faintest shadow of a provocation. If it be the magnanimity of an injured man to abstain from vengeance, and if, by so doing, he heaps coals of fire upon the head of his enemy, then that is the magnanimous nation, which, recoiling from violence and from blood, will do no more than send its Christian embassy, and prefer its mild and impressive remonstrance; and that is the disgraced nation which will refuse the impressiveness of the moral appeal that has been made to it.

CHALMERS.

REVIVAL OF OUR MILITIA SYSTEM.—We have been confidently expecting this as a natural, inevitable result of our civil war; but we are glad to find our fears so soon and so widely disappointed. There seems, in less than one year after the collapse of our rebellion, a general disposition to leave this system nearly where it was before, and hardly any rabid zeal to galvanize it into a forced vitality and vigor.

Take a few facts. "The militia law in Vermont," says one paper, "is likely to be kicked over. A bill has passed the House abolishing officers, drills and musters; but it awaits the action of the Senate." All this notwithstanding the influences at work in favor of the militia, as thus stated in the same paper: "At the recent muster of the Fifth Vermont regiment of militia at Barton, there were present, doing duty as private soldiers, three clergymen, at the present time preaching the gospel, the three selectmen of the town of Greensboro', the editor of the *Newport Express*, and a corporal reputed to be worth \$150,000."

A similar disposition has developed itself in the State of Maine; but we have not at hand the precise action taken by its Legislature. In Massachusetts politicians have sought of late to win favor with the

people by a great ado about the militia ; but the bill on the subject now (March) before the Legislature, says a leading journal, whose editor is a military officer, "is virtually a re-enactment of the 13th chapter of the General Statutes, as published in 1860. The act of 1864 enforced military duty upon all young men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five ; the present bill discharges all held to service under that act, at their own request, and substitutes a strictly volunteer system. The Committee are unanimously 'of the opinion that the volunteer system is best adapted to the views and wishes of a large majority of the people of Massachusetts ; and that such a system, properly organized and carried out, will afford to the State a military force abundantly sufficient for any emergency that is likely to arise.' We confess we have some fears that the hopes of the Committee may not be realized ; for, even with a compulsory law, we have to-day *a less effective militia than we had before the war. Those who have seen active service are not disposed to take hold of militia organizations ; and young men, attaining to the age when they are expected to perform military duty, show little inclination to bear arms.*" The proposed law allows a force not exceeding 10,000 officers and men,—not a tenth part of the number that the State sent forth to aid in putting down the rebellion.

From such facts we gather a hopeful augury for the cause of peace. It is clear that our people, from their death-grapple with our rebels, have not gone mad in favor of war, but are determined to have as little to do with its preparations as they think they safely can. Let us thank God for such indications, and take fresh courage in prosecuting our work.

TEST OF PRINCIPLES.—Our excellent coadjutors in England, worthy of all commendation for their zeal in our cause, were much tried by our persistent refusal to censure our government for its efforts to put down our late rebellion. We frankly told them how we reasoned in the case, and asked them to tell us how they would act in like circumstances, if two-fifths of British subjects should rebel, and seek to overthrow the government, and dismember the empire. We got no answer that did not leave the whole root of the difficulty untouched ; but now that Fenianism has brought the question home to themselves, though in a form far less aggravated, we have been curious to see how they would act. Have they said, as they would fain have had us say, it is wrong for government to execute its own laws against those who violate them ? Have they sent deputations to their Premier, protesting against the use of military or other force to compel obedience to law, or any act that might take or endanger life, on the ground that it is sacredly inviolable ? Will they frankly tell England and the world that the cause of peace practically means no government ? We are sure they will never do this ; but remembering what they said to us in circumstances a hundred-fold more trying, we feel much interest to see how they treat a somewhat similar case of their own.

THE GAINS OF WAR DEARLY PURCHASED.

NEARLY everything in this world may be resolved into a problem of loss and gain. There is seldom unmixed good or evil in this world. The life of both individuals and nations is a series of compensations. We rarely see any evil that is not relieved by some good, or any good that is not more or less marred by incidental evils. Such is the great law of human destiny here; and hence nearly everything among men becomes a practical question in loss or gain.

All this holds true of war. Bad as it always is and must be, it is seldom, if ever, an unmixed evil. No man of intelligence and candor can so regard it. Those who deplore and abhor it most, admit that it is sometimes used or overruled by divine Providence to secure results of vast importance. God often harnesses even this demon of crime, mischief and misery to the car of his grand and glorious purposes respecting our race. No thanks are due to the demon himself for such results; they come only in spite of him through that almighty beneficence which makes "the wrath of man to praise him." It has sometimes acted as a pioneer and auxiliary in spreading the gospel, as a champion of right, and an avenger of wrong. These, however, are only illustrious exceptions to a general rule; and even these incidental benefits of the custom are always purchased at a cost terribly dear.

Take the most favorable cases to be found in history. England, as the chief Protestant power in Christendom, has excused, if not eulogized, her wars, especially in remote unevangelized countries, as having been waged in the interest of our religion, and of human progress. We doubt whether any other nation can make half so good a claim on this score; but when we reckon up the losses and gains, what result, after all, do we reach? These wars, or national piracies, of England have left over no small part of the earth a trail of devastation, blood and misery. If gangs of pirates had perpetrated the same deeds, public sentiment would have clamored loud for their exemplary punishment as enemies of the human race. Her wars in India, China, Southern Africa, and elsewhere, have made not only her own name, but that of our holy, peaceful religion, a by-word, a hissing and a scorn. Undoubtedly they have been the occasion of much good; but how dearly has this been purchased! How very small in contrast with the world of mischief they have done! And even this pittance of good is due not so much to war, as to the Christianity that has at length followed in its wake, and done something towards repairing its wide and fearful ravages.

So with the much-vaunted wars for liberty. In the last ninety years these have been frequent in both hemispheres; and what so far has been the result? Does the game pay for the powder? Is the gain, on the whole, equal to the loss? This question we have no space now to answer in detail; but we think a little reflection will convince any man that very large deductions must be made from the incidental good that has come from these much applauded wars in favor of popular

rights. Take the wars that secured independence to so many colonies of Spain in North and South America. What is the result after nearly fifty years' experience? Have these republics reaped enough good to compensate for a tithe of the evils they suffered and inflicted? Are not some, if not most, of them now in a condition even worse than they probably would have been under Spain? Mexico led the van of these revolutions. What has she gained? Let her history during half a century of either chronic anarchy, or revolutions upon revolutions, give the answer.

So with most of the wars waged during the last century to secure popular rights. They have been for the most part miserable, suicidal abortions, and ended in rivetting the chains of despotic power more firmly upon the people, and in loading them with a large increase of burdens. In 1789 France began the experiment for herself and the oppressed masses of Europe. What was the result? After sacrificing millions of her own sons, and wasting myriads on myriads of treasure, she welcomed, as a choice of evils, the still sterner despotism of Napoleon, and finally relapsed under the same monarchy against which she had rebelled. Every tyro in history knows that these wars, begun avowedly in the interest of popular rights, ended all over Europe in despotisms fastened upon the people with more than double rivets and bolts. No doubt good has incidentally come from those wars; but was it not purchased at a rate terribly dear? Might not the good have been secured in time by means incomparably less prodigal of blood, treasure and misery?

But perhaps you will quote in triumph our own Revolutionary War. It certainly was a signal exception, the remarkable success of which was due chiefly to moral and political influences not found in scarce any other war that history records. Our forefathers began that war on the ground that self-government is the right of all mankind; and thus they started in principle a sort of crusade in favor of this far-reaching claim. It was so regarded everywhere; and hence the French Revolution of 1789, like most other subsequent revolutions in both hemispheres, may be viewed as legitimate results of that war. Tried by this test, what have been, or what are likely yet to be, the losses and the gains of that war to mankind, to the permanent welfare of the world? To secure political independence — for in other respects they were almost as free before as after the revolution — for two millions and a half of people, our forefathers began a seven years' war that wasted on both sides between one and two thousand million dollars, sacrificed several hundred thousand lives, flooded our land with moral evils from which we are not entirely recovered at this hour, and started a train of influences that led to wars which ravaged Europe from one end to the other for nearly a quarter of a century. What was the sum total of the losses in those wars? It is impossible to say in full; but some of them are on record. England alone raised by loan or tax nearly \$6,000,000,000, and the result was to load nearly every government in Europe with debts it can never pay so long as

her present war-system shall continue. Another item in this terrible account is still more appalling. A late writer in Belgium says, 'that France alone sacrificed 5,000,000 men; and it is no exaggeration to place the loss of Europe in twenty-three years at 2,000 men per day, or 16,790,000 in all.' If we add the incidental loss of life, the sum total could hardly have been less than 2,000,000; and if the twenty-five years from 1790 had been a period of peace instead of war, Europe would doubtless have had at this hour thirty or forty million more people than she now has.

Such are some of the losses in a series of wars begun avowedly in the interest of freedom and the common people. What, then, were the gains? Did those wars do enough good to counterbalance such enormous evils? They are all supposed to have got their start and original impulse from our own Revolutionary War, waged to secure the independence of 2,500,000 people; and viewed in these far-reaching results, shall we pronounce that war, on the whole, a blessing to mankind? Were not its benefits dearly purchased? Could not essentially the same results have been attained by peaceful means without such vast and terrible drawbacks? Is it not high time for Christian statesmen and philanthropists to try in earnest such means as the gospel sanctions and prescribes for securing the rights and welfare of mankind? Living under the reign of the Prince of Peace, must Christendom continue for indefinite ages to wade through seas of blood to gain and guard the rights confessedly given to all men by our common Father in heaven?

REBELLION — IS IT WAR?

A HUNDRED things are called war by a figure of speech; but what alone deserves the name? Not the mere act of taking life; for that is often done without a thought of war. A duellist shoots his antagonist; but that is not war. When an assassin stabs his victim to the heart, or a pirate-ship drowns a whole crew, or a mob in their fury kill a score or more of persons, do we call the act in such cases war? When a sheriff, in executing the sentence of a court, hangs a man; or a squad of policemen, in their efforts to arrest a gang of desperadoes, happen to kill some of them; or a military force is called out to quell a riot or incipient insurrection, and do not succeed without destroying much property and many lives; would such an enforcement of law upon its violators be war? Nobody would so call it, except by a figure of speech; and yet a rebellion, though carried on by millions, continued for years through hundreds of battles, and covering half a continent with fire and blood, would still be, on the part of the government suppressing it, only an execution of law against its wholesale violators. The principle in all these last cases would be only a process of justice alike in a murderer and a mob, in a riot, an insurrection and a rebellion.

What, then, is War, as distinguished from a rebellion? They differ in

their moral and their legal characteristics. What makes a riot or a rebellion? A wholesale violation of the laws under which men live, and to which they owe obedience. Just this, and nothing else. But what is War? It includes the following elements — 1. Two or more distinct nationalities. It cannot exist between two individuals, or between subjects and the government over them, but only between nations, while in rebellion there is but one nation or government. During all our rebellion there was in our country but a single nationality recognized by either ourselves or any other nation. — 2. In war the combatants owe allegiance, not to the same authority, but to separate, independent governments. In a rebellion all the people in the country, whether loyal or disloyal, alike owe obedience to the government over them. — 3. Between nations war usually begins by a declaration of hostilities, and ends by a formal treaty of peace. There was nothing like this in the late rebellion, at either its beginning or its close. — 4. In a war proper both parties are treated by other powers as alike independent nations; but though our rebels were to some extent recognized as belligerents in order to increase their chances of dismembering and ruining our republic, no foreign government did, in fact, acknowledge more than one nationality in this country. No foreign minister or consul was ever sent to our rebels.

‘But the conflict in this case had the proportions of a gigantic war.’ True; but this by no means determines the moral or legal nature of the acts done. A murderer takes life, and so does the court that hangs him; but, in the sight of either God or man, are the two acts the same? A police force, whether civil or military (it makes no difference in principle which), is employed to put the laws in execution against a mob, or an insurrection, but find they cannot do so without destroying much property and many lives. Is their act in such a case legally or morally the same as the crimes which they seek to prevent or punish?

‘But in suppressing our late rebellion there was a fearful havoc of life in battle, and in other ways, just as in war.’ Very true; and if the taking of life, the destruction of property, or the infliction of suffering, all on a gigantic scale, necessarily makes war, it unquestionably *was* war; but just the same things may confessedly be done, though seldom to an extent so vast, in executing law against large numbers banded in arms to resist its enforcement. If the sacrifice of life be the criterion of war, then not only all rebellion is war, but every mob, every riot, every murder, may with equal propriety be termed war, since life is supposed to be taken in all these cases. Such logic, indeed, or rather utter lack of logic, would make all government little else than a ceaseless, ubiquitous warfare upon its own subjects.

‘But the efforts to put down the rebellion were accompanied by the bad passions and many other moral evils that usually characterize war.’ True, most lamentably true; but does this alter the case? Because the suppression of Satan’s revolt in heaven was attended with such evils as no human arithmetic can ever compute, does it follow that God was wrong in putting it down? It may sometimes cost a fearful waste of property and life for a human government to put its laws in force; but

it *must* be done, or all government and all society will drift down to anarchy and irretrievable ruin. You may, if you choose, call such enforcement of law war; but it would be a weak and miserable abuse of terms, confounding all logic, and ignoring common sense.

After all, however, we suppose that efforts to put down by force a rebellion so gigantic as ours will, of course, be called war. We care little for the terms used, provided due distinction be made between war proper, which lexicographers define as "a contest between *nations* by force," and the enforcement of law against its violators. On this distinction rest our views of truth and duty in this matter. War, as properly defined, we deem utterly unchristian; but the support of government in the execution of law against its violators, whether few or many, one man or a million, we regard as right, indispensable, and clearly sanctioned alike in the Old Testament and the New. How any believer in the Bible can think otherwise, we find it difficult to conceive. We oppose the war-system, but not the legitimate operations of civil government in dealing with its own subjects. The former we would abolish, while the latter we would carefully conserve; *enemies of War, but friends of Government.*

THE WOUNDED IN WAR. — "The wounded on the field of battle!" Does anybody remember what that simple sentence conveys when the bulletin of a "glorious victory" has come to hand? An accident on a railway, or in a manufactory, fills the public mind with horror; but the bleeding victims have instant and tender help. The hospital or their own home receives them, and each is waited upon by prompt and skilful hands, which labor with ready appliances to save life, or alleviate the pangs of death. How we should shudder if the two or three sufferers in question were left upon the ground or in the mill to writhe and bleed!

But in war the wounded are thus left, not in twos and threes, but by thousands. In the hot charge no one stops to notice who is down. What does it matter that the gallant boy, or gray-haired father, who was just cheering on his comrades, has fallen, with a pale face and ghastly gasp of pain? He *has* fallen, that is all; the fight is over for him, and his own friends trample over him in their advance; or, if the attack fails, and the enemy assails in turn, squadrons and companies, gun-wheels and horse-hoofs, charge across his body, as it lies convulsed with agony. Perhaps a passing soldier stabs or strikes the life out of him; perhaps the cavalry crushes, or the trail of the cannon mangles him; or some shell, bursting in the middle of the pile of shrieking men about him, blows them all together in a bloody heap. Worse for him almost if he lingers alive in his gore, for the night will fall upon the field, and, while both armies face each other behind their watch-fires, he will lie and groan among groaning thousands, chilled and in anguish, not only with his bleeding wound or broken limb, but from that horrible thirst which tortures the dying soldier as his life-blood gradually oozes away.

Many and many a miserable human creature in the late war has spent a night of agony like that we describe, with the dead and dying for his only companions, and the silent stars for his light. A night, do we say? There have been battles fought in this war where the wounded lay upon the red

earth till their gashes festered, and bled, and their screams and cries of pain went up to the God of the Gospel of Peace, night and day for three whole days and nights! Even where the wounded can be collected, their fate is often pitiful. Nobly as army surgeons have sometimes done their duty, and complete as the system of ambulances and field hospitals pretends to be, everybody knows that men who survive for years die by scores out of the best equipped armies. Let only Chillianwallah be recalled, where the cavalry of the British and the Sikhs crashed back in wild fright together upon the amputating tables in the rear, and tumbled their bleeding burdens into the dust, with arteries half-tied and limbs half severed! War has furnished many a sickening scene like that, and will furnish many more. — *N. Y. Tribune.*

THE LEADERS OF WAR WHEN IT IS OVER. — We in this country deal with war and its agents in a very democratic way. Even its leading officers we strip without ceremony or mercy, when their work is done, of their regimentals, and send them back at once to their old stations and employments in life. Here are some specimens from our late rebellion, gathered from the *N. Y. Tribune.*

“One of our leaders is now in charge of a machine for patent pumping; another is building a railway through the oil country. One of the first soldiers of the Army of the Potomac is in the pistol business; another keeps a retail grocery store; while one of Sherman’s most trusted lieutenants is a claim-agent. One major-general prints a weekly journal in Baltimore. Some of our officers have drifted into Congress; others are on their way to distant courts, to represent the honor of a nation they did so much to sustain. These starred and belted gentlemen go down from the command of cohorts, to become agents, and partners, and dealers, perhaps, with the orderly who stood before their tents, or the private who held their stirrup. So with the generals of the rebellion. The greatest of them all is now a teacher of mathematics in a university. Sherman’s great antagonists are in the express and railroad business. The once dreaded Beauregard will sell you a ticket from New Orleans to Jackson; and if you want to send a couple of hams to a friend in Richmond, Joe Johnston, once commander of great armies, will carry them. The man whose works Grant moved upon at Donelson edits an indifferent paper in New Orleans, while the commander of the rebel cavalry at Corinth is his local reporter. Marshall practises law in New Orleans; Forrest is running a saw-mill; Dick Taylor is now having a good time in New York; Roger A. Pryor is a daily practitioner at our courts; and so with the rest of this bold, vindictive, and ambitious race of men.”

WAR A SUICIDAL REMEDY. — Louis Napoleon made war upon Mexico under pretence of collecting debts. Some Frenchmen bought up Mexican bonds for less than a tithe, in some cases hardly a twentieth part, of their nominal value; and he undertook in this way to enforce their payment. The whole amount, however, was less than \$3,000,000; and France, besides the loss of life, has already spent, it is said, more than \$150,000,000; fifty dollars spent in collecting a single one, and this one, after all, not secured in full! A pretty fair specimen of the net profits to be expected from war.

PEACE CONVENTION IN BOSTON. — The notice of this convention, held March 14th and 15th, was in type for the last *Advocate*, but to our regret left out by mistake of the printer. REV. ADIN BALLOU presided, and the discussions continued through six sessions, each nearly three hours long, were spirited, able, and specially interesting to radical peacemen. Of our society we believe only one became in form a member; but our Secretary, though unable to subscribe the extreme positions announced in the call, attended all the sessions, and at the last one stated by request the precise grounds we take, ignoring the ultra-radical views and measures advocated in the convention, and aiming as our sole object to do away the well-defined, immemorial custom of nations settling their disputes by the sword, the great war-system of Christendom. We bid God-speed, however, to any efforts, not otherwise injurious, for the abolition of this custom, and hope these friends of peace, more radical than ourselves, will in their own way contribute much to a consummation so devoutly to be wished. If so, we shall not stop to complain of their censures upon ourselves for adopting principles less radical, and a policy more conservative.

SOLDIERS IN THE LATE WAR. — A bill in Congress proposes to reimburse the States \$55 for every soldier furnished the Government in putting down the late rebellion. Here is the result: —

<i>State.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>	<i>State.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>
Maine	56,595	\$3,112,725	Wisconsin ...	78,985	4,314,175
New Hampshire....	30,827	1,695,485	Minnesota .	19,675	1,082,125
Vermont	29,052	1,597,860	Iowa	68,182	3,750,010
Massachusetts	123,844	6,811,420	Missouri	86,192	4,740,560
Rhode Island	17,878	983,290	Kentucky	70,348	3,869,149
Connecticut	50,514	2,778,270	Kansas	18,654	1,025,970
New York	381,696	20,993,280	Tennessee	12,077	664,235
New Jersey	55,785	3,068,175	California	7,451	409,805
Pennsylvania	267,558	14,715,690	Nevada	216	11,880
Delaware	10,303	566,665	Oregon	581	31,955
Maryland .	40,692	2,238,060	District of Columbia	11,506	632,830
West Virginia	27,653	1,520,915	Ter. of Washington	895	49,225
Ohio	237,976	13,088,680	“ Nebraska ...	380	20,900
Indiana	152,283	8,375,565	“ Colorado ...	1,762	93,910
Illinois	212,694	11,698,170	“ Dacotah	181	9,955
Michigan	80,865	4,447,575	“ New Mexico.	1,011	55,605

This makes, as we reckon up the items, 2,154,170 men, and the total of reimbursements about \$117,000,000. All this at only \$55 for each man, while for some \$1,000 or more were actually paid, and very often from \$200 to \$500. What a host! More than two million fighters on one side! Nor do even these figures tell the whole truth; for we find that Massachusetts, for example, furnished in fact more than the 123,844 set down in the above list. So probably of other States.

MEXICAN DEBT. — It is reported at \$315,000,000; probably less than it is in fact, and yet an enormous sum for such a people.

DUTY OF MINISTERS ON PEACE.

THE ministers of Christ, appointed to preach his gospel of peace, are clearly bound to inculcate its pacific principles along with its other truths. No axiom in morals can be more unquestionable than this. Peace is the motto and distinguishing badge of our religion. It forms one of its most glorious peculiarities. It is one of its grandest objects, a point to which its precepts, promises and influences confessedly tend as their final result. Its spirit pervades every part of the New Testament. The whole Bible is a statute-book of peace. Our heavenly Father is the God of Peace. Our Redeemer is the Prince of Peace. The Holy Ghost is the Spirit of Peace. Heaven is the abode of perfect and everlasting peace. Peace was a leading theme in the instructions of Christ, and a prominent trait in his character. His entire doctrine was peace; his spirit was the very essence of peace; his whole life was an exemplification of peace; peace was the special legacy he bequeathed to his disciples; and, just before bowing his head in death on the cross, he prayed for his murderers, and thus set an example for all his followers down to the end of time.

Even in the Old Testament war is implicitly condemned. We grant that the Israelites were expressly commanded to wage against the Canaanites wars of aggression, conquest and extermination; but their example in this respect can no more sanction the custom of war than that of Abraham sacrificing Isaac could justify infanticide, or the polygamy and concubinage of patriarchs could authorize us to indulge in the same practices. Such cases cannot be drawn into precedents to nullify God's plain, unequivocal commands; and in the precepts even of the Old Testament, you will find nothing to justify the wholesale robberies, murders and devastations legalized in all war. Our Saviour teaches us, that the sum of the law and the prophets is to love the Lord our God with all the heart, and our neighbor as ourselves; but every form of war contravenes both of these comprehensive precepts, and uniformly leads, if it does not compel, its agents to tread them under foot.

Every command of the Decalogue is a virtual prohibition of this custom. The first three prescribe our duties to our Maker, and require us to have no other gods before him, never to take his name in vain, and neither to worship nor make an idol of any object in the universe; but war, the offspring of a barbarous paganism, and the nurse of impiety and blasphemy, most notoriously violates each of these precepts. The fourth commandment, auxiliary alike to our social and our religious duties, bids us "remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy;" but war refuses to acknowledge any Sabbath, and even compels its servants, at the point of the bayonet, to disregard and desecrate this day of God. The other six commandments require us to honor our parents, and to abstain from murder, and adultery, and theft, and false witness, and covetousness; but does not everybody know that war is a direct violation of all these precepts, and lives only by the very sins here prohibited?

It is quite impossible to reconcile war with any part of the Decalogue ; and a strict enforcement of its requisitions would constrain the nations to cease from this savage custom forever.

But the Gospel is still more decisive. Its spirit, its object, its principles, its means, its motives, all are the very reverse of those which characterize every form of war. In the Christian it requires qualities which no soldier can possess without ceasing to be a soldier. It enjoins duties absolutely incompatible with his military obligations. It forbids the very things which constitute the character and business of the warrior. It condemns all the moral elements of war.

We cannot stop here to illustrate these positions at length ; but just glance at the first ten verses of Christ's Sermon on the Mount. The blessings of heaven he there pronounces upon the poor in spirit, and them that mourn ; upon the meek and the merciful ; upon the pure in heart, and those who hunger and thirst after righteousness ; upon peacemakers, and those who rejoice in the unresisting endurance of persecution for righteousness' sake. Does any one of these qualities properly belong to the warrior ? Does not the want of them all form his best qualification for the trade of human butchery ? Can he possess them, and still continue his work of pillage and murder ?

Recall a few passages of the New Testament. *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Do good unto all men. Avenge not yourselves. Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them. Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you. Have peace one with another. Follow peace with all men. Be gentle, showing all meekness unto all men. Lay aside all malice. Put off anger, wrath, malice. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice. See that none render evil for evil. Recompense to no man evil for evil. Resist not evil ; but overcome evil with good.*

We have no space for a critical examination of these passages ; but is it possible for any degree of exegetical ingenuity or perverseness to torture them into the least approval of war ? This custom contravenes every one of them ; for it proceeds on the very principle of *hating* our enemies, of taking vengeance into *our own* hands, of overcoming evil *with evil*, of doing unto others just what we would *not* have them do to us, of cherishing, instead of laying aside anger, and wrath, and malice, and the whole circle of malignant passions.

But do you doubt the import of such passages, and ask for an infallible commentary upon them ? Then go to the example of our Saviour himself, and trace the corresponding practice of his apostles, and his followers as a body during the purest era of our religion. Christ never lifted a finger of violence to preserve even his own invaluable life ; he frowned instantly upon the disciples for proposing to call fire from heaven, and destroy his enemies ; he rebuked the generous ardor of Peter in drawing the sword for his Master's defence ; and from the time that he bade the impetuous apostle put up his sword, and forewarned the world

that all those who "take the sword, shall perish by the sword," we hear of no Christian killing his enemies under any pretext, till near that fatal era when the Church was united with the state early in the fourth century. Even German critics, and infidel historians aver, that the doctors of the church before that time were for the most part absurd enough to insist on the utter inconsistency of war with Christianity!

We are not now debating the question of strict self-defence, or the enforcement of law against its violators; but we utterly repudiate the idea, that the gospel sanctions a shred of the war-system. They are antagonistic principles. War is the very antipodes of Christianity; and you can unite them no better than you could mix oil with water, blend light with darkness, or commingle heaven itself with hell. War is a cluster of sins. It repeals or violates the very first principles of morality and religion. Scrutinize every one of its moral elements; scan its aims, its motives and its means; see what guilty passions it everywhere kindles into a flame, and what deeds of horror it perpetrates as necessary for the accomplishment of its purposes; trace its origin, its progress, the whole train of its legitimate, inevitable consequences both for time and for eternity; and can you point us to a single aspect of this custom that is congenial with a religion of perfect purity, peace and love?

We insist, then, on the duty of all preachers to enforce this part of Christianity. Christ bade his apostles "go into all the earth, and preach the gospel to every creature, teaching all things whatsoever" he had commanded. This command is the standing directory of his ministers down to the end of time, and requires them, on peril of his high displeasure, to preach the pacific as well as all the other principles of his gospel. They are certainly a part of the "all things whatsoever he hath commanded." They are as truly a part of the gospel as the doctrine of regeneration, atonement or final retribution, as the duty of repentance or faith; and we see not how any man, ignorant of these principles, or unprepared to inculcate them aright, can regard himself as duly qualified to preach a religion of peace. He has not yet learned the very alphabet of Christianity; and shall the man who cannot, or will not preach peace, presume to call himself a proper ambassador of the Prince of Peace, a competent expounder of the gospel of peace, a consistent example or promoter of a religion of peace? How applicable to such a preacher is Voltaire's keen rebuke: "Ye bungling soul-physicians! to bellow for an hour or more against a few flea-bites, and not say a word about this horrid distemper which tears us to pieces!"

The duty is undeniable. You are bound, as a minister of Christ, to preach his gospel, the *whole* gospel; but, if you have never inquired what it teaches on the subject of peace, can you be sure of "declaring all the counsel of God"? If you *have* inquired, but are still in doubt, ought you not without delay to solve these doubts, and settle your belief on this as on every other part of the gospel? If you hold its pacific principles, but are unable to enforce them aright, ought you not

to qualify yourself for this service just as you do to inculcate repentance, faith, or any other Christian duty?

Perhaps, however, you will reply, that your views of peace differ from our own. But will this excuse you for neglecting the whole subject? We may be wrong; but we insist on its being your duty to inculcate the principles of Christ and his apostles. You must determine for yourself what they teach; but, because you understand them differently from ourselves, can you refuse to preach what they really inculcate? We may differ quite as much in our views concerning regeneration, or the character and offices of Christ, or the nature of saving faith; but would you deem this a sufficient reason for neglecting to enforce what you find in the Bible on those subjects? Then may you exclude the whole gospel; for there is more or less diversity of views respecting every one of its peculiar truths. There would be an end also to all preaching; for, if you may refuse to preach because you differ from us, we may refuse because we differ from you, and everybody else because somebody differs from him, and thus nobody is left to inculcate any part of the gospel.

But you may tell us you do preach peace. If so, we rejoice; but are you sure you inculcate aright what the gospel teaches on this subject? Do you urge all under your influence to love their enemies as themselves, to live peaceably with all men, to turn the other cheek to the smiter, not to resist evil, but overcome it only with good? Do you teach these principles as exemplified by Christ himself? Do you apply them to the intercourse of nations as God's last remedy for war? Do you inculcate them as plainly, as frequently, as earnestly as you would other requisitions of the gospel?

Would to God that all ministers had always done so. But alas! how few have! Had they, would Christendom have been for fifteen centuries one vast aceldama? Would its surface have been to this day so widely whitened with human bones? Would its thousands of war-ships have now been ready to launch their volleys of death, its four or five millions of warriors now be on tiptoe for carnage and devastation, and its thousand millions of dollars wasted every year for the support of its war-system even in peace? One thing is certain, — either the gospel on this subject has not been preached, or it has no power to make men "be at their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks."

Let us be thankful for the progress already made, however inadequate, on this subject. We rejoice that so many ministers of Christ have at length begun to perform in some degree this part of their duty; and the day, we trust, is not far distant when peace, as an element of Christianity, will be enforced, just like repentance and faith, wherever the gospel is preached. Ministers of every name are, we think, coming to juster views on this subject; and ecclesiastical bodies, representing Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and other denominations of Christians, have passed strong resolves, declaring, "that it is the duty of ministers to preach in favor of the cause of peace as a

prominent part of the gospel ; " and " that peace, being confessedly a part of the gospel, ought, in its spiritual aspects and bearings, to be inculcated, like any other part of the gospel, in the *ordinary* course of instruction by ministers, parents and teachers." Let all this be done ; and how soon or surely would wars and the entire war-system melt away from every land blest with the light of the gospel !

In view of such considerations as these, are not the ministers of Christ under special obligations to the cause of peace ? Ought they not to lead its van, and put forth their utmost influence to enlist the whole Christian community in its active and earnest support ? Should they do so, would they not please their Master in heaven, honor the gospel they preach, and commend it to all men as a pledge and herald of the richest blessings for time as well as for eternity ?

SOLDIERS' BOUNTIES

ONE would think our government had been sufficiently liberal to its soldiers during the late rebellion, as it spent for them probably thrice as much as was ever done before in the form of pay, bounties, and the like. They are not, however, satisfied ; and, as they are all voters, it is amusing to see how ready politicians are to entertain with favor their most extravagant demands. One of these is their claim for what is called " an equalization of bounties." The first volunteers had none ; but, as the war went on, and the government dreaded a draft, bounties were offered, from \$50 to \$100 at first, but increasing until they reached sometimes more than \$1,000, and quite frequently \$500. The soldiers who obtained only small bounties — for all had more or less in some form — now come forward, and demand that they shall all be rewarded alike, or as nearly so as possible.

Well, there is certainly some plausibility in the claim ; but let us see on what principle it rests. When they enlisted, they were satisfied ; and the bargain was confessedly fair on both sides. On what ground, then, do they now ask more ? Because others got more for similar services. Be it so ; but did they not, in some cases, receive more than they ought ? The government was then in straits, and recruits could often make their own terms. Is this a good reason why, after the pressure is past, it should pay more than what was fair at the time ? How often was the government compelled to pay for vessels, or for their temporary use, thrice, if not ten times as much as they were really worth ! So with a thousand things wanted during the war. Now, can the men who furnished such articles for a consideration deemed at the time fair, if not very high, justly complain if they find, years afterward, that they did not get then half as much as they might now ? During the first six or ten months of the rebellion, when so many were out of employ, and both labor and materials were exceedingly cheap, a mechanic was glad to build or repair a house or store for half

of what he would charge in 1866. Could such a man fairly turn around, and say to his employer, 'what I did for you in 1861 is now worth full twice as much as you then paid me; and I demand pay according to *present* prices. True, we made a bargain that was fair at the time; but all things have since risen, and you are bound in honesty to pay me what they are worth *now*.' Would not everybody scout such logic? Yet it is the only logic employed to press the claim for what is called "equalization of bounties." The demand is palpably absurd, and would not be tolerated for a moment in ordinary cases. If the claimants were not nearly all voters, little heed would be given to these claims, amounting in Massachusetts alone to perhaps ten or fifteen million dollars, and probably in like proportion through the land. If the principle were carried out by Congress, it would augment our national debt, we know not how much, but certainly several hundred millions of dollars, and possibly a thousand millions. Once started, such claims, like pensions to soldiers in our Revolutionary and other wars, would exceed all calculation.

DESTRUCTION OF CHURCHES IN THE REBELLION. — We might have supposed it would have spared, if anything, houses of worship; but it seems, from the *New Orleans Christian Advocate*, that from 1,000 to 1,200 of these "were *burned*;" churches which he supposes must have "cost the people not less than \$5,000,000." Writing for a Methodist paper, he may have meant to say that the Methodists alone lost this number of churches; and, if so, what a sweep of ruin and devastation must the rebellion have made in this respect all over the South! Yet only a fair, truthful index to the moral ravages there. It will take a long time to collect or even compute them all.

MILITIA TRAININGS IN ENGLAND. — It seems that these moral nuisances have become in England even worse than they ever were here. A Capt. Mayne Reed, in a letter to a London paper, sketches the discipline of the "Royal Elthorne Militia," that had been in camp at Uxbridge: "Men, with the aspect of demons," he says, "were traversing the streets in squads of three, four, and half a dozen. The most respectable inns were entered by them, drink was demanded without stint under threats of 'raising a row,' and bottles were being hurled at Boniface, his barmaids, and such gentlemen customers as chanced to be on the spot for their protection. This was not all. The scenes outside were ten times more disgusting. Young girls were being chased, caught and kissed in the open street, the sisters and daughters of the most respectable citizens; for among the demons there was no discrimination; even ladies were fleeing to shun the contact of lips loaded with blasphemy, and the embrace of swart arms fresh reeking with the effluvia of Whitechapel and the Dials. * * * On asking an explanation

from a score of citizens who stood excited — I will not say trembling — around me, I was told that it was an annual visitation to which they were compelled to submit for six weeks in every year, and which one and all dreaded more than either cattle plague or cholera. ‘Its name?’ ‘The Royal Elthorne Militia.’ ‘But their officers,’ I asked in surprise, ‘cannot they put a stop to this disgraceful exhibition?’ I was told that they could not. To do them justice, I was also told that they tried.”

REWARDS TO WARRIORS. — General Grant, in six or eight months, received from friends in different parts of the country, presents amounting in all to \$170,000 — in New York \$100,000, in Philadelphia \$30,000, in Galena, Ill., his home, \$15,000, and so on. How far this blind idolatry of success in war, so eminently characteristic of savage and half-civilized people, may go, we cannot say; but its object, if not spoiled beyond recovery by such attentions, may yet be crowned at last with the Presidency. There is nothing that in the present half-christian, half-barbarous civilization, wins so much as success in war. True, it ought not to be so; but so it is now, and so it is likely to be for a long time to come.

INDIAN TROUBLES — THEIR ORIGIN. — The generals in command at the seat of the Indian war have held a council, at which, it is said, “Pope is confirmed in his policy that the only way to get along quietly with the Indians, is to keep rascally white men out of their way. He is suspicious that many of the so-called outrages on the stage-coaches over the plains were in reality committed by white scoundrels with painted faces.” Here has been the origin of nearly all our most serious troubles, our bloodiest conflicts with the Indians. White men have been at the bottom of them in the hope of gain. If all the facts could be embodied in a true history of our entire course with the Indians, we should be astonished and ashamed at the result.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

THE thirty-eighth anniversary of the American Peace Society was held in Boston, May 28th, 3 P. M., at its office, 23 Chauncey Street. Hon. AMASA WALKER, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the chair. The report of the Directors was read by the Secretary, Geo. C. Beckwith, D. D., and that of the Treasurer, duly audited, laid before the Society, both which were adopted. On report of the Nominating Committee, Messrs. Angier and Leavitt, the officers for the ensuing year were chosen.

The Secretary stated that Rev. Dr. Peabody, of Harvard University, had very cordially accepted our invitation to deliver the Annual Address, but had been obliged to leave for Europe on account of his health, and it was too late to supply his place, so that there would be no public meeting. After a free and interesting discussion, the Society passed the following

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That while in the present condition of our country, growing out of the bloody contest in which it has been engaged, we cannot hope for much immediate success in the great work in which we are associated, we still feel its importance more and more, and the duty of continuing our efforts, especially through our periodical and other publications, to keep the subject of Peace distinctly before the people.

2. That while the state of affairs on the continent of Europe, from the imminent danger of war, is such as to interpose there, as here, great obstacles to the progress of our cause, we rejoice to find, nevertheless, that the friends of peace in England are unremitting in their endeavors to ward off the impending calamity, and prevent a resort to arms.

3. That we have observed, with satisfaction, the course of the London Peace Society in relation to the Fenian movement, and have been happy to notice, that, so far as has come to our knowledge, they have taken no measures tending to weaken their own government, or give aid and comfort to those who would overturn civil authority, and dismember the British Empire; and that, while remaining earnest friends of peace, they have felt under no obligation to interfere, even by protest, with the efforts of their government to maintain its authority, and prevent threatened violence and insurrection.

4. That while we thus rejoice in what we regard as the proper course of our co-workers in England, we cannot, as friends of humanity, refrain from an expression of sympathy for all oppressed or ill-governed peoples; and we hope that efficient means will be taken to forestall the evils of bloody revolution, by redressing their wrongs and removing their grievances.

5. That the course of the American Peace Society in abstaining from any effort to paralyze our own government in its attempts to preserve its rightful authority against rebels armed for its destruction, and the conduct of our English friends in offering no opposition to their government in suppressing disturbances in Ireland, furnish a practical recognition of the principle that, while ever ready to do all in their power to prevent international war, they do not feel justified in interfering with the enforcement of laws made to preserve domestic tranquillity and national existence.

6. That amid all the disturbing circumstances around us, we are cheered by the evidence that the ideas we have been promulgating have already made a deep and lasting impression on the public mind. At the present moment we hear the proposal of "MUTUAL DISARMAMENT" made between Prussia and Austria, the two powers whose disputes now threaten the peace of Europe; and although that most desirable measure may not be secured now, the very fact of its having been brought distinctly before the people of Christendom, must afford great encouragement to those who have so long advocated a Congress of Nations and Mutual Disarmament, as the most effective means of preventing all international war.

7. That we view with the deepest sorrow the imminent danger of war among some of the great powers of Europe, threatening most serious evil to the material and moral interests not only of those States, but of all Europe and the world, and likely to retard the progress of education, virtue, piety, and general civilization, with the blessings that follow in their train.

8. That our President and Secretary be requested to communicate to the Governments of those States, and to other Governments which may have an influence with them, our sentiments of grief and alarm, and our most earnest desire and hope that a just and peaceful solution may be found for the present difficulties, and that thus the black war-cloud, now hanging so portentously over Europe, may give way to the sunshine of assured peace, friendship and prosperity.

ANNUAL REPORT.

THE cause of peace has lost during the past year some of its best friends. FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D., LL. D., long and widely known as a very distinguished educator and author, was for a time the President of our Society, and at the time of his death its first Vice-President. JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, LL. D., another of our Vice-Presidents, the writer of many of our most valuable educational works, and second for a long time to no living lexicographer, had given some time ago \$1,000 towards our Permanent Peace Fund of \$30,000, and left in his will the annual income, after the death of his widow, from his great Dictionary of the English Language, to be divided equally between our Society and the American Bible Society, thus putting these great institutions on the same level. We have lost other friends not indeed so distinguished, but no less worthy, two in particular from our Board of Directors — TIMOTHY GILBERT, one of the most useful laymen in our city, and LEWIS TAPPAN STODDARD, for nearly twenty years a very valuable member of our Executive Committee. The loss of such men reminds us how soon the present leaders in this cause must leave it to other hands. May the God of Peace raise up a multitude of friends to carry it forward with largely increased wisdom, zeal and success.

Meanwhile the past year has teemed with proofs that our cause is needed quite as much as ever. The great evil we seek to remove, has shown its strong grasp upon the nations. The war spirit, war principle and war system seem still as rife, and as firmly intrenched as ever. We have as yet no sure guaranty against evils. They may come upon us any day. The train is all laid, and ready, whenever interest, passion or mere accident shall apply the torch, to kindle an explosion that may startle and convulse the world. Look over Europe at this moment. There is no real security for its peace, nor ever can be so long as its war-system and war habits shall continue. Retaining this custom, the great brotherhood of civilized, Christian nations can never expect anything better among themselves than an armed truce, and must not only repose with their armor on, but sleep, if at all, over a magazine or a volcano.

Not much better than this is our own present condition. We have indeed triumphed over rebellion, and say we are now at peace among

ourselves; but in truth we are only resting on our arms, and still keep throughout rebeldom our sentinels on watch to guard the men who were lately fighting in fierce desperation against our government. We have forced rebellion to sheathe its sword, and bow to rightful authority; but retaining for the most part its old spirit, principles and aspirations, it would to-morrow, if sure of success, attempt again to drench the land in fraternal blood. The roots of the whole evil yet remain nearly as strong as ever all over the South, and will be sure, unless the people there shall be trained in better principles and habits, to bring forth, sooner or later, perhaps a still greater, more fatal harvest of mischief and misery.

Nearly all Christendom is in like peril from its war-system. The interference of France and other European governments with Mexico; our own unsettled difficulties with England growing out of our late rebellion; the nondescript movement of the Fenians so-called for the rescue of Ireland from British rule; the quarrels between Paraguay and several other governments in South America; the war of Chili and her allies against Spain; the premonitions of such a conflict between Austria and Prussia as threatens to bring on a general war in Europe; — all these, along with smaller war-clouds flitting over the horizon of the world during the past year, show very clearly that now is no time for the friends of peace to relax their efforts for the removal or abatement of the mammoth evil against which we are struggling.

How little is the magnitude of this evil understood! How long has it hung a vast, increasing incubus on the whole civilized world! There is hardly another evil of society comparable to it in either extent or inveteracy. Christendom, despite her religion of peace, still hugs this vampire to her bosom as if were it her only hope. There seems nothing that she will not do and sacrifice for it. Comfort, wealth, talent, science, skill, all her revenues, she lavishes upon it with an eager, boundless prodigality. Every one that serves it with distinguished success, she makes a popular idol, crowns with honor, and loads with rewards. It dominates all other interests, and makes them bow to its stern, overmastering exigencies. It is the maelstrom or gulf stream into which all currents must flow. It is the all-absorbing care and anxiety of Christendom. All governments in the Old World, and most of those in the New, are constantly straining their utmost ingenuity to see how they can screw from the people taxes enough to pay the interest on their debts for past wars, and support their enormously expensive prep-

arations for future wars. Some of them, already bankrupt, struggle hard by ruinous loans to keep themselves from sinking, and scarce any of them think of ever paying off the principal of their war debts. Meanwhile the public expenses are steadily increasing at a rate that must in time prove fatal. The only possible alternative is reform or ruin. Facts, already patent to every eye, make such a result inevitable. The standing warriors of Christendom, on land and sea, are supposed now to reach nearly five millions, and its war expenses, including interests on war-debts, amount to ten or twelve hundred million dollars a year. What a waste of money, men and moral power! A tithe of it would suffice, with God's promised blessing, to send the gospel to every hamlet on the globe; and yet do the very leaders in the Godlike enterprise of a world's evangelization slumber over this mammoth evil, and neglect, if they do not sneer at, the efforts made for its removal.

Now, must this enormous waste still continue? Alas! it has even increased for centuries; but must the industry, energies and resources of Christendom be thus taxed forever beyond all pagan or barbarian example? Is there no possibility of preventing, curing or even abating evils so vast, and so steadily increasing under the very gospel that was designed to insure permanent peace co-extensive with its prevalence? God forbid. We have within our reach means amply sufficient to prevent or cure these evils, and God's promise of his blessing upon their right use. Let these means only be used aright, and it is just as certain as the promises of God can make it, that the blessings of peace will go hand in hand with the gospel in every land blest with its light.

What, then, are these means? They are all included essentially in a right application of the gospel to the case; its application not merely to individuals but to rulers or governments. It is the latter that decide every question of peace or war; and hence the gospel, in its pacific principles and influences, must be applied to governments before it can abolish or prevent war. On this pivot everything turns; and here is the specific sphere of this great reform. We seek to change the habits so long prevalent everywhere on this subject; and such a change, once effected by influences set at work around the fireside, in Sabbath and common schools, in all seminaries of learning, through the pulpit and the press, may reasonably be expected to reach governments, and lead them in time to supersede their present war-system by the adoption of

better means for the settlement of their disputes, the vindication of their respective rights, and the promotion of their common interests.

Here is the work to which we invite the friends of God and man. Especially do we appeal to Christian ministers, whose very commission as ambassadors of the Prince of Peace should make them spontaneous leaders in this cause. We call likewise on Christian parents, Christian teachers, Christian editors, and Christian writers for the press, to examine its claims, and press them on the vast multitude of minds reached by their influence. We bespeak for it an habitual remembrance in the prayers of Christians, that God would multiply and crown with success the efforts made to do away this great sin and scourge of Christendom. We solicit the co-operation of all that deplore the evils of war, and desire the reign and blessings of peace.

We must beg the Christian community to bear ever in mind that this cause is no less theirs than our own. The chief difference is, that we have begun to recognize its claims more fully than they have; but they are as truly responsible as ourselves for its vigorous, successful prosecution. It is a common interest. We cannot, if we would, assume its entire responsibility. It belongs to all Christians; and their sympathies, prayers and energies should be pledged to its support, and be actively enlisted in its prosecution. They *must* do so, or God's promise of universal and permanent peace can never be fulfilled; but if they *will* do so, and use aright the means he has appointed for the purpose, it is morally certain that this master-evil will ere long begin to melt away, under the power of a thoroughly Christianized public opinion, from every Christian land.

Can the mass of Christians, then, be brought to do their duty on this subject? Everything turns, under God, on this point. If they cannot be, but are resolved to persist in their strange, inexcusable slumbers on the subject, war will of course continue and increase its evils for indefinite ages to come. It is a fearful responsibility under which Christians thus stand before God and the world; but shall we presume that they never can be effectually roused to their duty on this question? We will not believe it. For the honor of the Christian name, we shall to our last breath cling to the belief that they can be, and will be sooner or later. God in his mercy hasten the hour. While smarting afresh under the evils of our rebellion, evils that could never have come but for the war-habits of our people at the South, we did hope they might open their eyes to the claims of this cause, which, if started

in season, and properly prosecuted for the last half-century throughout the land, would have averted all the terrible calamities that have come upon us. We may have been somewhat premature in our hopes; but when we saw the sword returning to its scabbard, we deemed it our duty to seize the opportunity of bringing our cause as widely as we could before the public through the press. With this view we have sent our publications, more especially our periodical, to all our leading newspapers, and to a select number of Christian ministers, some four or five thousand among the forty thousand in our land. What will be the result of this appeal, we know not; but we resolved in this way to throw upon the Christian community, as far as we could, the responsibility of saying what they will do to prevent like evils in future. We *can* avert them if we will, but only by training our people, South as well as North, in the principles of peace as our only reliable safeguard against future rebellions.

Here is the great work to be done; and the question is, whether the friends of God and our country will do it. It *must* be done, or our fate is prospectively sealed; for the principles and habits that brought on our rebellion will be sure in time to ruin us. Our Society now has a part of the machinery needed for carrying on this great reform. It has always employed the press as its chief instrument; and already have we stereotyped a number of volumes and nearly a hundred popular tracts. Some of the former, written with great ability, have gone to the libraries of the learned, to the halls of legislation, and the palaces of kings. In our publications are embodied facts, statistics, and arguments sufficient, if brought aright before the people, to recast public opinion on this whole subject, and lead, at length, to the adoption of peaceful methods alone for the settlement of all national disputes. These publications we wish to spread, like autumn leaves, all over the land. We would increase their number, and then set our friends at work to scatter them everywhere. In every considerable city there should be a depository of such publications; and we ought to have in our employ one or more agents in every State, not less than fifty in all, to press this great question upon every neighborhood and every family.

Can all this be done? Why not? Sooner or later it *must* be; and why not begin now? Need we more or stronger motives? Have we not already suffered enough from war principles and war habits? Shall we wait for another and wider sweep of the war besom over the land

in blood, fire and desolation? Can we never be thoroughly roused to this matchless evil? Will statesmen, patriots, philanthropists, Christians, the very ministers of the Prince of Peace, the recognized teachers and representatives of our peaceful religion, continue to slumber over it forever? Must still larger hecatombs of husbands and fathers, sons and brothers, be sacrificed on the altars of this remorseless Moloch? Shall we never learn to forestall such evils by the moral Christian means so clearly within our reach?

How slight would be the comparative cost of such means! Not a thousandth part of what has been lost in four years of rebellion. Besides what nearly every one lost in numberless ways, and all that was raised by taxes and contributions during its progress, we have upon us a debt of full \$3,000,000,000. The rebels must have suffered still more; and scarcely any one reckons the sum total of losses on both sides less than seven or eight thousand millions of dollars. Now, were one thousandth part of this enormous sum, seven or eight millions of dollars, put into a permanent fund, its bare interest would more than suffice to effect in a single age such a change in the war habits of our people, if not of all Christendom, as would render, so far as we are concerned, both rebellion and war morally impossible. There never was a clearer case; and we will not believe that a people under the light of the gospel, can *never* be educated into these views as their settled and permanent policy.

Yes; a time of calm, serious reflection is surely coming; and many in their sober second-thoughts, will yet see how little is ever gained by even the most successful war. Government is one thing; war is quite another. The sword of magistracy may secure its legitimate ends; but the sword of war, as our rebels found to their sorrow, proves in most cases a suicidal failure. It was lately drawn in Europe to decide the Schleswig-Holstein controversy; but, after a year or two of suspense and bickering, the old dispute, like the ghost of Banquo, comes up for settlement anew. Our own four years of bloody strife still leave the roots of the original difficulty deep as ever in the Southern mind. We may say that six hundred battles have settled such and such questions forever. Alas! nothing is yet settled beyond the fact, now rankling bitterly in the Southern heart, that the North is confessedly strongest. The seeds and roots of rebellion remain all over the South, and no ploughshare of war is likely ever to eradicate them. There they are and sure, unless controlled by

moral means, to bring forth another, perhaps a more fatal harvest of crime, mischief and misery. The real contest, the war of ideas, still continues ; and on its result must depend the fate of our country in all future time. The sword in this case, as in most others, has left the parties, as we told them at first it would, to settle the matters in dispute by moral, peaceful means ; and, if so disposed, they might by such means have settled them far better before fighting than after. Mutual butchery merely made them willing to adjust their differences by the peaceful methods provided for the purpose in their common constitution, laws and courts. Reason, argument, persuasion, moral influence alone, can ever put such controversies permanently to rest ; and until our domestic quarrels are ended in this way, we shall have only capt a volcano that is still smouldering or seething under our feet.

During the year we have petitioned Government, in favor of a Congress of Nations, and the deputation that took it to Washington, consisting of our ablest friends, were very favorably received ; but the absorption of the public mind in the great conflict still continued on the slave question, is likely, we fear, to postpone the action we had hoped to secure at once. Still we are hopeful. We think our rulers, like our people at large, are quite inclined to entertain and put in practice the grand idea of superseding the sword by such peaceful expedients as Stipulated Arbitration, or a Congress of Nations, as a permanent policy. It will of course take time to reach such a consummation ; but sooner or later, it is sure to come in some form.

THE SOCIETY'S FINANCES. — In the matter of funds we have succeeded better than in any year since the rise of the rebellion. Our income has been \$3,220.39, and our expenditures \$3,116.96, leaving \$103.43 in the treasury.

PERMANENT PEACE FUND. — Of this we cannot give an exact account, as its Treasurer, Lewis T. Stoddard, died before assuming its care ; but we may state, that in payments and pledges, it now amounts to more than the \$30,000 originally proposed to be raised. A considerable part of this sum, or its income, is not immediately due or available, though nearly all is ultimately reliable ; but the whole fund has yielded to our cause, during the last year, more than \$1,000.

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GEO. C. BECKWITH, <i>Corresponding Secretary.</i>		
WM. C. BROWN, <i>Recording Secretary.</i>		

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY *in account with* JOHN FIELD, *Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS :—

Balance from last year's account.....	\$81.16
Acknowledged in the Advocate of Peace, (less \$300.)....	1,777.60
To be acknowledged.....	45.25
Income from Peace Fund.....	1,077.88
Publications and other sources.....	238.50

\$3,220.39

PAYMENTS :—

For rent of office, stationery, postage, meetings.....	\$126.52
For paper, printing, and other expenses of publication....	1,816.36
For agency services and travelling expenses.....	1,146.44
For taxes.....	27.64
Balance to next account....	103.43

\$3,220.39

The foregoing account has been examined, and found correct in items, castings and vouchers.

H. H. LEAVITT, }
WM. C. BROWN, } Auditors.

Boston, May 2^d, 1866.

OCTAVO TRACTS.

	Pages.	Price
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace.....	32	.10
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace.....	12	.05
Congress of Nations.....	12	.05
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War.....	16	.05

12mo TRACTS.

	Pages.		Pages.
1. Cause of Peace	8	36. A Solemn Review of War, by Noah	
2. Sketch of War.....	12	Worcester, D. D.	12
3. Testimonies against War	12	37. Sieges	8
4. War and the Bible.....	4	38. A Glimpse of War, by Dr. Chan-	
5. War Curable	12	ning	12
6. Four Aspects of War	4	39. Military Hospitals.....	4
7. Universal Peace, by David Bogue,		40. Safety of Pacific Principles.....	4
D. D.	12	41. War-prayers	16
8. Military Discipline.....	12	42. Claims of Peace on Women.....	12
9. Erasmus on War	4	43. Solemn Appeal, by William Ladd.....	24
10. Russian Campaign.....	12	44. The Battle-field.....	4
11. Union in Peace	8	45. Inefficacy of War, by Hon. Wil-	
12. Military Preparations.....	4	liam Jay	12
13. Progress of Peace.....	8	46. Militia Drills.....	4
14. Waste of Property in War.....	12	47. United States Navy, by S. E.	
15. Appeal to Cities	4	Cones	8
16. War inconsistent with Christianity		48. Mistakes about Peace	4
by H. Malcom, D. D., LL.D....	8	49. Peace and Government, by Geo.	
17. War Unlawful, by J. J. Gurney.....	12	C. Beckwith, D. D.	8
18. Chalmers on Peace.....	8	50. Criminality of War, by H. Mal-	
19. Chief Evil of War, by Dr. Chan-		com.....	16
ning	4	51. War a Destroyer of Souls.....	8
20. Loss of Life by War	12	52. War and the Hearth	12
21. Witnesses for Peace.	4	53. Plain Sketches of War, by R. P.	
22. Views of War, by Robert Hall....	4	Stebbins, D. D.....	4
23. Early Christians on War, by Thos.		54. Grimke on Peace	12
Clarkson	12	55. War as a Judicial Redress.....	4
24. War Debts of Europe	4	56. War and Missions.....	12
25. Results of One War.....	4	57. Causes of War, by Jonathan Dy-	
26. Neckar on Peace.....	8	mond	8
27. Peace Practicable.....	4	58. Moral Results of War, by J. Dy-	
28. Substitutes for War.....	4	mond.....	8
29. Arbitration as a Substitute for		59. War Unlawful for Christians, by	
War.....	8	J. Dymond.....	24
30. A Congress of Nations.....	24	60. Efficacy of Pacific Principles, by	
31. Extinction of War, by Hon. Josiah		Jonathan Dymond.....	4
Quincy	4	61. Rights of Self-defence, by Jona-	
32. War Unchristian.....	12	than Dymond.....	4
33. Insensibility to the Evils of War,		62. War a Trial by Battle, by Hon.	
by Dr. Channing.....	12	Charles Sumner.....	4
34. Claims of Peace on all Christians.....	12	63. True Grandeur of Nations, by	
35. The only Remedy for War, by Dr.		Hon. Charles Sumner.....	24
Channing.....	4	64. Claims of Peace on Literary Men.....	12
A Sketch of the Cause of Peace	4	How to Aid the Cause of Peace.....	4
A Remedy for War.....	4	Bequests to the Cause of Peace.....	4
Way to Peace.....	4	Peace Themes.....	4
Success in the Cause of Peace.....	8	Funds Necessary in Peace.....	2
Le Monde; or, in Time of Peace pre-		Money a Divine Trust.....	2
pare for War, by Hon. Amasa		Cause of Peace; Why no more accom-	
Walker.....	24	plished	2
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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

JULY AND AUGUST.

CONTENTS.

Peace Question before Ministers.....	293	Encouraging Facts.....	314
Peace not a Failure.....	296	English Attacks on the Peace Cause.....	315
Arguments against Peace.....	297	Peace Societies.....	316
Duty of Ministers to Peace.....	297	How it looks to Outsiders.....	317
Another War Predicted.....	298	War System — What is it?.....	317
Christian Ministers on Peace.....	298	Pugilism and War.....	318
Military Legislators.....	301	German War.....	319
Peacemen for Rulers.....	302	Aristocrats and Ministers favor it.....	320
Chalmers on War.....	302	The People opposed to it.....	320
New Testament on War.....	304	Why they fight.....	320
Church Members in our Armies.....	306	Exhaustion by War.....	321
War brought to Judgment.....	307	Lessons from the German War.....	322
Prussic-Austrian War.....	308	Military Forces of Europe.....	323
Its probable Effects.....	309	Equalization of Soldiers' Bounties.....	324
London Peace Society.....	309	Reconstruction — Difficulties and	
Henry Pease's Remarks.....	310	Perils.....	324
Resolutions.....	310	Writers on Peace.....	324
Speeches.....	311	Radicalism well Defined.....	324
Items from the Report.....	313		

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ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

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THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1866.

PEACE QUESTION BEFORE MASS. MINISTERS.

At the late meeting of Congregational Ministers in Newburyport, I offered, by permission of its business committee, a resolution urging Christians to pray that God would avert the war then threatened in Europe. I made no appeal for the Peace Society, or allusion to it, and used scarce half the "five minutes" allowed me, in simply saying, I had been pained, that, while a portentous war had been for months hanging over Europe, I had heard no mention of it, except once, in public prayer; that, situated as we are, we could reach the case only by prayer, but that in this way it *could* be reached by Christians here as well as by Christians in the Old World; and that a conflict so likely to draw all Europe into its bloody vortex, and whose malign influence was sure to reach, more or less, the whole world, deserved a very special remembrance in our prayers. I said distinctly I pressed *only* this simple request for prayer.

I hastened immediately to fulfil another engagement, and know nothing about the result except what the papers reported. "Dr. Beckwith," says the *Boston Recorder*, July 6, "offered a resolution, recommending earnest prayer, that the calamities and crimes of war in Europe might be prevented. The Moderator, A. H. Quint, left the chair, and *rigorously opposed the resolution*; said the Peace Society was a humbug, and for the last five years had been a living lie, and slanderous towards our soldiers. The resolution was *indefinitely postponed*." The *Congregationalist*, same date, gave a like account:—"Rev. Geo. C. Beckwith, D. D., offered a resolution in regard to the war in Europe, and the duty of Christians there and here to pray for peace. Rev. A. H. Quint opposed it in *strong language*; considered the Peace Society little better than a humbug," said "the Massachusetts General Association had other objects in view than looking after European affairs," and the society made a ridiculous attempt at consistency by

calling our war an enforcement of the laws! The Society slandered the soldiers, and, reckoning up the cost of the war in dollars and cents, put money in the scale against national existence. And further, by hard work, money enough was annually collected to pay the salaries of the officers. He moved the indefinite postponement of the resolution; and his motion prevailed by a *large vote*."

These reports, then, both agree that I said nothing about the Peace Society, but merely urged prayer for the prevention of war in Europe; that "the Moderator left the chair, and *vigorously opposed* the resolution;" and that thereupon the Association voted it down "*by a large vote!*" Such are the facts; and in view of them, I ask whether this action fairly represents the Christians of Massachusetts. Do you deem it reprehensible to ask your prayers for the rescue of a continent from the scandal and woes of war between nearly 100,000,000 reputed Christians?

But how shall we account for this frown upon such a simple, Christian request? All I know is, that I submitted to the business committee two resolutions, *one merely asking prayer, and the other urging such an application of the gospel as would prevent like evils in future*. "The head and front of my offending had this extent—no more." The chairman said he saw nothing objectionable in the first resolution; but, as Mr. Quint had avowed his purpose to oppose the latter, he thought it better not be presented. To avoid all dispute, I abstained from saying a word about the cause of Peace so often and fully commended, not only by this Association in past years, but by ecclesiastical bodies representing nearly all Protestant denominations in the land, and I merely asked Christians to pray that God would avert the war then threatened. Had I supposed it possible for even an ex-chaplain of the army to make, or the Association tamely to tolerate, such an unprovoked attack, I should certainly have remained and claimed my right to make a full reply.

But what excuse was there for this strange refusal of a simple request to pray for peace? It is only fair to let Mr. Quint give his reasons. — 1. *None of our business* — "the Association had other objects in view than looking after European affairs." Is it, then, impertinent and improper to pray for *foreign* countries? Our churches unite once a month to pray for the spread of the gospel all over the earth. Are they wrong in doing this?

2. *Peace a Humbug* — "the Peace Society a humbug, a living lie." — Our specific and sole aim in this reform is such an application of the gospel as shall put an end to war in every Christian land, and wherever the gospel shall go through the world. Is this humbugery? Humbugery to labor in this way for the abolition of war? Humbugery to echo the song of the angels at the birth of the Prince of Peace, to treat Christianity as really a religion of peace, and to believe, or act as if we believed, God's promise, that *under the gospel* "nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more"? A

preacher of the gospel, an ambassador of the Prince of Peace, a Christian pastor in Massachusetts, sneer at this as humbugery!! Some of the greatest and best men have believed in this very humbugery — such men as Erasmus, and Wickliff, and Bogue, and Joseph John Gurney, and Dymond, and Chalmers, and Robert Hall, and Richard Cobden in the Old World; and in the New such men as President Dwight, and Worcester, and Channing, and Payson, and Ladd, and Grimkee, and Wayland, and President Nott, and Bishop Potter, and Judge Jay, and Charles Sumner, and Dewey, and Prof. Peabody, and a host of such men as these. But Rev. Mr. Quint *says* peace is a humbug! Who is this war-chaplain that he thus sets himself against the Christian world?

Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed,
That he is grown so great?

3. But 'the Peace Society made itself ridiculous by calling our war an enforcement of the laws!' — So did our government and all our people, except rebels and their sympathizers, treat it from first to last; but if it was *not* "an enforcement of the laws," what was it? Was it a mere outburst of war-passion, malice and vengeance? Did we sacrifice half a million lives, and six or eight thousand millions of property for any *other* purpose than "an enforcement of the laws"?

4. *But in trying to do away the custom of war, we show its evils.* We have "reckoned up the cost of the war in dollars and cents." — In what other way can we dissuade men from a wrong custom *except* by showing its evils? Good men in England sought to abolish slavery by "reckoning up" its evils, and in this country the friends of Freedom and Temperance have labored by like means to do away slavery and intemperance. Do you deem them wrong in this? Mr. Quint seems to think it wrong to "reckon up the cost of enforcing the laws" against our rebels; but our government is now doing this every month, and our people will *have* to do it I know not for how many ages to come.

5. We are charged with "slandering our soldiers." — We deny the charge; and Mr. Quint brings nothing to prove it. So far from "slandering our soldiers," we have supposed them unusually free from the vices and crimes inseparable from war. We have copied to their discredit the merest fraction of what we found current in *loyal* papers. The chief responsibility for war rests not with soldiers; they are to be pitied as its tools and victims.

What Mr. Quint says about the Society's finances can deserve little notice, especially as it betrays so much ignorance of its affairs. Its income has averaged, the last "four or five years," less than \$3,000 a year; and out of this have come the expenses of keeping an office, of stereotyping tracts, of circulating them by thousands, and of publishing a periodical of which we have sometimes issued about 6,000 copies bi-monthly. If our friends wish to learn (see annual reports) how much is left "to pay the salaries of officers," we shall be ready with pleasure to show them.

Such, then, are Mr. Quint's reasons; but if they were all true, I see not why Christians should refuse to pray for peace. How far the Association reasoned with him, I cannot say; I only know that after hearing his tirade, they refused, "by a large vote," my request of prayer for the peace of Europe!! I shall be slow to believe that such a vote fairly represents the Christianity of Massachusetts; but if it does, there surely must be much occasion among ourselves for efforts in the cause of peace.

GEO. C. BECKWITH.

Boston, July 14, 1866.

PEACE NOT A FAILURE. — We find on this point some strange modes of reasoning. Well does the London *Herald of Peace* say, "There are many who seem to think it a conclusive demonstration of the folly and futility of having such a society as ours, that we have not yet succeeded, after fifty years' labors, in abolishing war. They point to the march and muster of opposing armies, beneath whose tramp the Continent now trembles, with a sort of chuckling exultation, as if the pleasure of triumphing over the Peace Society was a sufficient compensation to them for the unspeakably mournful character of such a spectacle, and they exclaim 'See there! That is the state of things which still prevails, instead of your promised millennium of peace.' To which we answer, first, that we never *have* promised a millennium of peace to be brought about suddenly or speedily. This is one of those pieces of argumentative disingenuousness with which every unpopular cause has to contend, — to ascribe to its advocates extravagant views or expectations which they have never themselves cherished or announced, and thence to infer the absurdity of the whole thing. But on this point we can say, very confidently, that, whoever else may have been deceived as to the extent and malignity of the evil with which those have to contend who oppose war, and the enormous difficulty of eradicating that evil, the members of the Peace Society have never been so deceived. They have had to look it too frequently in the face, and to feel how formidable its strength is, to be able to cherish any illusions on the subject. But they still believe, on authority which is to them beyond all question, that 'war *shall* cease to the ends of the earth,' that its ultimate doom has been pronounced by Him who cannot lie. They believe, moreover, that whatever is matter of promise on the part of God, *ought* to be matter of prayer and effort on the part of those who trust in his truth. They believe, further, that a beginning must be made sometime and by somebody in the assault on every form of evil before it can be removed from the earth; and they are willing to be the forlorn hope in this first assault upon the custom of war, not expecting to attain full success in their time, but willing to fall in the breach, so that ultimately God's soldiers may, if need be, march over their dead bodies to victory.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST PEACE DISINGENUOUS AND INCONSISTENT.—

It is curious to observe how men will admit an argument against a cause to which they are opposed, or in which they feel no interest, that would be deemed by them utterly futile and absurd, if directed against any project they favored. They accept the comparative smallness of the success which has attended the operations of the Peace Society as evidence of its uselessness; but if you applied the same method of arguing to demonstrate the folly of attempting, for instance, to convert the heathen world to Christianity, they would reject it peremptorily. For fifty years, it may be said, a dozen or more Missionary Societies have been engaged in this work; but they have scarcely done more than touch the margin of that huge continent of darkness and sin, over which the power of error and superstition still reigns supreme. What's the use, then, of wasting time and money and human life on such unremunerative labor?

The answer that is usually given, and that is deemed sufficient, to these suggestions of a calculating and faithless worldly wisdom is this: first, that God has commanded us to preach the gospel to every creature, and that he ought to be obeyed; secondly, that God has promised that the earth shall be filled with his glory, and that therefore we ought to be encouraged. But are the command to follow the things that make for peace, and the promise that under the reign of the Messiah there *shall* be abundance of peace so long as the sun and moon endure, less explicit than those to which we have just referred? And because fifty years of effort on the part of a body composed of a mere fragment of the professed Christian Church, has not yet overthrown the gigantic structure of warlike custom, deeply imbedded in the prejudices and habits of four thousand years, must we therefore infer that no good has been done, and that it would be best at once to desist from the effort, and leave the torrent of human passion to roll on unchecked?—*Herald of Peace.*

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DONE FOR PEACE.—If all the ministers and members of the Christian churches of this and other lands had acted in favor of Peace only for the last fifty years as the members of the Peace Society have done; if, instead of glorifying war as some of them have done, and defending it as others of them have done, and apologizing for it as a third class of them have done, they had joined their voices in emphatic condemnation of the system as a scourge to humanity, a scandal to the Christian name, and an insult to the common Father who hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth; if, instead of objecting or ridiculing, or standing aloof in cold indifference, they had earnestly united their efforts with ours to put the practice of appealing to the sword under the ban of the opinion of the Christian world, and to substitute some more rational method of settling international disputes than by the umpirage of brute force, can we believe that the deplorable and disgusting spectacle at this moment witnessed in Europe, would have been possible?—*Id.*

ANOTHER WAR PREDICTED. — It seems that General Sherman forebodes even a worse war than the one we have lately closed. In a bit of speech to the students at New Haven, Conn., in July, he said, "*I tell you that before you pass from the stage there will be fighting in comparison with which mine will seem slight.*"

Such is the warrior's prediction; and how shall we prepare for it? Shall we train our whole people, North and South, East and West, in the spirit, principles and habits of peace, or in those of war? Which is the best, the cheapest, the surest way to avert the evil we so much dread? Let us see what common sense would prescribe in similar cases. If you wished to prevent sudden and frequent bloodshed in the intercourse of society, would you have men all go armed to the teeth with revolvers and bowie-knives? Our laws all forbid this. To prevent duels, would you train all young men to become expert and fatal duelists, and be ready on every provocation to kill his man? No; you would form a public opinion that would put the whole practice under ban. Why not, then, apply this common sense to the question of peace and war? Why not prepare *against* war by training the whole community in such principles and habits as would with moral certainty *prevent* war? Will common sense *never* be allowed on this subject?

CHRISTIAN MINISTERS ON PEACE:

IN WHAT WAYS THEY CAN AID THE CAUSE.

THERE are many ways in which the ministers of Christ can easily render most essential service to the cause of peace; but, in this case, as in every other, they must, of course, qualify themselves for the work. They must take a deep interest in it, as an element of the gospel, and a part of the instrumentalities requisite for the world's conversion. They must imbue their own minds with the spirit of peace, and study the Bible until their views are fully settled on the subject.

No wonder at the apathy of ministers who pay no attention to this cause. Can we expect them to preach or converse upon a subject they do not understand? Can they understand what they have never examined? Will they plead for an object whose importance they never felt, or labor for a cause they neither value nor love? Here is the explanation of nearly all that indifference about the cause of peace which is so disgraceful to many a reputed minister of Christ. They do not understand it! And will they ever understand this or any other subject without examination? Their views are not settled upon it! And do they expect or desire to settle them without inquiry? But they do not feel a sufficient interest! And are they to acquire such an interest by continuing to neglect the whole subject? How did you become a friend, an advocate, a champion of the temperance or the missionary cause? You read, you conversed, you reflected, you prayed, you wrought it into your very soul, and made it a part of yourself. Do the same for the cause of peace, and you will ere long have such views of

its importance, such a conviction of its claims, such strong desires for its success, as will never let you sleep over it again.

Numberless are the ways in which ministers might serve this cause. They might introduce the subject into seminaries of learning, ecclesiastical bodies, and religious publications. These are the great centres of moral influence; and the main-springs at work here are mostly in the hands of Christian ministers, and might be so wielded as ere long to exorcise the war-spirit from all Christendom. Our seminaries are nearly all under their management or influence; and they might, if they would, make every one of them a nursery of peace to train up a generation of peacemakers. Some associations of ministers have discussed this subject for days in succession; many have passed strong resolves in favor of the cause; and, if thus examined and recommended by all ecclesiastical bodies, its influence would come ere long to leaven the whole community. The religious press, an engine of vast and increasing power, is mainly under their control; and, if they would employ it in the diffusion of pacific influences only as much as they have done in some other departments of benevolence and reform, we should soon witness in all reading communities a marked change of opinion and feeling on this subject. The press has already lent us important aid; and, if well-qualified friends of peace could be found in the vicinity of these great moral laboratories to furnish able, popular articles on the subject, we should hope that nearly every religious paper in the land would cheerfully open its columns. But on whom shall we rely for such aid? Few but ministers will or can render it; and earnestly do we hope they will ere long make every religious, if not every secular periodical in Christendom teem with appeals in behalf of this cause.

The pulpit, however, is our chief ally; and fain would we press all its incumbents into zealous co-operation. They ought to preach peace, not as a mere result of Christianity, but as one of its grand elements; not as one of its twigs or leaves, but as a portion of its very root and trunk. So did our Saviour preach; and his ministers, in imitation of such an example, should enforce the principles of peace as faithfully as they do repentance or faith.

How this can best be done, every preacher must determine for himself; but the subject is so imperfectly understood, and yet so important in its principles, connections and bearings, that we think an entire discourse should be devoted to each of its main points, and others be introduced into sermons on ordinary subjects by way of illustration and inference. Passing allusions and incidental remarks alone will never suffice. There must be thorough discussion; a full, distinct exposition of principles; a clear, forcible, spirit-stirring exhibition of the whole subject. The aspects of this cause are sufficiently various, important, and interesting to furnish all the subjects a preacher can ask. While some of these will call for extended discussion, a great variety of common topics will be found by an intelligent, wakeful friend of peace to admit and even require an incidental application to the cause; and we know of no way more likely to correct misconception, to eradicate error, and

establish truth. In neither case could a subject so prominent in the instructions of our Saviour, be thrust, as if it were a theme unfit for the Sabbath, into a fast or a thanksgiving. Some of its secular aspects should be presented on such occasions; but the main points, being strictly and highly evangelical, ought to be discussed, like any other part of the gospel, during the ordinary services of the sanctuary.

But ministers should not stop with the instructions of the pulpit. They can often weave this subject into lectures before a Bible-class, into exhortations in the conference-room, into reports or addresses at the monthly concert, into exercises at other religious meetings, into their daily interviews with their people from house to house. There is need of reiterated inculcation; and they should lose no favorable opportunity of calling attention to this long-forgotten part of the gospel.

It may, also, be well for every pastor to procure from his church an expression of their views on this subject. They now stand before the world as abettors of the war-system; and it surely becomes them forthwith to inquire how much longer they will remain in a predicament so disreputable to their profession as followers of the Prince of Peace. For ages have Christians, as a body, lent their countenance to this custom; and in vain will you search through fifteen centuries for the record of a single testimony borne by the Church of Christ, as a whole, against this foulest of all libels on her character. We are held responsible, more or less, for the abominations of war among ourselves; and, if we would wash our hands from its pollution and blood, we must publish our belief of its utter incompatibility with our religion. Are the members of a church unprepared for such an avowal? Then let the pastor make haste to spread before them all the light requisite for an intelligent decision; and, when they are duly prepared, let him procure a formal expression of their views, and see that it is entered on their records, and published to the world. Can any church do less than this, and be faithful to the Prince of Peace?

Especially should pastors encourage prayer for the universal prevalence of peace. They could easily train the church to remember this cause in the closet, around the family altar, at the monthly concert, in the social meeting, in the house of God.. And is it too much to ask from Christians a general concert of prayer once a year for the spread of peace through the world? It will depend on the pastor to say whether such a concert shall be well attended, or even observed at all. He might, by a discourse on the Sabbath preceding, and by statements at the meeting, give it an interest sufficient to call out large numbers. He might breathe through his whole church a spirit of prayer as habitual and as earnest for this as for any other object. Such prayer is just as indispensable to the peace as to the conversion of the world.

Still more do we need the pastor's influence in procuring funds. If he objects, or is only indifferent, we can expect little aid from his people; but, confiding in his judgment, they will seldom, if ever, refuse their contributions to an object properly introduced and recommended by him. We depend entirely on the liberality of the Christian com-

munity; and we look mainly to the spontaneous co-operation of pastors for that pecuniary aid which is just as necessary for this cause as for that of missions. Not that we need as much money; but we must have, in order to full success, far more than most persons suppose. We must send forth lecturers, and support agencies, and scatter popular books, and tracts, and periodicals through the length and breadth of the land; and to sustain such a system of indispensable means with vigor, would require not less than \$50,000 a year, — ten times more than the friends of peace in our country have hitherto contributed. No cause ever did, none ever can succeed fully without more means. Howard expended from his own purse an average of nearly \$10,000 a year, for sixteen years, in the comparatively trivial cause of Prison Discipline; the State Temperance Society of New York once raised, in a single year, about \$40,000; the Anti-Slavery movement in this country once occasioned an annual expenditure of more than \$100,000; and is the Peace Reform, the most magnificent and arduous of them all, to be accomplished with the paltry sum of three or four thousand dollars a year? It is vain to hope for decisive success without a large increase of funds; and the Christian community should no longer delay their arrangements to support this cause as they do other benevolent enterprises.

In many other ways could ministers easily aid us; but a heartfelt interest in the cause would be the best suggester of means and methods. They can lend it their countenance on all proper occasions; they can start and guide inquiries concerning it; they can introduce the subject into lyceums for dissertation and debate; they can circulate publications on peace among their people; they can, in a thousand ways, scatter light, awaken interest, and give the cause favor and currency through the community.

MILITARY LEGISLATORS. — We read with surprise that more than half the present members of the British House of Commons are either military officers, or so connected in life with the army or the navy as to make them personally interested in voting large expenditures for war purposes. In the House are "4 generals, 9 major-generals, 5 vice and rear admirals, 16 colonels, 62 lieut.-colonels, 28 majors, 66 captains, 22 lieutenants, 8 cornets and ensigns, 7 paymasters and other officials, making no less than 238 persons who are directly connected with some form of military service, and therefore personally interested in promoting a large military expenditure. If to these be added the large numbers who have near relations — fathers, sons, sons-in-law, brothers and cousins — in some branch of the services, it would be found that much more than one-half, probably more than three-fourths of the House of Commons, are implicated by interest or sympathy in the maintenance of the war-system. Need we wonder, under these circumstances, that our war expenditure should amount to more than £3,000 (\$15,000) for every hour, day and night, throughout?"

CHOOSING PEACEMEN FOR RULERS. — We are not aware that any of our own elections, state or national, have ever turned, even in a time of war, upon the single question of favoring or opposing a warlike policy. Sooner or later, however, this must become a leading issue here; and we trust the community will, in season, be trained to meet it aright and with success.

In the late election of members for the House of Commons, our English co-workers set an excellent example. In England, as all over Europe, the war-system is the great, well-nigh all-absorbing question; and the friends of peace seized the occasion to catechize candidates for Parliament on such practical issues as the following: —

“1. Whether they were in favor of referring any matters of dispute that may arise between our own and other countries, and especially those now pending between our Government and that of the United States, to arbitration, in accordance with the recommendation of the Congress of Paris in 1856. — 2. Whether they would support an arrangement such as had been advocated by Sir Robert Peel, Mr. D’Israeli, Mr. Cobden, and other eminent public men, for entering into negotiations with other Governments for a mutual and simultaneous reduction of armaments? — 3. Whether they would support a policy of strict neutrality and non-intervention on the part of this country as respects the quarrels of other states? These suggestions were acted upon by some of our friends with promptitude and courage, and with encouraging results. It is much to be regretted, however, that the electors generally do not more carefully scrutinize the character of those whom they elect, with reference to such momentous questions as these.” — *Herald of Peace*.

CHALMERS ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF WAR.

LET us just take a direct look of war, and, see whether we can find its character engraved on the aspect it bears to the eye of an attentive observer. The stoutest heart would recoil, were he who owns it to behold the destruction of a single individual by some deed of violence. Were the man who at this moment stands before you in the full play and energy of health, to be in another moment laid by some deadly aim a lifeless corpse at your feet, there is not one of you who would not prove how strong are the relents of nature at a spectacle so hideous as death. There are some of you who would be haunted for whole days by the image of horror you had witnessed — who would feel the weight of a most oppressive sensation upon your heart, which nothing but time could wear away — who would be so pursued by it as to be unfit for business or for enjoyment — who would think of it through the day, and it would spread a gloomy disquietude over your waking moments — who would dream of it at night, and it would turn that bed which you courted as a retreat from the torments of an ever-meddling memory, into a scene of restlessness.

Oh! my brother, if there be something appalling in the suddenness of death, think not that when gradual in its advances, you will alleviate the horrors of this sickening contemplation by viewing it in a milder form. Oh! tell me, if there be any relentings of pity in your bosom, how could you endure it, to behold the agonies of the dying man, as goaded by pain, he grasps the cold ground in convulsive energy, or faint with the loss of blood, his pulse ebbs low, and the gathering paleness spreads itself over his countenance; or wrapping himself round in despair, he can only mark by a few feeble quiverings, that life still lurks and lingers in his lacerated body; or lifting up a faded eye, he casts on you a look of imploring helplessness for that succor which no sympathy can yield him.

It may be painful to dwell on such a representation; but this is the way in which the cause of humanity is served. The eye of the sentimentalist turns away from its sufferings, and he passes by on the other side, lest he hear that pleading voice which is armed with a tone of remonstrance so vigorous as to disturb him. He cannot bear thus to pause in imagination, on the distressing picture of one individual; but multiply it ten thousand times; say how much of all this distress has been heaped together upon a single field; give us the arithmetic of this accumulated wretchedness, and lay it before us with all the accuracy of an official computation; and, strange to tell, not one sigh is lifted up among the crowd of eager listeners, as they stand on tiptoe, and catch every syllable of utterance which is read to them out of the registers of death. Oh! say, what mystic spell is that which so blinds us to the sufferings of our brethren; which deafens our ear to the voice of bleeding humanity, when it is aggravated by the shriek of dying thousands; which makes the very magnitude of the slaughter throw a softening disguise over its cruelties and its horrors; which causes us to eye with indifference the field that is crowded with the most revolting abominations, and arrests that sigh which each individual would singly have drawn from us, by the report of the many who have fallen, and breathed their last in agony along with them.

I am not saying that the burden of all this criminality rests upon the head of the immediate combatants; but it does lie somewhere; and when I think that the Christians, even of the great world, form but a very little flock, and that an army is not a propitious soil for the growth of Christian principle — when I think on the character of one such army that had been led on for years by a ruffian ambition, and been inured to scenes of barbarity, and had gathered a most ferocious hardihood of soul from the many enterprises of violence to which an unprincipled commander had carried them — when I follow them to the field of battle, and further think that on both sides of an exasperated contest, the gentleness of Christianity can have no place in almost any bosom, but that nearly every heart is lighted up with fury, and breathes a vindictive purpose against a brother of the species, I cannot but reckon it among the most fearful of the calamities of war, that while the work of death is thickening along its ranks, so many disem-

bodied spirits should pass into the presence of Him who sitteth upon the throne; in such a posture, and with such a preparation.

I have no time to set before you a vivid picture of the other miseries which war carries in its train — how it desolates every country through which it rolls, and spreads violation and alarm among its villages — how, at its approach, every home pours forth its trembling fugitives — how all the rights of property, and all the provisions of justice must give way before its devouring exactions — how when Sabbath comes, no Sabbath charm comes along with it, and for the sound of the church bell which wont to spread its music over some fine landscape of nature, and summon rustic worshippers to the house of prayer, nothing is heard but the deathful volleys of the battle, and the maddening outcry of infuriated men — how, as the fruit of victory, an unprincipled licentiousness which no discipline can restrain, is suffered to walk at large among the people, and all that is pure, and reverend, and holy in the virtue of families, is cruelly trampled on, and held in the bitterest derision.

THE NEW TESTAMENT ON WAR.

IN a former number we inquired whether the Old Testament inculcates war, and reached the conclusion that it offers no license for modern wars under the gospel. We now ask whether the New Testament justifies the custom. Did Christ or his inspired apostles, directly or indirectly, enjoin, sanction or tolerate it by their teaching or their example?

As in the former case, we considered the nation of Israel the medium or instrumentality by which God manifested his power and universal dominion to surrounding nations, so we shall view the Church as the appointed medium by which to demonstrate his moral perfections to the world. In accordance with such design, says an apostle, "Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty." Yet of the Church the Scripture saith, — "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light." 1 Pet. ii. 9. Not a secular theocracy as was the old dispensation, but a kingdom, independent of earthly dignitaries, made personally and directly amenable to the one great King seated on the "holy hill of Zion," and constituted "Prince of the kings of the earth;" not as a warrior, but as a moral ruler.

Here I shall take it for granted that the general teachings of the gospel are in contrast to the maxims and practice of war. "Overcome evil with good," is its spirit. Witness the Sermon on the Mount, uttered when Christ entered on his ministry, as the fundamental law of his kingdom.

Now, while the truth of all this may be conceded, the question may be raised, are there not certain passages in the New Testament which, rightly understood, make it our duty in certain exigencies to engage in war? Such are Matt. xxii. 21; Luke xxii. 36; Romans xiii. 1-7; 1 Pet. 13-17, and like passages. Though so often quoted as an incidental, implicit endorsement or tolerance of war, we shall find, on examining their original intent, that they imply no such duty. In Matthew (xxii. 21), Christ said in relation to tribute-paying, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." To understand in this passage the claims of Cæsar and of God as conjoined, I think a direct subversion of its meaning. It was uttered in reply to the question, "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?" This was asked by a deputation from the Pharisees and Herodians to entangle him, both classes regarding the payment of tribute to Cæsar as virtually conceding allegiance to the heathen deity from whom Cæsar claimed his authority, while one class condemned and the other justified such an act. Christ first called for a sample of the tribute-money, and, noticing its relation to Cæsar, marked the obvious distinction between the money and sacred homage. Hence his conclusion, "Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Thus defeated, "they marvelled, and went their way."

The passage in Luke (xxii. 36), "Let him that hath no sword, sell his garment and buy one," cannot have been intended to teach his disciples war. His preface in the previous verse would seem to preclude such an idea. When he answered at the presentation of two swords, found perhaps in the large room where they were, "it is enough," this would corroborate the same thought. But the twenty-seventh verse puts the design beyond all doubt. It was to fulfil one of those prophetic indices which pointed him out as the Messiah, and no more affords an example for the imitation of his disciples and followers than his riding into Jerusalem on an ass colt affords an example for imitation.

Nor can we conceive that passages quoted from Paul and Peter, so clothe civil governments with divine authority as to make it the duty of their subjects to render obedience even in war. If we bear in mind that at that period all the governments of the earth claimed authority from some superhuman source, and the people conceded such claim as the ground of obedience, and remember also that all approaches to paganism were at this period abhorrent to a Jew, and to all who revered the one living and true God, we shall not be surprised at the strength of language used by the apostles to relieve the Christians of their times from conscientious scruples about obedience to pagan magistrates. The language is no stronger than is found in the same epistles relative to the duty of servants who were under the yoke; nor does it impart divine authority to magistrates more than to masters. The obvious design in both cases was to secure in the disciples the exemplification of that pacific character which is peculiar to Christianity.

The expressions in Romans, 'there is no power but of God, he is the minister of God, he beareth not the sword in vain,' were undoubtedly intended to hold at bay the idea that Jupiter or any pagan deity had any agency in the matter.

Where, then, does the New Testament enjoin or license war? Is such license found in the enjoined obligations of man to his family and his fellows? The reverse of this is the fact. Christ taught that Jews and Samaritans were neighbors in view of the moral law. If so, the world is at this day one neighborhood. Is war, the war-system, the guardian of society? Look at our own case. What has so far palsied the arm of our civil government, the legitimate protector of our rights, that it inflicts no penalty even on the prime actors of that rebellion which has so multiplied our woes? Is it not their success in war?

Can rage for plunder make a god,
And bloodshed wash out every other stain? YOUNG.

While civil government, as corroborated by the Bible, is a combination of self-government and of self-governing power, war and the war-system are the protectors of usurpation, and the instruments of despotic oppression.

How, then, can Christians justify war? It is sheer murder in view of the moral law, and can find no justification from Scripture. Christians sustain war? It was not so during the first four centuries of the Christian Church. It will not be so when "the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the tops of the mountains, and exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it." But now Christian nations, which ought by their example to allure the world, are by their war-character, as combined with their Christianity, a terror, an abhorrence, and a mockery to the Jew, the Mohammedan and the Pagan. Can we wonder that Ishmael should mock at the son of promise in his inconsistencies? No wonder the Jew, the Pagan and the Mohammedan look with surprise and scorn on the attempts of professed Christians to reconcile their war-practice with their religion of peace. Well may we apply the language and the exhortation to the Gallatians, "Cast out the bond-woman and her son; for the son of the bond-woman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman." But, "brethren, we are not children of the bond-woman, but of the free." B.

CHURCH-MEMBERS IN THE UNION ARMIES.—It seems, from careful statistics, that of 500 Congregational churches alone at the West, more than one quarter of their male members served in the army, among whom were 61 ministers and other church officers. An average of one in six died in the service. Thus the war *more* than decimated the churches of the West! What lesson will they learn from this fearful experience? If one man in six, or one dollar in six, were devoted, in the spirit of the early Christians, to the work of the world's evangelization, how long ere every hamlet on the globe would be reached with the gospel, and made vocal with songs of peace and redeeming love?

WAR BROUGHT TO JUDGMENT.

As I was once reflecting on the awful calamities of war, the extent of its devastations, the cruelties it inflicts, the sorrows it occasions, its depravation of morals, the wickedness of its camps, the ghastly scenes presented on its battle-fields, and the glaring incongruity between the war-system and the teachings of Jesus, a strange vision came over my mind.

I imagined myself before the judgment-seat of Christ, whither all were gathered to give account of the deeds done in the body. Near the judgment-seat, I saw engraved the teachings of Jesus, and those of his servants, sent forth to guide men through their pilgrimage on earth. "The dead were judged out of those things that were written in the books, according to their works." And among them I saw the words, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. * And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. I say unto you love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." I saw also the words by angels sung, when Jesus, the Prince of Peace, came into the world, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will towards men!"

Before the judgment-seat, were brought the children of men, each to "receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." Among them came an old man, a Christian; and two came with him, whom he had lead to Jesus. And with meekness of spirit, the aged patriarch knelt before the judgment-seat, saying, "Here am I, Lord, and those thou hast given me." Then were upraised the voices in song of the angelic bands, praising the name of Jesus, as they rejoiced at the faithfulness of his servant.

Now another visitant comes upon the scene, one whose presence inspires horror among the angelic hosts, and by his baleful, malignant look, I knew him to be the great Accuser of the saints of the Most High. With him came two others, of crouching form and dejected look, servants of his own. No angels rejoiced at their coming, for they were defiled with sin. Turning to the aged servant of Christ, the great Accuser addressed him, saying, "Didst thou lead *those* to Jesus? With thy sword in the days of thy strength thou didst send *these* to me; and they are *mine*. Who now shall rejoice at the good deeds thou hast done?" So saying, he hurried away with his victims to the regions of endless night.

After this, another vision came to my mind. Before the judgment-seat, in a long line, lay the wrecks of battle; there lay the slain in their gore. Upward stared hideous eyes, motionless in their sockets. Scattered about were heads, arms and legs, severed from their trunks. The wounded were there, some dying, all suffering, with mangled

bodies; some groaning, some shrieking, some cursing and blaspheming. Far in the distance I saw the conflagration, and women and children fleeing before the flames. On each side of these wrecks of humanity, stood, each facing the other, the marshalled ranks of war, in all their brilliancy and glory. There flashed the sword; there gleamed the bayonet; and there gaped the cannon, ready to send its iron hail through the serried ranks of human flesh. There, too, was the ambitious soldier, impatient to force his bloody way to glory! Back of all these, on each side, were gathered the people of Christian nations, old men leaning on their staves, tender women, ambassadors, and servants of the Prince of Peace, together with a mixed multitude, crying, "Shoot them? Pour death into their ranks, and maintain the glory of our nation!"

Reader, how will the spirit and practice of war appear before the real judgment-seat of Christ?

LUCIAN.

THE PRUSSIC-AUSTRIAN WAR—ITS RISE AND SUICIDAL FOLLY.

WE have no distrust of moral power, said the London Non-Conformist, May 23, 1866, when it is frankly appealed to in the adjustment of quarrels whether between individuals or nations; the misfortune is that the appeal is generally made when it is least likely to be responded to. The physician is not called in till hope has all but vanished. Three months ago, a Congress of European Powers might have met to some purpose. Three years ago, or something less, when the Emperor of the French, in view of the possibilities of discord, proposed to dispose of the visible causes of war by peaceful conference and negotiation, a Congress might have led to useful results. It is not certain that it will not do so now. It is probable that the neutral Powers really desire to arrive at a pacific solution of pending difficulties; but it is extremely doubtful whether the proposed Congress will ever meet, and unlikely to the last degree, that, should it meet, it will be able to avert the horrors of the impending catastrophe.

Prussia initiated the present danger, and Prussia is now most keenly alive to it. An unscrupulous Minister, and a childish, infatuated King, agreed to snatch at a territorial gain over the head of international law and morality. The idea was that Austria, who was in difficulties, and who had already yielded much to her accomplice in violence, might easily be scared into the surrender (for a consideration) of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. Knave and fool combined to frighten where they had no serious intention to coerce, and were caught in their own trap. Austria turned round in a fit of impatience, brought on by many a previous humiliation, and, "toeing the mark," gave notice to her persecutors that she would not retire another inch. Count Bismark and his King William—*ego et rex meus*—thereupon launched out into blustering words, and, half suspecting that these

might not serve the turn, courted alliance with Austria's most deadly foe. Italy, on the watch for Venetia, saw her chance, took the proffered hand of Prussia, and instantly began to make effective preparations for hostilities on a grand scale. Still, Austria, taking counsel of her despair, disdained to give way in the least to ill-suppressed menace. Considering herself driven to bay, she has set her back against the wall, and means to fight against any odds. She may ruin herself, but she is intent on dragging down her antagonist in her last grapple. Prussia did not calculate on this; and, above all, the Prussian King did not calculate upon being condemned by the vast majority of his own subjects for grasping at an additional province at the expense of a fratricidal war.

SOME OF ITS PROBABLE EFFECTS. — The Continental Powers would do the wisest thing imaginable for themselves if they could make the necessary sacrifices for averting the anticipated conflict. That, should war come, it will be a fearful struggle, it wants not the eye of a seer to discern. The first stress of it will bear hard upon the peoples, upon commerce, upon agriculture, upon intellectual culture, upon social refinement, upon the earthly blessings which they best appreciate. But waste of life and treasure, the terrors of military conscription pushed to the utmost, grinding taxation and utter loss of trade, will tend to couch the filmed eyes of multitudes of people, who will be driven to ask whether Europe does not suffer more than she gains from the ambition, the presumption and the obstinacy of her royal houses, and whether her international difficulties are not principally dynastic in their origin. An exhausting war will not give increased stability to thrones, especially to such thrones as now cover the Continent. The talk is of altering the map of Europe. Perhaps, as one consequence of a long and desolating war, something more than the map will undergo alteration, and the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns, and other kingly houses, will find themselves in the novel position of being compelled to secure their respective crowns by doing homage to political virtue, and recognizing with due respect the rights of their fellow-men and subjects. Surely out of the almost boundless waste which war will occasion, some compensatory good will spring up.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

THE Society held its Fiftieth Anniversary, May 22d, HENRY PEASE, M. P., in the chair. Its report shows a steady and zealous, but not specially marked progress; — the usual number of lecturers in the field; a somewhat increased circulation of peace publications; a more hopeful sensibility of the public mind on the subject than at any time since the Crimean war; and an income very well sustained; the total receipts £2,300 or \$11,500. We see that the society is wont to keep its treasury full *in advance*, and this year it reports in its treasury a balance of more than \$3,000. When will the friends of peace in our country come up to this example?

REMARKS OF THE CHAIRMAN. — It would seem that this society was founded about the time when a most desolating war was about to close; and now that it has arrived at the fiftieth anniversary, a war perhaps even worse than that seems about to open upon Europe. These surely are not circumstances in which the society should die. Its foundations were laid eighteen hundred years ago in the gospel of peace; and, as long as its members are convinced of that fact, they must remain steadfast to their principles, until it shall please the beneficent Ruler of all things that the principles of our religion shall so far take possession of the minds of men that a society like this shall be superfluous and unnecessary. That is a period to which all Christians should look forward. The principle of peace is one of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion; but it has been maintained by an isolated body of Christians, rather than treated by Christians generally as a grand and distinguishing feature of their religion.

I believe, however, there is encouragement in the fact that the principles of the society have made considerable progress during the last fifty years. Such circumstances as those which have recently transpired between England and America would probably have led to a war between these two nations fifty years ago. I will not say that the improvement is due entirely to the operations of the society; but it is impossible to believe that the truths it has diffused have not permeated the public mind, and helped to leaven the whole lump. There was never a period in the history of this country when there was such a determination on the part of the people that their rulers shall not be allowed to involve them in European conflicts. I believe there is always in the minds of our rulers a strong, legitimate, constitutional reference to the desire of the people at large; and there is unquestionably in the minds of the English people a determined abhorrence of meddling with affairs which do not belong to them.

It is a high privilege for the Peace Society to recommend the doctrine of "Peace and good-will to men" all over the world. It matters not who may deride them. We know we have truth and almighty power on our side; and although we may have to hide our time, and endure the sneers of the would-be wise of this world, I count it a privilege to have our intelligence so far quickened as to grasp those great principles which it is the object of the society to promote. I believe it will never die till it shall be supervened by the true principles of peace, and the whole earth filled with the gospel of Christ.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED. — That this meeting congratulates the Peace Society on having attained the fiftieth year of its history; and, whilst acknowledging that the present state of the world furnishes too abundant and melancholy proof of the power which the war-spirit still exercises over the hearts of men and the policy of nations, it cannot but express its conviction that in the altered tone of feeling on the subject of war which prevails in this and other countries, and in the increasing disposition displayed, both by governments and peoples, to adopt some of the practical measures for which the friends of peace have so long and so earnestly contended, — such as non-intervention, arbitration as a substitute for war, and a congress of nations for the adjustment of international differences, — there are encouraging indications that the labors of the Peace Society have not been in vain; and this meeting regards the arrival of the first jubilee of the society as a peculiarly fitting time for the public to evince, by some special pecuniary effort, their sense of the importance of the labors of the Peace Society, and their desire practically to aid in giving wider scope and effect to these labors.

That this meeting regards the present state of Central Europe as furnishing a signal illustration of the folly and danger of that armed rivalry among nations which, under the pretence of preventing war, is a perpetual menace to peace; whilst it no less emphatically proclaims the urgent necessity that exists for some system of international jurisdiction by which the differences of states could be referred to some wiser arbitrament than that of the sword.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES. — REV. HUGH STOWELL BROWN. — Since war is exceedingly costly, and very injurious to the interests of civilization, it may well be objected to on purely secular grounds; for whatever a man's religious beliefs may be, or whether he has any religious belief or not, he can find many good reasons for objecting to war, and pleading the interests of peace. I am here, however, as a minister of the Christian religion, and in this capacity alone I wish to speak on the present occasion; and it would be a monstrous shame for me, if, as a minister of the Christian religion, I had not at this time arrived at something like decided and determined opinions as to the bearing of the Christian religion upon this great, all-important question.

Now, from the fact that Christian nations do not hesitate to engage in war; from the fact that they generally conduct their wars with something like a positive recognition of Christianity, appointing chaplains for their forces, invoking the divine blessing upon their arms, holding days of fasting and humiliation if they are defeated, and services of thanksgiving if they prove victorious; from the fact that amongst our soldiers there are many men whose true, deep, devout, personal Christianity it would be the height of uncharitableness for any one to call in question; and from the further fact that, when a war breaks out, ministers of religion of various denominations fan the war-spirit, not in the interest of war, but in the interest of patriotism, or of freedom, or, it may be, in the interest of despotism, — from all these facts it may really be inferred that there is nothing in the Christian religion distinctly opposed to war; that Christianity, no more than Mohammedanism, the religion of England and America no more than the religion of China and Japan, is at all opposed to war, or has any principles in it that are peculiarly favorable to peace.

Now, my friends, there are a great number of inconsistencies in this world of ours; but I really do not know of one so startling or barefaced as the inconsistency which we see when people professing the religion of Jesus Christ engage in war, or prepare to defend war, or connive at war, or do not most loudly and emphatically protest against war. If people who profess to be Christians were to get so drunk that they could not stand, but had to be "booked" for safety; or if they were to engage in every kind of fraud, or to get into the habit of constantly telling lies, you would then say they are exceedingly inconsistent. But really I do not know that in such conduct there would be anything at all more inconsistent, strictly speaking, than in the conduct pursued when these same professedly Christian people are prepared to engage in a war, or to defend war, or are not prepared to protest, with heart, and soul, and voice, most decidedly against war. War is just as strongly forbidden, and perhaps more frequently forbidden, by Christianity than even drunkenness, theft or fraud.

I am going, for a minute or two, to speak on a few things we all know perfectly well, and you may say they are mere truisms. Well, a truism requires to be repeated until it has been driven, not only into people's heads, but into their conscience and their hearts, and until it permeates their whole moral and spiritual being. Of course, you know perfectly well that when the Founder of Christianity was born the angels sang his birth-song in those well-known words, "Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace, good-will towards men." And you know that as soon as ever he entered upon his public work and ministry, in that very first discourse of his, — the first great discourse in which he unfolded the principles of his kingdom, — he gave the principle of peace great prominence, saying in the exordium of his sermon, 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; and blessed are the peace-makers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' A little

further on, he takes in hand that old law of retaliation, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth;" and says, "but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but if any man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also." Still farther on he says, "Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." So when Peter drew his sword, and smote one of the servants of the high priest, he received such a rebuke as one would think ought to be conclusive for all Christian people: "Put up thy sword into its sheath; for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." When he stood before Pilate, he said, "My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight; but now is my kingdom not from hence." While Christ gives his disciples many precepts, it is remarkable that there is only one which he chose to dignify specifically with the name of "a new commandment;" and it was this, "That ye love one another, as I loved you, that ye also shall love one another."

Now, with regard to the teaching of Christ on this subject, we must say it is perfectly clear and unmistakable. There is many a doctrine with regard to which the Scriptures *seem* to contradict each other; but there is no mistaking the peace-loving character of Christ, and the peace-promoting character of his teaching. Now, the question just comes to this: if we think he carried those principles too far in his own case, and requires us to carry them to a fanatical or an impracticable extent, let us be honest and say so, and confess that, though we have much respect for a great deal that is wise and good in Jesus of Nazareth, yet we don't agree with him on some points, and we really cannot take him as our patron and our teacher. That would be the honest thing to do. But if you and I regard him as a teacher come from God, if we call him our Lord and Master, if we profess to be his followers and friends, we certainly are not at liberty to make exceptions of these principles any more than of any others that ever fell from his lips.

If further testimony were required, you will find it in the conduct of his early disciples, and in the writings of his apostles. Those early disciples, though much persecuted, never offered the slightest resistance. 'Ah!' you will say, 'resistance. indeed! What was the use of resisting? The people's miserable feebleness made resistance utterly impossible—utterly absurd.' But it is to be remarked, that they not only offered no resistance, but they never manifested the slightest symptom of resentment. That is the principal thing to observe. I can imagine a poor fellow, who can do nothing towards helping himself, submitting so far as not to offer resistance; but the principle of the thing is not to cherish resentment, and there is no resentment to be seen in the conduct of the early disciples. The first of the martyrs died with a prayer for his murderers upon his lips; and all through that account of suffering and wrong you cannot find the manifestation of the slightest anger on the part of any of those Christian people with regard to those who persecuted them. Then comes the apostolic teaching, so fully echoing all that the Master had said, telling us of that charity which "suffereth long, and is kind, beareth all things, endureth all things;" telling us likewise that that charity is the very greatest and best of Christian gifts; requiring us also to "endure grief, suffering wrongfully;" reminding us of Him who, "when He was reviled, reviled not again, and when He suffered threatened not;" exhorting us on this wise: "If thy enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink."

We find, also, that the disciples of Jesus Christ did for a considerable period faithfully act upon these pacific, non-resisting principles. They

suffered wrong rather than ever thought of inflicting wrong. Their mutual love became proverbial; and that magnanimity, that patient non-resisting spirit, which, amidst all the tortures of martyrdom, invoked the divine blessing upon their persecutors, filled the heathen with wonder, admiration and awe. It was more through their loving spirit, more through the irresistible might of their meekness, than through anything else, that Christianity advanced till it became the religion of the Roman Empire and the civilized world. I hold this to be one of the grandest facts in the history of our race, and this is our answer to those who say, 'these peace principles, though coming from very high authority, are, after all, impracticable, — they cannot be carried out.' I say they were carried out, and they carried Christianity to such success as nothing but those principles could possibly have secured.

One of the most important questions to Christians, suggested by the present aspect of affairs is, has Christianity fulfilled, or is it now fulfilling its mission? It promises that men under its influence should beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and war should be no more. It behoves Christian people to answer this question. Christians fighting, or ready to fight, or to justify fighting, are far more dangerous arguments in the hands of scepticism than any of those sceptical writings about which Christian people get into such a state of indignation and alarm. In times gone by, wars between individuals were regarded with far greater favor than wars between nations; but men's opinions on that subject have undergone a great and favorable change. At one time a duel was the only solution of a personal quarrel; but now no man not utterly brutalized would adopt that form of settling a dispute. So must wars between nations have to be abandoned, just as certainly as wars between individuals. The ideas promulgated by the Peace Society are not derided now as they would have been in past times. All that is said against them now is, that the world is not ripe for them; but that is saying nothing against the principles themselves. A most hopeful sign of the times is that the dogmatic in religion is giving way to the moral and humane. The religious energy that used to spend itself upon religious controversies, is now flowing forth in channels of Christian usefulness and benevolence. Christianity was once looked upon as mainly a creed; now it is felt to be a life, and a life the very essence of which is love. All Christian men, even Christian men fighting on the battle-field, are a great deal more tender-hearted than Christian men were when the Reformers and the Puritans could persecute even unto death those who differed from them upon some matter of religious doctrine. As this new and better view of Christianity becomes more general and more clear, the result must tell favorably on the interests of peace; and under such benignant influences, the world cannot but ripen and mellow to that perfection that must put an end to all warfare, so that men will at last look upon the most splendid achievements of military genius, and monuments of military glory, just as we now look upon the fanaticism of the Crusades, and the ferocity of the Inquisition; and the time will yet come when it shall be fulfilled that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

ITEMS FROM THE SOCIETY'S REPORT. — On the war threatened in Europe, as illustrating the necessity of some expedient like a Congress of Nations, it says, "Two branches of one great family, quarrelling over spoils unrighteously gotten, began to hurl menaces and muster forces against each other, while another nation, inflamed by interest and ambition, stands prepared to take advantage of this strife of brethren to advance its own ends. As the special object of the projected Congress was to bring the public opin-

ion of Europe to bear in favor of mutual disarmament, and the establishment of some form of international jurisdiction, the Committee felt that the time to gain the ear of nations to such proposals was not amid the shouts of battle, and the shock of arms. They have been, therefore, compelled reluctantly to defer, they hope only for the present, the realization of their idea. There is, however, this consolation under our disappointment, that the princes and statesmen of Europe seem determined to proclaim the necessity of some such reforms as those we advocate with a loudness and emphasis which no voice of ours could reach. For whether war actually breaks out, or, as we may still faintly hope, be ultimately averted, the spectacle now presented in the centre of Europe will teach, far more eloquently than any speeches delivered at a Peace Congress, the supreme folly and danger of that system or want of system which prevails, under which the enormous armaments that are maintained under the pretence of preserving peace are perpetually bringing the nations to the very brink of war, and which, moreover, exhibits the most enlightened and civilized communities on the face of the earth, in a more chaotic and disorganized state, as respects their relations to each other, than the primitive barbarians of the wilderness."

ENCOURAGING FACTS.—Among these are "some symptoms of an improving tone which seems beginning to creep over a few at least of the most influential organs of the press in this country with reference to the question of Peace or War. During the past week, two articles have appeared in two London newspapers representing two very important though very distinct sections of the British public, which treat with admirable truth and force some of the great interests and principles involved in the threatened prospect of a European war. To find such journals as the 'Saturday Review' and the 'Daily Telegraph' ranging themselves, even to a limited extent, on the side of those who plead in the interests of the peoples, and on behalf of common sense and moral and political right, for Peace, is surely encouraging as one of the hopeful signs of the times in which we live.

The Committee cannot close their report without advertising to the fact that this is the fiftieth anniversary of the society's existence. It was in the year 1816, at the close of twenty-three years of the fiercest war that had ever mangled the face of Europe, that a few devout and earnest men formed themselves into a society for the promotion of permanent and universal peace. It was an act of high faith and courage for a small band of men to associate themselves thus in order to assail a custom so deeply rooted in the prejudices and passions of mankind, so interwoven with the interests of large and powerful classes, and so hallowed in the estimation of the world by the consecrating hoar of ages. Perhaps nothing could have saved it from being branded as an act of fanatical folly if the men who committed themselves to it had not grounded their work on what they believed the unassailable rock of God's gospel. On this it was they based the society's existence, and on this it has rested ever since. It is matter of humble and devout gratitude to God, that it has kept faithful to that principle through evil report and good report. Not in times of calm merely, but in times of tempest, when the fiery storm of war was hurtling through the air, amid the assaults of enemies and the defection of friends, the friends of the society have endeavored with a firm hand to hold aloft the same high standard.

During these fifty eventful years their labors have been manifold and unceasing. There is not a city or town, hardly a village or hamlet, throughout our country, where, by means of their publications or lectures, they have not lifted their testimony for peace. And far beyond the limits of our

own land has their voice travelled. Their publications have been translated into the principal languages of Europe — French, German, Italian, Spanish. Their cause has been pleaded by powerful voices in several of the great capitals of the Continent. They have ventured even to appear in the cabinets of kings, and before congresses of nations. They have earnest promulgators of their views in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Nay, from regions beyond the boundaries of Christendom, from India and China, and the South Seas, they have heard some faint echoes of their own doctrines.

If it be asked, 'What has been the result of these fifty years of propagandism of peace?' the answer is, 'We cannot tell.' Nothing is so difficult to measure as moral influence. It is as impalpable as the air; but it is also as elastic and all-permeating. That we have made some mark on this age is obvious, were it only from the violence with which we are frequently assailed. Is not this the history of every great truth? At first it is ignored, neglected, the voice of those proclaiming it as the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Then, when it begins to attract attention, it is assailed, ridiculed, reviled. By degrees it works its way into the convictions, first of classes, then of communities; finally, it is proclaimed victorious amid universal acclamations, in which often the voices of those are loudest who formerly assailed it most bitterly.

The Peace Society has, at least, attained to the dignity of being abused. Even those who profess to regard it as below notice, cannot let us alone. Every now and then they proclaim that the Peace Society is dead, killed by contempt, buried beyond all hope of resurrection, beneath mountains of ridicule. And then they proceed, very elaborately, to kill us anew, to sing fresh obsequies over our grave. But the Peace Society is not dead, does not mean to die. Its life is bound up with principles that are immortal, and which are destined to acquire greater strength and a wider dominion, until they have overcome the world.

ENGLISH ATTACKS ON THE PEACE CAUSE. — It seems we are not alone in being assailed by war-men; but we must own we are amazed, as well as pained, to see from the last London *Herald of Peace*, what flimsy, miserable objections our co-workers in England have to encounter: 'The Peace Society has done nothing in its first fifty years; no need of it; everybody already a friend of peace; England a pacific nation to a man, her income tax alone sufficing to make them so; a public insult to say or imply that anybody is in favor of war, or opposed to peace, or needs any instruction or impulse on the subject!'

Supposing these to be fair specimens of the nonsense and ignorance current in England on this subject, we pity men who have to meet such trash flippantly put forth as serious arguments against the Peace Reform. There is hardly enough substance in them even to make a respectable target; and you might about as well attempt to fight a ghost or a jack-o-lantern with sabre or revolver. Professed Christians certainly ought to be ashamed of such weak, petty objections against the cause of peace, and should either be silent, or bring forward some decent or plausible reasons to excuse their neglect of an enterprise as clearly Christian, and as truly important as any one now or ever before

the world. We find it difficult to conceive how men of any intelligence, self-respect, or common sense can content or delude themselves with such logic as the *Herald* quotes from an English periodical called the *Examiner*. Such stultification would seem to prove its subjects well-nigh incapable of reform.

PEACE SOCIETIES.

THE Peace Societies in this country and Europe are to be commended. We hail them as a good beginning in the great work of progress and reform. Being limited in number, however, their influence with the teeming millions is necessarily less than what it otherwise would be. Besides, they have to contend against the power of all who make arms their profession, the world over. Still, they are sowing the seed of peace, which will, we believe, after the severe war-lessons of the past, yield, in due time, a plentiful and glorious harvest. They have, at least, commenced clearing away the rubbish, preparatory to the erection of the beautiful temple of universal peace, which, like the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, shall, by the blessing of God, ere long fill the whole earth.

What is now wanted to render these societies more immediately a success in securing universal peace, is their establishment among all nations, and a concentration of effort. By such an arrangement, the grand enterprise would soon become omnipotent for good, and banish war from the earth. To prove successful, it is only necessary that the sentiments, ends and aims of these societies should be thoughtfully examined, calmly reflected upon, and religiously observed by the different nations; that the mission of peace should be suitably encouraged, kindly cherished, and duly appreciated by the leading men and the people of every government.

The questions which it behooves the civilized world at the present time to consider, are, whether war is not beneath the dignity of man, claiming to illustrate in his person the highest creative power of the Deity displayed on earth, the man of the nineteenth century; whether the killing of each other by whole hecatombs, when considered in the light of the most-advanced age the world ever knew, is not shameful; whether a congress of the world, composed of good men and true, representing the different powers, might not inaugurate a system of *pacification*, that would be acceptable to all, and would put an end forever to the shedding of human blood through national antagonism; whether such a congress ought not to be convened at the earliest period possible; whether the civilized world has not seen enough, heard enough, had enough of the ravages of war, of the despoiling of pleasant homes, enough of maimed humanity, enough of onerous taxation, of poverty and ruin, of blight and mildew, of mourners going about the streets, of orphans' wail and widows' tears, enough of demoralization generally? These are questions that, it seems to us, are becoming the age to consider. As we view the matter, it is demanded of the civilized nations to say of war, thus far and no farther shalt thou go, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.

It is perfectly within the power of the civilized world to prevent all wars, if it would. To accomplish this great and glorious end, it has but to will it. This could be done by just and equitable arbitration, which could always be obtained where parties concerned were resolved to do right, which, under a higher civilization, they would be. Cannot a consummation so devoutly

to be wished, be reached now in our own time? We think it can. As bad as the world is, a large majority, no doubt, of its population sincerely deprecate war. The seed of peace is now springing up at different points in both hemispheres, which only needs to be persistently cultivated to produce the happiest results. The world, we should think, has already had a surfeit of carnage and bloodshed, and the late and pending wars, that have devastated many of the fairest portions of creation, are calculated, if men are not irreformable, if the world is not past redemption, to lead to a great and glorious reaction on the side of peace. The lessons taught by the war-sufferings of the past, we think, will operate favorably to the establishment of permanent peace and tranquillity in the future throughout the globe!

Let all good men, all true patriots, all philanthropists, and men of all religions, wheresoever scattered, who wish well to the brotherhood of the race, put shoulder to the wheel, and remove the barbarism of war from the world. Let a grand mission of peace be inaugurated, and be zealously prosecuted; and in a comparatively short time, the great, the good, the godlike work of universal peace will be accomplished. To support this grand and lofty enterprise, the richest earthly boon to man, over which angels would rejoice, and upon which the smiles of Heaven would descend, would not cost a tithe that it now does to keep up the bloody fighting apparatus of the world. — *U. S. Journal, July 14.*

The above spontaneous commendation of the Peace cause by a *secular* paper, we commend to the attention of those Christian ministers who vote down requests for prayer that God would prevent war, and of those *religious* journals which give eager currency to attacks on the cause of peace, and then refuse to publish one word in reply.

HOW IT LOOKS TO OUTSIDERS. — A correspondent of the *Boston Commercial* on the spot, says, "Mr. Beckwith presented" (to the Ministerial Association at Newburyport) "a resolution, requesting prayers, that the war might be averted in Europe among the powers now on the eve of conflict. The Moderator very unceremoniously dismissed this resolution by moving its indefinite postponement, remarking that he had read the publications of the Peace Society, and considered them an insult and a humbug, and the Society a living lie. No one rising to reply to Mr. Quint, his motion was carried. It seemed a *very singular position for an association of Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, thus to treat a society of long standing and respectability, formed to promote peace*, although this special opponent of the society, having been a chaplain in the army, may have felt thorned by the facts and arguments of the Peace Society."

WAR-SYSTEM. — WHAT IS IT? — It is that elaborate organization for teaching, cherishing, encouraging, and every way perfecting and perpetuating the art of war, upon which all the nations of Christendom lavish at this moment more of thought, science, wealth and honor, than they do upon any other object or pursuit, or perhaps upon all other objects and pursuits put together. It is the system under which, even in time of nominal peace, and in Europe alone, some four millions of

men are withdrawn from all the occupations of productive industry and maintained in idleness, or worse than idleness, at the expense of the rest of the community; the system which drains from the resources of the nations of Europe probably not less than 150,000,000 sterling (\$750,000,000), every year to be wasted in the least profitable of all ways, and that at a time when in the heart of every one of those nations there are enormous masses of ignorance, vice, pauperism and misery unrelieved; the system which, by taking away from the salutary discipline of industry, and the blessed restraints of domestic life, large bodies of young men whom it forbids to marry, and, placing them in circumstances most favorable for the triumph of temptation over their weak virtue, breeds in the heart of society a festering mass of corruption, enough to appall any man who has ever had the courage to look at the question; a system which gives to numerous and influential classes a direct interest in upholding and extending establishments which involve a prodigious expenditure of national wealth; and a system which, after doing all this on the pretence of preserving peace, succeeds only in gendering and keeping alive feelings of mutual distrust and irritation, leading directly to war among communities otherwise well disposed to live in peace, and which are being drawn, year by year, into nearer and kinder relations towards each other. — *Herald of Peace.*

PUGILISM AND WAR.

PUGILISTS are certainly very coarse animals, and most men of cleanly minds and gentlemanly feelings would prefer the society of bull-dogs to theirs; and yet, if we would clear our heads of the conventional standards of respect with which they are stuffed, we should have no difficulty in deciding that, on every ground of honor and fairness, the fighting methods of men like Bismarck are far more deserving of our indignation than are those of the Champions of the Ring. The standards of honor and dishonor are so different as to be well worth consideration; for what the pugilist scorns as indescribably unmanly and mean, is precisely what brings a monarch glory and renown. In the pugilistic world the disputants do their own fighting, and would grin with contempt at the thought of undertaking the risk by deputy while reserving the honor for themselves. The battle is voluntary on both sides; the stake is clearly understood from the first; the men are pretty fairly matched in point of science and strength; the time and place of encounter are matters of mutual pre-arrangement. Hitting below the belt, and choking, are strictly forbidden; and if, when the battle has begun, any outsider leaps into the ring, and tries to injure either the one combatant or the other, the English sense of fair-play is so strong in the spectators, that the rash interferer is sure to be knocked down, and punished in a way that he will remember for the remainder of his life.

But in the so-termed honorable practice of war, do we not see all this

reversed? Take the Danish war, where two big fellows set upon a little one who didn't want to fight, and who was not prepared for fighting; or take that of the bombardment of Valparaiso, where a Spanish fleet pounded away with shot and shell for the sake of earning the honor of destroying a city that had, in accordance with the advice of the representatives of England and the United States, been deliberately disarmed, and placed under such circumstances that defence was impossible; or glance at the conditions of the coming conflict, where unwilling thousands are being dragged out as if by the ears from their homes to fight in the quarrels of two or three individuals who happen to have at this time the power to separate them from their families, and march them out amid doleful wailings and cursings to become "food for powder."

In all these instances, how honest and straightforward, comparatively speaking, are the tactics of the despised and degraded class represented by Heenan and Sayers. To strangle a garrison by cutting off its supplies; to out-manceuvre a division so as to be able to fall upon it, and crush it by sheer weight of numbers; to steal up in the dark, and attack when the conditions of successful resistance are not there; to tamper with the seconds of one of the combatants, and sever his sinews with a knife of gold; to speak your enemy fair before the combat, and hold him, if possible, in unsuspecting inaction, while a confederate is crouching in ambush, in accordance with a secret compact, to stab him in the back — what are all these, in effect, but so many ways of hitting below the belt? Yet each becomes matter of loud vaunting and high praise when practised on a large scale! In the ring, and between individual boxers, similar manœuvres would be thought shameful; but in the field they are splendid strategies! — *Sheffield (Eng.) Teleg.*

GERMAN WAR — ITS ORIGIN AND AIM. — It is a war in the interest of Aristocracy, Tyranny and Absolutism. . . Bismarck has been using all the power which his high station and great influence with the King and aristocracy give him, to deprive the Prussian people of constitutional liberty. While the Emperor of Russia has made freemen of his serfs, the King of Prussia has endeavored to make slaves of his freemen. Bismarck has become so accustomed to carrying out his internal policy by dint of threatening and bullying the representatives of the Prussian people, that he thought he could carry out his foreign policy to a triumphant end by a free use of the same disgraceful means towards the representatives of other German powers. His aim is to subject not only Prussia, but all Germany, to himself; and while the King whines in his proclamations to his 'beloved' and 'faithful' subjects about his unceasing efforts to preserve peace, and throws upon Austria the whole blame of forcing a war on him which he profoundly regrets, it is his minister who has forced Austria to take up arms in self-defence, and has given the rest of Germany such reason to fear his ambitious designs, as to lead them to make common cause with Austria.

ARISTOCRATS AND CHRISTIAN MINISTERS ABET THE WAR. — The aristocracy of Prussia of course sympathize entirely with the policy of Bismarck, and the clergy too generally sympathize with the aristocracy, and with absolutism. Lately, Prelate Kapf, of Stuttgart, a decidedly pious man, standing among the first clergymen of Wurttemberg, wrote to Dr. Hofman, one of the court-preachers at Berlin, also a decidedly godly man, asking his opinion of the events of the day. Dr. Hofman answered that he was not well read in foreign politics, but that Bismarck's internal policy met with his entire approbation! When the most influential men in the Church defend the 'divine right' of kings, and denounce everything that even squints in the direction of republican institutions and constitutional liberty as impious rebellion against divinely-appointed rights, can we wonder that infidelity abounds, and that men scorn a Bible which, they are assured from the pulpit, sanctions oppression? These reverend gentlemen put the same argument into the hands of the enemies of religion, that our American clerical apologists for slavery put into the hands of anti-slavery infidels.

THE PEOPLE OPPOSED TO THE WAR. — The mass of the Prussian people go into it unwillingly. They cannot see what they are to fight for, except the privilege of having their own chains riveted the more strongly. The King has been besieged with petitions to avoid a war for which the petitioners see no adequate cause. Especially in the Prussian Rhine provinces is the populace so exasperated that in Coblenz and elsewhere the wish is openly expressed that Napoleon would come and take possession. A few days since, a large number of Prussian troops passed through here (Ems) from Coblenz. Their officers (almost all officers Yunkers, having not the slightest sympathy with the common soldier, who has no hope of promotion, and hates his officer as much as he is himself despised by the latter) had the utmost difficulty in forcing the troops on to the cars, the men refusing to obey orders. These troops were all composed of married men, who are forced to leave their families without any adequate support. The Rhine provinces are now full of women and children, who have before them the prospect of starvation. One can see why it is that Karl Blind attempted to shoot Count Bismarck, the author of all this woe, and why some of his faithful allies, the army officers, have been shot by their own troops! — REV. N. A. SCHAUFLE (Ems, Germany,) *Conj't.*

HOW PEOPLE ARE LED TO FIGHT. — The masses in Prussia were strongly opposed to this war from its start; but, once forced by the war-system into it, they will of course go into it very much as if they were in favor of it. As good soldiers, their honor is at stake; they come to make the cause their own, and fight as desperately as if they were shedding their blood for their own liberties and rights. Such is the war-system; not only an oppressor but a wholesale demoralizer of the people.

EXHAUSTION BY WAR. — It is difficult here, after all our bitter experience in our rebellion, fully to conceive how the war-system exhausts the vital forces of the Old World. The *London Times*, speaking on this point just before the present war in Europe, says, "Men are becoming scarce in these Isles. Trades are combining, and obtaining their demands often without a struggle. Great works, and small works too, hang for want of hands. Though ours is still the proud boast that we have neither a soldier nor a sailor that is not a volunteer, sometimes the recruiting is slow, though we bid high. On the Continent there are few soldiers that are not conscripts, taken away from employments more to their taste. Yet of men thus generally soldiers by compulsion, and now ready to march anywhere at a few days' call, there are said to be 900,000 in the Austrian Empire, 500,000 in the Prussian, 400,000 in Italy, and in the minor German States as many as will carry the fearful sum over two millions. Such is the immense number of men, in regions by no means so populous or so wealthy as ours, subtracted from industry and productive power, and added to the side of waste, difficulty and debt. These figures stand for at least \$45,000,000 added weekly to national debts already overwhelming.

Then comes the question, 'Will not this intolerable inconvenience and cost make reason heard, and compel a disarmament?' *On the contrary, great armaments are themselves new reasons for war. They are the visible means and opportunity of that which often only waits for means and opportunity.* They continually empty the exchequer that must be filled, and destroy the credit that must be repaired. They inflict a disgrace which they can themselves alone remove. The spirit evoked must do its errand, and will not otherwise be laid. It will not be trifled with. In the wars of old we read that an army was melting away; so it must attack, or be attacked. In the mere standing under arms numbers fall, for sickness does its work. Long before a shot is fired, a skilful general can inflict on his antagonist a greater loss of men and money than he himself suffers, by such changes of position as compel long and forced marches. He may oblige 100,000 men to encamp in a marsh, or in mountainous passes, or to crowd into a pestilential camp or casemated fortresses. A military power may be worn away by such means, though it may happen that the foe has to give up the game in sorrow. But it must never be forgotten that the larger proportion of the cost and loss of war is not in the battles, but in the intervals, in the marching and waiting. Sickness and fatigue will very shortly show themselves in the two million men now marching and counter-marching, wherever war threatens most; on our own Continent. Will this be an argument for real war or not? It will hardly be so much as an argument at all; for it must in time compel the decision, whether to fight or to be destroyed without fighting."

RADICALISM WELL DEFINED. — There are two kinds of radicals — those who pull up things by the roots, and those who go down to the roots of things. I am for going down to the root, and digging about it, and making it grow. I rejoice in the name *radical*; it means *root-man*; not twig, or trunk, but *root-man*. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

LESSONS FROM THE GERMAN WAR.

THE die is cast. The three belligerent sovereigns have issued their manifestoes, each of them pretending to demonstrate that the right is wholly on his side, and all appealing to God, as sponsor for the justness of their cause. 'We have already witnessed the opening scene of a drama which promises to embody more tragical elements in its progress than have found representation on the European stage for half a century. We have reason to suppose that its action will be on a scale of magnitude hitherto unprecedented; that it will be developed with unexampled rapidity; that it will exemplify many and startling vicissitudes, and will involve an inconceivable aggregate of human suffering, and a frightful waste of life and treasure. Dynastical ambition has begun what is not unlikely that revolutionary violence may be left to finish. Myriads of families, none of them materially interested in the objects of the struggle, except perhaps Venetia, are destined to undergo the dire penalties which imperial and royal quarrels entail upon the helpless, — the bread-winners disabled for life, or laid low in the dust, the wives turned into widows, the children made orphans. Fire, sword, disease, privation, exposure, all the agents and instruments of violence, will combine in their terrible mission against the well-being of men, and misery will boast of a constantly widening dominion. Passion has dethroned reason; lust of power has silenced religion. Over well-nigh half Europe, madness is about to stalk unrestrained by law or conscience, and whatever is divine is to be trampled under foot by men changed for the time into ravening fiends. To what purpose? Possibly, under the guidance of that infinitely merciful Providence which brings good out of evil, to sweep away mountainous obstructions to human happiness and progress; but, as far as man's intentions are concerned, merely to aggrandize kingly houses, and feed the insatiable maw of kingly pride. There is no principle at stake. There is no great interest of civilization to be contended for. Were the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs annihilated, the war which has just commenced would have no meaning.'

The people of Europe, however, are themselves largely responsible for the evil which is about to desolate their homes; for they not only connive at, but actively support that system of mutual distrust and armed rivalry, of which the present war is the natural and inevitable outcome. They have no right to complain if they are called to eat the fruit of the poison-tree which they so willingly help to plant and nourish. Is it not a fact that the great majority in every nation uncomplainingly accept, approve and glory in the marked predominance given in every part of Christendom to military ideas, habits and institutions? Is it not a fact that the war-god has far more numerous and devoted worshippers than the Prince of Peace, and that far more treasure is spent in its service than is given to the cause of religion, education and all other elevating and civilizing influences and agencies that exist among the nations? Is it not a fact that any attempt to reduce its

supremacy is indignantly resented by all classes, statesmen, journalists, and even ministers of religion rallying around it with enthusiasm, and hurling their anathemas against all who do anything to bring it into discredit? Whenever there is a military spectacle, do not the people gather round it with delight, and rend the air with shouts of rapturous exclamation? Do not many even intelligent and cultivated men allow their reason and common sense to be hoodwinked by the stupid paradox, so serviceable to the lovers of large armaments, that the best way to preserve peace is to prepare for war, thus lending their sanction to the endless accumulation of inflammable materials in the heart of Europe, which it requires the merest lucifer-match of an accident like Bismark, to kindle into a blaze of conflagration?

True, there is hubbub enough when the actual mischief breaks forth. Just now we find many journals writing of the folly and wickedness of war, and the totally unjustifiable character of the present war, very much in the same strain as that usually adopted by the Peace Society; but during the lucid intervals of peace, when it might be possible to bring public opinion to bear upon the *evil system* of which the actual outbreak is only one manifestation, their influence is thrown into the other scale. They are all for large armaments, for a high-handed policy, for an attitude of distrust and defiance towards other nations. They have nothing but opposition and ridicule for any effort to diminish the hazards of war by reducing the military establishments which nourish the spirit of war, or for any proposal to establish some form of international jurisdiction for solving disputes between states by some other means than the brutal arbitrament of the sword.

The only remedy, then, lies in enlightening the minds, and rousing the consciences of *the people* in every country; and so far from relaxing their efforts, the friends of peace should now redouble their activity in the propagandism of their principles, as the only way to avert such evils of the war-system as are now seen in Europe. — *Her. of Peace.*

MILITARY FORCES OF EUROPE — on land and sea, are reported as follows: — “France, 903,617 men; Prussia, 650,000; Italy, 424,193; Russia, 1,200,000; Spain, 271,900; Portugal, 64,118; Holland, 92,000; Sweden and Norway, 139,000; Denmark, 41,490; England, 365,000 (including 230,000 volunteers); Austria, 651,612; Germanic Confederation, 407,361; Turkey, 341,580; Egypt, Molde-Wallachia, Montenegro and Servia together, 152,000; Belgium, 198,291; Switzerland, 80,650; Roman States, 12,000. The total is 5,975,262.” Nearly six millions men, privates and officers, kept in readiness for mutual wholesale slaughter, plunder and devastation solely for the avowed purpose of deciding questions of right between civilized, enlightened nations, all claiming, Turkey alone excepted, to be followers of the Prince of Peace! What a burlesque and libel on not only our peaceful religion, but on the civilization and common sense of the age!


EQUALIZATION OF SOLDIERS' BOUNTIES. — This hobby, on which so many demagogues have been trying to ride into popularity, seems likely to fail them. It has proved an abortion in most of the States where it has been specially tried; and now the bill so long before Congress on the subject, has been killed for the present in the Senate. Senator Sherman said it would increase the public debt several hundred million dollars. It would open the way for an indefinite accumulation of claims, the end of which would not be reached by this or even the next generation. — It seems that some \$75,000,000 were voted.

THE DIFFICULTIES AND PERILS OF RECONSTRUCTION — Are looming up more and more before us. They are just what we foresaw and predicted as inevitably incident to warlike methods of settling such domestic controversies as ours; and they leave us still in doubt how much is likely in the end to be gained even by our signal triumph over the late rebellion. We must wait for time to decide. We are not yet far enough out of the woods safely to shout. Pyrrhus, after passing over a battlefield where he had just won a decisive victory, said, in reply to the congratulation of his friends, "Another *such* victory would ruin me." How many such victories as ours over rebellion could *we* survive?

RESULTS OF THE REBELLION. — These are far more numerous, important, and far-reaching than any of us now conceive. Coming fairly within the purview of the Peace Reform, we shall endeavor to bring them before our readers as fast and fully as we can. It is a subject, or range of subjects, on which volumes almost innumerable might be written, and probably will be in time.

WRITERS ON PEACE. — The aspects and bearings of the peace question are evidently so manifold, that we wonder why men of culture and benevolence do not write, and the press publish far more on them than they do. The improvements, enterprises and aspirations characteristic of the age, all would seem to elicit and demand this; and we marvel at the strange, unaccountable apathy of such minds on the subject in such an era as this in the world's progress.

ONE OF THE INSIGNIAS OF WAR. — At the late celebration of July 4, in Philadelphia, was a procession of 1,100 orphans of slain soldiers. Alas! how many such mementoes of war have we all over the land, and how many must follow in the wake of even the most successful war!

 The first article in this number was designed, of course, for the two papers which gave currency to the attack on our cause, and, if allowed a place in their columns, need not have appeared in ours.

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

CONTENTS.

After-claps of Rebellion	133	European Preparations for War.....	152
The Union Necessary in Peace.....	136	Indian Railways	152
Radical Peace Society.....	143	Portland Insurance	152
Effect of our Rebellion on the Mis-		Christian Ministers on Peace.....	153
sionary Cause	144	Emigration to America.....	155
Altered tone about War	144	Recent Wars.....	156
Bombardment	145	Life lost in our Rebellion	156
Peace Sentiments in Europe.....	146	The Peace Cause Advancing.....	156
Comments on this Movement ..	148	German War	157
Competition in Military Prepara-		Battle of Sadowa.....	157
tions Expensive.....	149	After Scenes of Battle.....	159
How Rulers sport with the Welfare		Scenes in the German War.....	160
of the People.....	150	Bit of a Surgeon's Experience.	160
Pagans wiser than Christians	150	Prussia after her Triumph.....	161
Virginia Militia — a Good Sign.....	150	Henry W. Beecher on Peace.....	161
Sublimity of War	151	Emigration from England	164

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AFTER-CLAPS OF REBELLION.

SOLOMON says "the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water;" and one of our strong reasons for protesting from the first against an appeal to the sword in any domestic dispute was the certainty that it would entail a series of almost interminable difficulties among ourselves. We never doubted that our government would ultimately force the rebels into submission; but when the sword should be sheathed, we expected to see the culmination of our danger, the turning-point of our fate, in deciding what should be done with the rebels.

This point we have now reached, or are fast approaching. Our hopes, as heretofore, still prevail over our fears; but we certainly have much cause for anxiety and alarm in view of the political maelstrom towards which the ship of state seems drifting. Each party already accuses the other of threatening a resort to the sword once more; and, after bandying such complaints till the people become familiar with the idea, they may at length attempt the fatal deed in downright earnestness. Nobody would now counsel such a measure; but when men's interests, prejudices and passions are thoroughly roused, it is impossible to foresee what follies and crimes they may commit.

Take some facts. Montgomery Blair, long before the political canvass began, boldly broached the idea, in a popular harangue, that the President *might* use the army to force his scheme of reconstruction upon the country, and even disperse Congress, if it should refuse compliance with his wishes. How far this idea was thrown out as a feeler to see if public opinion would tolerate such a stretch of power, we know not; but the mere fact that so prominent a politician, notoriously a partisan of the President, should ventilate such views, proves that there is real danger ahead.

Such menaces would of course be met by counter-menaces; and a gathering of soldiers in Boston lately said, "we will stand by liberty and the republic; and if, as certain politicians are recklessly prophesying, another civil war shall result unless the victorious North shall submit to the insolent and unjust demands of the conquered South, the soldiers of Massachusetts will be found ready to sacrifice their personal interests, take up arms again in defence of the same republican principles for which they rallied round the flag in 1861, and never lay them down until a lasting peace, based on the broad principles of universal liberty, shall be attained."

Let us hear, also, a grave Senator from Illinois addressing his neighbors on his return from Washington: "I wish to warn you now that *there is real danger*. Not that we shall not finally triumph, and save the government; but *there is real danger of another civil war*. There is no question in my mind, or in the minds of distinguished Senators with whom I have conversed, that the conspiracy to which I have referred is *widely brewing*. Andrew Johnson is soured, and stands precisely in the attitude to the American people in which Jeff. Davis stood before the war. He intends to have power. He is a weak man, of fierce passions, and one upon whom demagogues can play, and are playing. He is not surrounded by the patriots of the country, but by copperheads, secessionists and rebels, and will be ready to recognize an unlawfully constituted Congress, which is a usurpation, and necessarily brings civil war."

Testimonies from the rebellious States are equally alarming. "Matters," says one writing from Texas, "are worse here than is suspected at the North. *The war is not over yet*. The people of Texas are more openly disloyal than they were in the spring of 1861, and may be found in arms against the national government *any day*. The United States force here and the civil officers of the United States Government are tolerated for the present, because the rebel leaders think that by the aid of President Johnson they will soon be able to *control both at home and at Washington*. If so much as a mob should do violence in one of the cities of the North, Texas will again be in arms. The rebel leaders have excited a feeling they cannot control. The idea disseminated among the people is that they must feign loyalty, and, if possible, be thereby readmitted. That done, they expect the South to control as of old, and to introduce what they call 'peonage' in the place of slavery." Gen. Hamilton, late Military Governor of Texas, says, "We had hoped, after the triumph of the armies of the United States, those of us who had suffered so long would be permitted to return to our old homesteads, and renew our old associations and pursuits, with none to molest us, or make us afraid. But this has proved a most delusive hope. The experience of the past twelve months has proved, that what we considered a contest for principle, has resulted in merely measuring the strength between North and South. *The spirit of rebellion is as rampant now as at any time during the rebellion*. We realize the fact that no

principle, so far as respects the administration of the government, has been settled by the late contest. Protection for every right to every citizen is not the principle upon which the government is to be administered, but we are to be remitted back to the condition of States where no protecting power can interfere."

"It is impossible," says John M. Botts, "to describe the deep-seated and implacable hatred with which the so-called leaders in the South regard the Union and everything appertaining to it. It is hatred resulting from disappointed hopes, and the frustration of ambitious schemes, and is much the same feeling the thief entertains who has broken into some rich magazine of wealth, where he has loaded himself with the stolen treasure, and is about making his escape, when a policeman steps up and takes the fellow into custody. He looks upon the officer, and all the agencies used in his detection, as his mortal enemies; and no time or circumstances can obliterate the undying animosity of the detected thief.

Nothing reconciles these political charlatans of the South to a residence under the protecting folds of the banner of the Union, but the fast growing hope that they will one day get into power, and *be able to wreak a terrible vengeance* upon all those who in any manner assisted in their downfall. I have heard this feeling expressed by the flickering camp-fires; I have heard it in the editorial sanctum, and around the social circle; and I know from personal observation of men and things, that it would be dangerous, nay, it would be suicidal in Congress to restore these men to place and power. I will oppose it while I have any means of successful resistance; and when all hope is gone, and the outrageous deed is consummated, I will sell my property and leave the country."

We might collect volumes of such testimonies; but we forbear, and quote these just to show that the sword has not yet accomplished, of itself alone never *can* accomplish or permanently secure, the full results sought by our government in crushing the late rebellion. We have heard some of our ablest men talk by the hour about what our arms have achieved; but in truth they settled nothing beyond the simple fact that the loyal North is stronger than the rebellious South. The real issues can never be settled by mere brute force; and the great work requisite for putting our country in a right condition, is yet to be performed, in the only way possible, by a kind, peaceful, persistent use of moral means, such as the gospel prescribes, and a Christian spirit alone can prompt and sustain. *Nothing, under God, will fully suffice but the principles of peace applied aright to the mass of our people throughout the land.* Here is our only security; and let us rejoice that Christians can, if they will, so easily and with such certainty of ultimate success, apply this divinely appointed catholicon.

THE UNION NECESSARY IN PEACE.

UNION is indispensable to every cause, but to none more so than to that of peace. Aiming at the entire abolition of war, a custom wrought from time immemorial into the texture of every society and government on earth, it obviously requires the co-operation of all that desire, for any reason, to see an end put to a scourge so terrible. The difficulty of securing such co-operation arises mostly from the diversity of views among its friends. Some of them are extremely radical, avowing the unlawfulness of all physical force, and denying the right of one man to punish, coerce, or even rule another; — positions to which no peace society has ever been committed, and which our own has always regarded as foreign to its object. Others, assuming the strict inviolability of human life, oppose war mainly as a wholesale violation of this simple, comprehensive principle; — a principle adopted by a portion of the friends of peace, but never recognized as an essential basis of our cause. A third class, outnumbering both the former, discard this principle, yet deem all war contrary to the gospel; — the ground taken by those societies which are esteemed the most radical. There is still a fourth class, probably more numerous than all the foregoing, who think it right for nations to draw the sword in strict self-defence, when their only alternative is to kill or be killed, yet hold the *custom itself* in deep abhorrence, and sincerely desire its abolition.

Here, then, are four classes of peace-men; and we need the co-operation of them all. How can we secure it? By just constructing a platform on which they can all consistently work together for the accomplishment of their common purpose — the abolition of war. On this point alone they perfectly agree; and, since their object is the same, we propose to let them all labor for it, each in his own way, without making one responsible for the views of another, on any disputed points.

Let us learn wisdom from enterprises of a kindred nature. The friends of humanity, when united for the suppression of the slave-trade, labored for that as their only object; and all the doctrines they taught, as well as their efforts of every kind, were so many *means* to that *end*. Their aim was to produce a result; and, in reaching that result, they wielded as instruments a great variety of principles. So the friends of temperance aim only at a result. True, we hear much about the *doctrine* of temperance; but what does it mean? Solely abstinence from intoxicating drinks; — not strictly a doctrine, but a deed; not theory, but practice, or theory carried into practice. It is not the object of temperance to teach a principle or doctrine, but to produce a specified result, the entire disuse of whatever can intoxicate; and all its doctrines and facts, all its arguments and appeals, are only so many *means* to this *end*.

Just so in the cause of peace. Our sole aim is *the abolition of war*.

We seek not, as our object, to establish a doctrine or principle, but to obtain a given result. We use a variety of means; but none of these constitute our object. We urge a multitude of principles; yet none of these, nor all of them together, can be said to be the end at which we aim. That end is a result, something to be done, the entire extinction of war from the world; and all our doctrines, and arguments, and facts, and appeals, and efforts of every kind, are only so many auxiliaries to that sole, ultimate purpose of our enterprise.

Let us now see on what terms the friends of other causes have united. They have required, not perfect uniformity of views, but only cordial, active co-operation for the attainment of their common object. If a man would from *any* motives unite with them in putting an end to the slave-trade or intemperance, he was welcomed as a coadjutor, and left to take such views, and urge such arguments, as he himself felt most, and therefore thought likely to make the best impression upon others. Every cast of mind was to be met; and hence all were not only permitted, but desired to press each his own favorite arguments upon men of kindred stamp.

Here is sound good sense; nor do we see why it should not be applied to peace, and all its professed friends be allowed to retain their present views, and still co-operate for their common object. There are points of coincidence between them amply sufficient for this purpose. They are one in their desires for the abolition of war; they agree in most of their views touching peace, and differ only on one or two points; they would, in laboring for their common object, use essentially the same means; and the diversity in their modes of exhibiting the subject is in fact necessary to reach with the best effect all the variety of minds that we wish to enlist.

Let us illustrate this last thought. One man, deeply impressed with the superiority of moral over physical power, and conceiving Christianity to be a grand system of moral influences for the good of mankind, regards all use of brute force by one man towards another as unchristian, and chooses to oppose war from this simple, fundamental, far-reaching principle. It is indeed a broad sweep of generalization; but such a mode of reasoning suits his mind, and will perhaps suit some others equally well. Our society does not adopt this principle; but, if we have no responsibility for it, and it proves more successful than any other in arraying certain minds against war, we cannot object to *their* using it for such a purpose.

Now, take the other extreme. Here is a Christian or philanthropist who has been trained to look upon *defensive* war as right; nor is he likely soon, if ever, to renounce that belief; yet he holds the *custom* in deep, unfeigned abhorrence, and ardently longs to see an end put to this crying sin, curse, and shame of Christendom. To this conclusion he comes from such views as he deems consistent with the right of drawing the sword in self-defence. He knows the guilt, and evils of war. He deplores its waste of property, and its havoc of human life; its sack of cities, its plunder of provinces, and its devas-

tation of empires; its baleful influence on art, and science, and general improvement, on freedom, morality and religion, on all the great interests of mankind for two worlds; its pride and lust, its rapacity and revenge, its wholesale robberies and murders, its vast and fearful complication of vices and crimes. Such aspects of war rouse him against the custom. Still he does not regard *all* war as unchristian; and shall we for such a reason thrust him from the ranks of peace? Shall we make *our* views a test for *him*, and insist that none shall labor for peace except in *our* way?

Let us now glance at the two intermediate classes of peacemen. Both believe that the gospel condemns all war, but reach this conclusion from different premises. One argues from the strict inviolability of human life; a principle which sweeps away not only war, but capital punishment, and the right of government to take life even for its own support; while the other reasons from principles of the gospel which do not in his view forbid the taking of life in such cases. Which of these two classes shall set up their modes of reasoning as a standard for *all* the friends of peace? Our society prefers the latter mode; but, because we dislike his mode, shall we spurn from our cause one who loves peace, and hates war as much as we do? Shall we let none oppose war except in our way? Is it wise for Saul to force his own armor upon David, or for the stripling shepherd to insist, because he had slain Goliath with his simple sling and stone, on arming all the hosts of Israel with that weapon alone?

The cause of peace, then, ought to be prosecuted with the same liberality as kindred enterprises, and all its friends be permitted, without rebuke or suspicion, to promote it in such ways as they respectively prefer. The test should be, not the belief of this or that dogma, but *a willingness to co-operate for the entire abolition of war*; and all that will do this, and just as far as they do it, should be regarded as friends of peace. If any doctrine be required as a test, let it be the broad principle on which the first General Peace Convention in London (1843) was constituted, viz., *that war is inconsistent with Christianity, and the true interests of mankind*. Here is the precise basis of our own society. Grant that this language allows a pretty free play of the pendulum; but this is just what we want in order to meet the diversity of opinion among the friends of peace. We can *make* it express the belief of *all* war unchristian; but it pledges us only to a condemnation of the custom. To this principle there can be no objection from any one willing to labor for the abolition of war; and hence the test of principle would in fact be the very test of action on which alone we insist. We ask men to abolish war; and if they gird themselves in earnest for this work, we would let them do it in their own way, nor quarrel with them about their motives.

For such a course, it were easy to find a multitude of arguments. It is adopted in all kindred enterprises. It would relieve the cause of peace from much superfluous responsibility, and many irrelevant objections. It is in fact responsible only for the conclusion, *that war*

ought to be abolished; but the advocates or apologists for war, instead of meeting us on this point alone, assail us, for the most part, on questions either extraneous or unessential. Such issues, if not false, are fruitless; for the only point in dispute is not, whether the Bible sanctions civil government, or capital punishment, or the taking of life in any case, or the use of physical force by one person against another, but *whether war ought for ANY reason to be abolished*. To this conclusion alone is the cause of peace pledged; nor can it fairly be held accountable for objections urged against such modes of reasoning as assert the inviolability of human life, conflict with the legitimate internal operations of government, or justify any kind of war.

Thus would responsibility be left in every case to rest where it properly belongs. We do not ourselves feel bound to answer objections drawn either from the advocacy of defensive war, or from that species of non-resistance which denounces all forms of human government. We do not argue against war from either of these extremes; and only those who do, should be held responsible for them. The same might be said of other modes of reasoning; let those who use them, meet their appropriate objections. The cause of peace is not accountable for any of them, because none of them are essential to its sole aim. Whatever may be thought of any arguments used by its friends, few will deny that war ought to be abolished; and for this conclusion alone is the cause itself fairly responsible.

The course we recommend would, also, secure for our cause the greatest variety of argument and influence. There are all sorts of minds to be convinced; and it is well to provide a corresponding variety of arguments. No single class of peacemen can meet the wants of all. A few, fond of elementary, comprehensive truths, would be pleased with the broad principle, that the gospel discards all physical force; but such logic will reach only a small portion of mankind, and be scouted by the rest as extreme radicalism. More will be influenced by the doctrine of the strict inviolability of human life; yet this principle will satisfy no considerable part of society. The class of peacemen who argue against all war from such precepts of the gospel as bid us love our enemies, return good for evil, and give the other cheek to the smiter, will make far more converts; but a number greater than all the rest, will be attracted to our cause by those who dwell chiefly on the general wickedness and evils of war. These varieties of argument converge to the same result, — the abolition of war; and the cause of peace should be so managed as to secure, if possible, the co-operation of them all.

Nor can we discover the justice of excluding *any* class of peacemen. If any, which of the four we have described? The high non-resistant, who regards all human government as sinful because resting, in the last resort, on brute force? He deems himself the best, if not the only consistent peaceman. Shall we, then, refuse the right hand of fellowship to those who believe it wrong for man under any circumstances to take the life of his fellow? Few, if any, can be stancher friends

of peace. Shall we next discard those who admit the lawfulness of taking life in *some* cases, but deem all war contrary to the gospel? Such was William Penn himself; and such are probably the greater part of our most active and efficient friends. Shall we, in fine, exclude all that believe war strictly defensive to be right, yet condemn the custom itself, and are willing to labor for its entire abolition? Then must we strike from our list far the largest number of our co-workers, and commit the injustice of supposing them to have no heart for this enterprise of patriotism, philanthropy and religion. Many of these men are honest, active friends of our cause. Such was Noah Worcester himself, long after he became the pioneer of peace in modern times. Such, too, was William Ladd, who labored as zealously before as after he embraced the doctrine of all war contrary to the gospel. Such was Dr. Channing to the end of his life. Such are multitudes, whom we cannot spurn from us without equal injustice to them, and injury to our cause. They may need a deeper, clearer insight into its pacific principles, and the course we propose would be the likeliest way of bringing them ere long to regard all war as unchristian; but should they never reach that point, they may still render invaluable aid in the work of banishing war from the world.

We might, also, plead general precedent. The friends of peace, whatever their theories, have in fact acted, for the most part, on the principle for which we contend. In America, they have, with hardly an exception, proceeded on the plan of inviting the co-operation of all, whatever their views respecting wars termed defensive, who are willing to use means for abolishing the custom itself. Such have been from the first a vast majority of our co-workers, not our warmest, but our real friends; and had we refused the co-operation of all such persons, we should never have even started in this enterprise, since its very originators were only moderate peacemen. Such, too, has been the practice, we believe, of all kindred societies in Europe. So it *should* be; for the strong friends of peace are not its *only* friends. Others love it as truly as we do; and we deem it wrong to deny them the credit of unfeigned interest in the cause, or the privilege of an honorable co-operation.

We wish, moreover, to influence those who guide the helm of state. How shall we? Not one in a thousand of them deems *all* war unchristian. Upon such men it would be quite useless to urge the extreme doctrines of peace; and, if we reach them at all, it must be through its moderate friends and moderate arguments.

Such a course would, likewise, obviate many causes of jealousy and collision among the friends of peace. All their strength ought to be spent against their common foe; but no small part of their time and energies has hitherto been wasted in disputes among themselves on points not essential to their object.

To a course so liberal, we cannot well imagine any valid objection. Shall we be told, 'it erects no standard, fixes no principle'? It provides all the standard, all the principle necessary for our purpose.

Such a course goes against the whole war-system; and what else do the friends of peace aim to abolish? It goes for the entire abolition of war, for universal and permanent peace; and can the strongest friend of our cause ask for more?

‘But such a course would not introduce the *right* standard.’ What class of peacemen, to the exclusion of all the rest, shall determine what is the right standard? Whichever should, the others might complain; but the course we suggest, would leave them all to urge their respective views with entire freedom. Thus every aspect of the subject would be exhibited, all its arguments and illustrations exhausted; and every man’s views would have a fair chance, and go for what different minds should think them worth.

‘Such a course, however, would be no reform, because not in advance of present opinion and practice.’ Not indeed beyond those of its active friends, since no man can honestly teach what he does not believe; but it would set every one at work in his own way, and give to truth the fairest chance of triumph. Besides, there is on this subject, as well as on others, a great deal of *dormant* truth already among the people; and no small part of our work consists in rendering such truth effective for the prevention and ultimate abolition of war.

‘But we should be obliged to contradict or conceal our principles.’ By no means; for we allow you to utter yours without restraint, and merely ask you not to make others responsible for what they do not themselves believe. We would restrict the freedom of none. Different classes of peacemen are united in this cause; and we simply insist, that no peace society, as such, shall endorse for one to the exclusion of the rest. All may equally plead conscience; and we would permit them all alike to argue against war, each in his own way, nor hold them accountable for any views except their own.

‘Such a course would make a Babel of our cause.’ How? Almost every kindred enterprise has pursued a similar course without confusion or embarrassment. Did not Wilberforce and his coadjutors labor in this way for the abolition of the slave-trade? Was not every one allowed without complaint to urge his own arguments? Did the leaders lay down a single principle as a criterion, and insist that none but believers in that principle should co-operate with them? So with the friends of temperance. They all go for abstinence from intoxicating drinks, but leave every man to do so from whatever arguments or motives he pleases. The cause requires union only in the result; and, if its friends all unite in total abstinence, they may reach that result by an Orthodox or a Unitarian, a Protestant or a Catholic mode of reasoning.

‘I like, however, to see a reform reduced to its simplest elementary principle.’ That may be a very pleasant and useful exercise for you; but is it a wise course for a reform which has to deal with all sorts of minds? You love to simplify and generalize; but most persons would be very likely to turn their back on such modes of advocating any

cause. Such a procedure would also multiply the difficulties of reform. Let me suppose you arguing against the slave-trade. Not satisfied with proving it wrong, you try to bring it under the condemnation of some general principle applicable to a hundred other things, the principle, if you please, that all love of money, or all physical coercion of men, both of which are so deeply concerned in that trade, is unchristian. Your antagonist readily admits the *traffic* to be wrong, but joins issue on your general principle, and thus compels you to waste nearly all your strength upon what is not essential to your purpose. Were you endeavoring to abolish duelling, would you first establish the principle, that self-defence, or the taking of human life in any case, or all use of brute force, is unchristian, and then forbid the co-operation of any that did not embrace one or all of these principles? True, if you prove either, you condemn duelling; but if neither is true, that practice may still be utterly wrong. So in peace. I prove it just as wrong for nations to fight as it is for individuals; but one strenuous for simplification, presses me to know on what *principle* I condemn war. 'Why, I have just adduced a dozen in the shape of so many arguments against it.' "But on what *one* in particular do you deem it wrong? What is your stand-point?" If in reply I say, that human life is inviolable, or that the gospel discards all physical force, or forbids my injuring another for my own benefit, he starts at once a new trail of objections, not against my sole aim of abolishing war, but against my principle as applicable in his view to something else which he thinks right. He says it condemns capital punishment, and even subverts all human government; and thus he leads me away from my sole object into disputes which have little or no connection with peace. If you prove human life inviolable, or all use of brute force unchristian, you certainly condemn war; but is it wrong on no other grounds? If it is, then let all that choose, discard it on those grounds, nor insist that they shall argue against it only in your own favorite way.

'But every reform should have some fixed, distinguishing principle.' Certainly, and such would our plan insure to the cause of peace. It is the principle, that war, being inconsistent with Christianity, and the true interests of mankind, ought to be abolished. What principle in any reform is more distinct, more intelligible, or more practical than this?

'But we should *carry out* our principles.' So we should to the accomplishment of our object, but no farther. Nothing more is done, or attempted, or even permitted in any enterprise of the kind. No principle is pushed to its utmost application. Take an example. The broad principle, lying at the bottom of temperance, forbids excessive or injurious stimulation of our bodies; but this principle, if carried into all its possible applications, would sweep away tobacco, and tea, and coffee, and animal food, and a multitude of other indulgences never embraced in the temperance reform. The cause of peace is not an exception, in this respect, to all others; nor can its friends be reason-

ably required to carry any principle beyond their single object of abolishing war.

We plead, then, for the cordial, zealous co-operation of *all* peace-men. Associated solely for the abolition of international war, they should be pledged only to that end, and allowed to retain each his own opinions, and to labor for their common object in such ways as they respectively prefer, without insisting upon any other basis of co-operation than the belief, that war, being inconsistent with Christianity, and the true interests of mankind, ought to be abolished. Such a course would remove not a few obstructions, conciliate a much larger number of co-workers, and pave the way for a speedier and more glorious triumph. Such has been the course pursued by our society from the start; and all our experience confirms our belief of its propriety and wisdom. If others adopt principles more radical, and a policy more exclusive, or the reverse, we still welcome them as co-workers in our common cause, and rejoice in every effort or influence likely to hasten the day when nations shall begin to beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more.

RADICAL PEACE SOCIETY. — Under this title was lately announced in the *Boston Post* the formation of a new Peace Society based on principles more extreme, and embracing objects more extensive, than those of any peace organization with which we are acquainted. The third article of its constitution says, "We affirm that human life is absolutely sacred, and can never rightfully be taken by individuals or governments. We assume that all war, and all preparations for war, all capital punishment, and all resort to deadly force to adjust individual or international difficulties, are opposed to the highest teachings of human nature, to the truest expediency, and to the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ. We affirm that defensive man-killing is no less a crime than offensive man-killing. We affirm it to be our solemn purpose, under all circumstances, and in all relations, to act on the principle of returning good for evil; and we deem it our highest duty and privilege to suffer rather than inflict suffering, to die rather than to kill." It is represented as restricted to Massachusetts, but auxiliary to "the Universal Peace Society," of which we had not before heard. "J. P. BLANCHARD, President."

Beyond the foregoing statements, we know nothing about this movement, but shall rejoice in the success of any efforts, by whomsoever made, for the abolition of war. We cannot hold ourselves responsible for the extreme views here broached, and fear their effect will be to bring into disrepute, as utterly impracticable and visionary, the grand sole object at which the friends of peace have hitherto labored — the extinction of the war-system by the introduction of legal, rational, peaceful substitutes. We restrict ourselves to this single, well-defined purpose, but shall welcome the co-operation of any who may choose to seek the same end by more radical means. In our principles and

measures, we go just far enough to do away the evil we combat; but farther than this we deem it unwise and inconsistent for us to go as co-workers in this great reform.

EFFECT OF OUR REBELLION ON THE MISSIONARY CAUSE. — We have congratulated ourselves, as well we might, on the liberality shown to this enterprise during our civil strife; but we seem quite inclined to overlook some very serious drawbacks. The friends of missions have indeed, contributed more than ever before; but in many cases it has not gone half so far as in former years. Remittances must be sent to missionaries in specie or its equivalent, and sometimes a dollar in gold has cost more than two dollars and a half in our currency; and in this way alone our rebellion has probably cost the different Missionary Societies in our country not less than a quarter of a million in a single year. The American Board congratulates its friends that it spent in this way \$75,000 less the last year than in years before; and it is safe to suppose that our rebellion has cost to the missionary enterprise in our country twice as much in four years as has been spent in fifty years for the cause of Peace.

So with the moral recoil upon this great enterprise. At the late meeting of the Board there was a long and spirited discussion on a report in regard to "the falling off in the number of missionary candidates, and stating that while eleven missionaries were sent abroad in 1860, only twenty-three have gone in the six years since that time, and that the number of ordained missionaries is now twenty-seven less than then. A special appeal has called out only one missionary and three candidates." The malign influences of our rebellion will go far to account for these discouraging facts. The piety of our land is God's nursery of the missionary cause; and that, if not chilled or gangrened by the ubiquitous prevalence of a war spirit, has been widely turned into other channels. This declension of the missionary spirit comes from essentially the same causes which have occasioned the fact, that with an increase of millions in our country's population, we doubt whether there were in 1865 more members in our evangelical churches than there were in 1860, and certainly but a very slight increase. Some denominations have reported a decrease, and even Methodism with its membership of nearly a million, increased one year less than one thousand in all the land!

ALTERED TONE ABOUT WAR. — We see this at every turn. The modes of thought and feeling still prevalent on the subject, are certainly bad enough, but by no means so bad as they were ages ago. Few things tend more to perpetuate the spirit of war than the tone of admiration and eulogy in which its deeds are commemorated. Surely it is time that our profession of Christianity

should so far, at least, prevail as to deter men from elaborately gilding with their eloquence scenes of mere savage brutality of which the very beasts of the field might be ashamed. Those writers who corrupt the innocence of youth by throwing a halo of romantic interest over acts of crime and vice, are justly denounced as among the worst enemies of man and society; but can we esteem as less guilty those who debauch the morality of nations by investing with the charms of poetry and sentiment scenes of colossal crime? Even if there were a far higher display of mental power and skill than any which is seen on the battle-field, the object for which those qualities are employed ought to suffice to convert admiration into abhorrence. "He would be justly detested," says Sir James Mackintosh, "who, if he were in safety, should find leisure to admire the beauty of a tiger engaged in tearing a man to pieces. But the folly, at least, of those who admire the genius and valor of the conqueror is much more egregious; for they are seldom beyond the reach of the living conqueror, and their admiration increases the number and the ferocity of the race."

We think, indeed, we can discern a great improvement in the tone in which the exploits of war are now spoken of as compared with the past. During the present German war, the papers at home and abroad, instead of lashing themselves and their readers into factitious enthusiasm over deeds of wholesale fratricide, have rather shared the feeling which Milton ascribed to our first father, when the angel caused to pass before him the vision of a battle-field:—

‘——— Oh, what are these?
Death's ministers, not men, who thus deal death
Inhumanly to men and multiply
Ten-thousandfold the sin of him who slew
His brother. For of whom such massacre
Make they but of their brethren, men of men?’

Shall we be taking undue credit to ourselves if we assume that the persistent teaching of the Peace Society for fifty years has something to do with this change? It is remarkable enough, as often illustrated in the history of nations, how the earnest inculcation of a great truth, though amid a perfect storm of ridicule, does gradually tell upon the spirit of a community. Some particles of conviction are unconsciously absorbed into the blood even of the sneerers themselves, while to a much larger extent a quiet influence penetrates the hearts of those who try to rule their life by the standard of a purer and nobler morality.”
— *Herald of Peace*.

BOMBARDMENT— Its Destruction of Property.— It is often impossible to ascertain how much it destroys. That of Valparaiso in 1865 was supposed at the time to have sacrificed \$20,000,000, of which only 1,000,000, belonged to the Chilian government, but \$10,000,000 to British subjects. The amount lost does not by any means measure the sum total of mischief.

PEACE SENTIMENTS IN EUROPE.

THE recent war in Europe, with its antecedents and accompaniments, might well seem to discourage the friends of peace respecting the progress of our cause there; and yet amid all these ill omens, we find unmistakable proofs that the peace leaven is quietly working in the hearts of the people. A few extracts from European journals will show this:—

Economiste Belge.—"There are in Europe," it said before the late war, "certain gentlemen who have the power to let loose on the world the scourge of war, dooming to death hundreds of thousands of men, and destroying property by millions. In lieu of war let us suppose these gentlemen had at command some other scourge, like cholera or the plague, it is clear men would soon search for some means to snatch from their hands the power of inflicting so dreadful an evil upon mankind, and a universal league would be organized against these promoters of cholera or the plague. But war is a scourge more destructive than any epidemic disease; and why not organize a universal league against war? Why do the friends of Peace, instead of merely deploring the malevolent power of Bismarks, not unite to destroy or neutralize this nefarious power? Public opinion throughout all Europe, and among all classes of society, energetically wishes for peace; wherefore do we not avail ourselves of this salutary disposition of men's minds to organize a great agitation against war?"

It may be objected that societies and congresses of Peace have not hitherto led to any practical result. Well, let us admit that; but war, let us remember, is as ancient as the world, and those who have in their hands the power, to let it loose, have at their disposal a most formidable organization. They have armies, fleets, functionaries; they have taxes and loans. The societies and congresses of Peace, on the other hand, are new things; and up to the present time they have had for their promoters and adherents only a comparatively small number of economists and friends of humanity. At the time, also, when they were first started, the general interests did not plead so powerfully as they do to-day in favor of the maintenance of peace; while the warlike passions, violently excited by the French revolution, yet remained fresh and strong in the hearts of the masses. They were regarded at first, therefore, as only a sort of curiosity, and received only a limited recognition. But has not the situation changed? Has not the necessity for peace grown greatly, both in extent and intensity? Does not the ruin which the mere expectation of war has already wrought in the industrial and commercial world, prove that the nuisance of war, instead of diminishing, is becoming more aggravated continually? Have we not the right, therefore, to count on the co-operation of those interests becoming more and more numerous, which that nuisance injures? Is it not when fire actually breaks out that we understand best the utility of insurances? And what is the object which the friends of Peace propose but the establishment of a universal insurance against war? Already the idea of convoking a Congress of Peace is working in many minds."

The editor then refers to several journals in Belgium that unite in urging a Peace Congress for the prevention of war. "It is important," says *Courier du Commerce*, "that we should lift up our voice and pronounce with more energy than ever against the war conspirators. Let meetings be organized; let a serious movement be set on foot by the partisans of the cause of peace; in one word, let the decision of public opinion be in such a

manner as to leave no doubt as to its unanimity. War is an anachronism. So men think, and so they say; but we must make it an impossibility. The community of nations have only to will it, and it *shall* be so. In presence of an interest so supreme, so universal as that of the maintenance of peace in Europe, no voice ought to rest mute. Let us try to profit by the favorable disposition of public opinion; and, while the armies recruited by the conscription accomplish their sinister work, let us occupy ourselves in gathering and organizing the voluntary army of peace."

The Bulletin du Dimanche, referring to the idea of a Congress, says, "We are fully persuaded that a new Congress at Brussels cannot fail to exercise a happy influence on the future of civilization. For ourselves, apostles of universal peace, we believe that it is by persuasion and free discussion that we can best triumph over all despotism and oppositions. Ideas penetrate everywhere far more effectually than the sword, and can untie, without cutting, the Gordian knot of civilization. Let us continue to wield these powerful arms, being fully convinced that we shall end in routing, or rather in drawing to, those who have no faith now except in the power of bayonets."

The Journal d'Anvers, another Belgian paper, thus writes during the late war: "It is only a few weeks since war broke out in Europe; and already what ravages, what mourning! More than 50,000 men have met their death on the field of battle! And God knows what yet more terrible disasters we may learn to-morrow. When millions of men burn with a desire to cut each other's throats; when armies, excessively numerous, and furnished with instruments of destruction perfected to the highest point, meet for mutual extermination, one cannot but groan to think of the terrible consequences which must result from the sanguinary events of which Europe is at present the theatre. At the same time one wish occupies all hearts, all wills are united in the desire that a speedy end should be put to the horrors of the present situation. To find the means of abolishing the absurd and monstrous practice called *making war*, such is the problem which every one wishes to see solved; such is the enigma, the happy solution of which would relieve the world of one of the greatest scourges that can afflict humanity. There are earnest men who make it their duty to study this question. One of our best journals, *La Paix*, has not ceased to enlighten public opinion on this question; and we see with pleasure that the Society of *Economie Politique* proposes to use its efforts with a view to avert for the future warlike enterprises and all the disasters which follow in their train.

"Whatever method may be taken for attaining this end, we cannot but render homage to the generous sentiments which influence those who wish to insure to humanity the priceless blessings of peace. We earnestly desire that their example may find numerous imitators, and that their efforts may be crowned with the best success. The question of peace is neutral ground on which all the world, without distinction of religion or party, may assemble for discussion. To discover the means of rendering war impossible, is the noblest and most useful conquest that can excite the ambition of humanity."

The London *Herald of Peace* reports "some rumors of an intention to hold a Peace Congress *this year* at Brussels," but wisely suggests that it would be better for the friends of peace at large to concentrate their strength "in preparing for a grand International Peace Congress next year in connection with the Great Exhibition of Industry and Art at Paris. Our experience in matters of this sort has been pretty large; and we believe that we cannot extemporize a movement that shall be really and widely successful

There must be ample time, careful organization, and great preparatory labor. If all this could be employed in the interval between now and next summer, we should not despair of convening at that epoch an assembly so numerous and influential as would really produce some impression on the public opinion of Europe." We trust that these suggestions will prevail, and will lead to a large gathering of the leaders in this great reform next year at the Paris exhibition akin to that at London in 1851. ●

COMMENTS ON THIS MOVEMENT.—"A new league," says the *Boston Journal*, "designed to break down the system of standing armies in Europe, has been formed at Antwerp, and is holding its meetings alternately at Antwerp and Paris. One of the principal leaders in the movement is M. Edmond Potonie, who has recently gained some notoriety by his writings upon political economy for the French journals. Branches of the league are to be formed in all the principal towns in Europe. A congress of the members will be held some time during the present year at Brussels; and the chief question for discussion will be the formation of an International Tribunal, consisting of representatives from the leading European States, and empowered to bring about the pacific settlement of the different questions that arise from time to time among them, and are now brought to the arbitrament of arms."

If the necessity of being constantly prepared for emergencies that may cause an instant war could be removed, it would unquestionably be a great public benefit. No European government now feels secure without a large standing army; and the maintenance of such an army withdraws a large portion of the bone and sinew of the country from the active and productive pursuits of peaceful industry, and makes them consumers, to be supported by taxes upon the farmers, artisans and merchants of the country. The change of 100,000 men from producers to consumers makes an immense difference in the yearly balance sheet of a nation, and it would be a great achievement if nations could be brought to adjust their differences by diplomacy instead of cannon. The advocates of universal peace, however, have the precedents of all the centuries against them, and there is no reason to believe that the world is yet ready to give up the final arbitrament of arms for the settlement of national differences. *The most enthusiastic peacemen in our own country held their theories and opinions in abeyance during the war of the rebellion, and marched to the front to defend their country's flag.* Cases like that, where fighting is a sacred and holy duty, are always liable to arise; and for such emergencies a well-disciplined army is better than all the theories of peace and non-resistance."

We take leave to say that "the most enthusiastic peacemen have" not "held their theories and opinions in abeyance." That here and there one has done so, may be true; but the mass of peacemen, all the leading advocates of peace, have throughout the late rebellion retained and publicly avowed the very same principles that they held before. The mistake is with such men as the editor of the *Journal* in not inquiring what peacemen really believe. Had they done so, they would have learned that the friends of peace seek to abolish, not civil government, nor any of its legitimate powers, but only the custom of war, or the practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword. More than twenty-five years ago we stereotyped such statements as the following in exposition of our principles and policy:—"Our

Society does not inquire how murder, or any offences against society shall be punished; how force shall be used for the suppression of mobs, and other popular outbreaks; by what specific means government shall enforce its laws, and support its rightful and indispensable authority; to what extent an individual may protect himself or his family by violence against murderous assaults; how a people, deprived of their rights, shall regain and preserve them, or in what way *any controversy between a government and its own subjects shall be adjusted*. With such questions, however important, the cause of Peace is not concerned. It concerns itself *solely* with the *intercourse of nations for the single purpose of abolishing their practice of War.*"

Thus we have from the first recognized the existence and necessity of civil government, with its right to enact laws, and its duty to put them in force. Our rebels violated these laws by wholesale; and our government was obliged, in the discharge of its duties, to put them in execution against the rebels, or prove itself recreant to its high trust, and cease in fact to be a government, anything more than a mere name, or delusive bugbear. We said, as we had always said, that government has the right, and is bound, to enforce its own laws against those who violate them, and this whether the violators be few or many, one man or ten millions. In suppressing the late rebellion our government claimed to have merely executed its own laws; in principle a process of justice like that which puts down a mob, or executes a gang of pirates. In thus supporting government, we "hold in abeyance" none of our principles as peacemen, but just show their legitimate application to the case in hand.

But says the *Journal*, "the experience of nations is showing that war in these modern days is too costly an undertaking to be entered upon for any trivial object, and in this respect the friends of peace will gain a partial victory, and will accomplish a part of their avowed mission. The next century will probably witness fewer wars than the last one has; but the conflict of modern armies, with all the scientific paraphernalia of warfare, is terrible in its expenditure of blood and treasure. A humane and enlightened government will deliberate long and thoughtfully before it marshals its subjects in battle, but it will remain for another age than this to give up what the world has always held as prime among national birthrights, the right to levy war in defence of honor and interest."

All this we regard as saying in effect that men are not yet sufficiently enlightened to supersede the blind and brutal arbitrament of the sword by rational, peaceful expedients for the settlement of their disputes, and the regulation of their intercourse. Very true; and it is for this reason that the efforts of peace reformers are so urgently needed to secure and hasten such a consummation.

COMPETITION IN MILITARY PREPARATIONS EXPENSIVE. — It is well known that iron-clads have increased the cost of war-ships fivefold, in some cases more than tenfold; and now the much vaunted success of the Prussian needle-gun, with correlate arrangements, is said to be lead-

ing all the governments of Europe to reorganize and equip their armies on the Prussian model. If they do so, how vast the expense; and when done, they will all stand relatively just where they now are; not a whit better off, so far as mutual defence is concerned, than they were before.

HOW RULERS SPORT WITH THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE. — It is a melancholy sight to see the fate of a million and a half of fighting men depend upon a few elderly gentlemen sitting round a table at the approaching conference, representing a hundred millions of the most enlightened, best educated men in Europe, the subjects of their respective sovereigns, and that these hundred millions of people, who will have to bear the brunt of the war, if it come, have no more voice in arresting it than if they were natives to the empire of China. Against this we can have no safeguard under either monarchy or aristocracy; but when the people in fact, if not in form, they can, if they will, screen themselves, and *will*, if duly informed and drilled on the subject. The tendency, in all civilized countries, is now clearly, if not strongly, to such a result.

PAGANS WISER THAN CHRISTIANS. — Lord BROUGHAM, in one of the notes to his Discourse on Natural Theology, says, "Plato and the other theists enumerate three kinds of blasphemy or sacrilege, and in the Republic of the former all three are made equally punishable with death. The first species is the denying of the existence of a deity or of gods. The second, admitting their existence, but denying that they care for man. The third kind of blasphemy was that of men attempting to propitiate the gods towards criminal conduct, as slaughters and outrages upon justice — to quote the very words of Plato — '*by prayers, thanksgivings and sacrifices, thus making those pure beings the accomplices of their crimes by sharing with them a small portion of the spoil as the wolves do with the dogs.*'"

On these views of Plato, Lord Brougham adds in a note, "Who can read these and such passages as these, without wishing that some who call themselves Christians, some Christian principalities and powers, had taken a lesson from the heathen sage, and, if their nature forbade them to abstain from massacres and injustice, at least had not committed 'the scandalous impiety,' as he calls it, of singing in places of Christian worship, and for the accomplishment of their enormous crimes, Te Deums, which in Plato's Republic would have been punished as blasphemy? Who, indeed, can refrain from lamenting another pernicious kind of sacrilege (an anthropomorphism) yet more frequent — that of making Christian temples resound with prayers for victory over our enemies, and thanksgiving for their defeat? Assuredly such a ritual as this is not taken from the New Testament."

VIRGINIA MILITIA — A GOOD SIGN. — Vigorous efforts are being made to reorganize the Virginia militia, but the rank and file do not exhibit any great degree of alacrity in responding to such calls. The

high privates allege they saw enough of soldiering in four years' war, and have no idea of engaging in holiday parades for the glorification of officers of the Home Guards. Like indications are found at the North as well as the South. It would seem, quite contrary to our fears, that the rebellion has, on the whole, given little, if any, increased impulse to the military passion in any part of the land.

SUBLIMITY OF WAR.

WAR is a very sublime business. What a grand sight that was from the tower at Königgrätz! How beautiful all those fine regiments, checkered on the corn-fields! How magnificent the roar of a thousand pieces of artillery discharged continuously for hours! How mighty the shock of half a million of men! How spirit-stirring the description by the best quill in Europe, sent to narrate the victories of Austria, but actually narrating their disasters! War has become such a scientific affair, too. Not to speak of that admirable and most ingenious invention, the needle-gun, by which you may kill two or three men a minute without fail, what a clever thing it was of General Moltke, sitting in his bureau at Berlin, to direct all the movements of the different army corps through the defiles of the Bohemian mountains by means of the telegraph,—the commanders of those same corps, by the same means, keeping one another hourly informed of their whereabouts! Who can fail to admire the perfection of modern warfare, as exhibited in the completeness, promptitude, and vigor of all the Prussian arrangements?

Nevertheless, there are a few particulars in which war does not change; and these tend somewhat to lessen our enthusiasm for fine artillery practice, the marvellous execution of the needle-gun, and the brilliant movements of cavalry. Dr. Russell has graphically told us how shot and shell dropped among the regiments waiting behind, each making a little gap, and leaving a little black pile upon the field; how, too, now and then, a black volume, rising out of the white fog of cannon-smoke, told of a village in flames, "The pleasant little village, snug church, hospitable mill, all were burning. At least ten villages burning at once, farm-houses adding their contingents to the fire and smoke, caissons blowing up, shells bursting, and the slopes and hill-tops covered with gray and blue specks, each a man in agony or in death. All over the field were hundreds of wounded limping away, and piles of dead lay in rows along the lanes and in the thick corn;" and the last glance of the writer from his watch-tower "showed a very hell of fire—corn-fields, highways, slopes and dells, and hillsides, covered with the slain."

The roll of the dead and wounded has not been made up yet. It took a week to shovel a few handfuls of earth over the corpses at Sadowa, and some of the wounded lay out there in the fields and ditches for six days without food, and, strange to say, without dying. "The troops of horsemen, as they pass along the road, turn away their head from the sight,—nay, the patrols as they walk up and down, have not had the courage to lift the man who lies face downward in that ditch. The work of burial is left in the hands of the peasantry, who simply dig a hole in that part of the field where the dead lie thickest, and, stripping them, fling them in. All did not end with the battle. The retreating Austrians got back across the Elbe by pontoon bridges, at which horse, foot, guns and trains crowded pell-mell together, often under a pitiless shower of shell and shrapnel, and even of musketry. There are dreadful stories coming out of great unknown horrors

which took place that night—how pontoons, laden with hundreds, were swept down the river and overturned, with their shrieking, helpless cargoes weighted with great-coats and arms and cartridges, and sinking like stones to form a pavement of dead at the bottom of the sullen stream; how artillery and horsemen crashed down upon and through the struggling infantry, and jammed them in the narrow roads, and hustled them over the bridges into the pitiless waters; how men wading in their terror, were suddenly sucked down in the treacherous holes in marshy inundations, or were swept away in vain attempts to swim across to safety."

What to do with the wounded is still a difficulty:—"The paucity of trains has caused a proportionate overflow of wounded, and for some distance from the railway station the various roads are lined on each side by these mournful rows of young men, wrapped up in their great, torn, mud-splashed cloaks. When every inn has been turned into a hospital, and every private house into a miniature lazaret, nothing more can be done; and the unhappy soldiers are sent northward in slow wagons, shivering through the cold and wet of these bitterly cold and wet days and nights." Those who don't die on the way are amputated and patched up at last. Throughout Germany there will be a considerable demand for wooden legs and splints. Further than this the reporters cannot inform us; and the imagination refuses to conceive of the ruined homes, the broken hearts, the exquisite misery, the pitiful orphanage. Is it not a glorious business? And there are six millions of armed men in Europe at this moment ready to cut and slay, though not one of them could give you a reason why he was shooting his fellows! And this in Christendom!!—*London Patriot*.

EUROPEAN PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—The following figures give the numbers which the various powers of Europe would be ready to call forth in a great general war. France, 903,617; Prussia, 650,000; Austria, 651,612; Italy, 424,193; Russia, 1,200,000; England, 465,000, besides volunteers, Germanic Confederation, 407,301; Spain, 170,900; Portugal, 64,118; Holland, 92,000; Sweden and Norway, 139,800; Denmark, 41,940; Switzerland, 198,291; Belgium, 80,650; Turkey, 341,580; Egyptian Contingent, Darubian Principalities, Montenegro and Servia, 152,000; Roman States, 12,000; Total, 6,226,062. The above statement, though the recent German war must locate the forces somewhat differently, gives a low estimate of the general scale on which the nations of Europe aim to prepare themselves for war. More than six million fighters in nations professing a common religion of peace!!

INDIAN RAILWAYS.—There are 3,832 miles, and more than 5,000 miles now projected but not yet finished; an increase the last year of 887 miles. The system of railways there are expected to cost, when completed, more than \$400,000,000, of which about \$300,000,000 have already been expended. All this indicates a vast and sure increase of financial prosperity. How much better this mode of expenditure than that of war, which is always worse than a dead loss.

PORTLAND INSURANCE.—Re-payments to the sufferers from the Portland fire must be a very serious relief. The losses were estimated at \$10,000,000; and from insurance offices no less than 3,159,450 have already been paid, more than one third of the total losses. New York City alone is said to have paid \$1,355,200. In war how seldom can its sufferers expect any such relief or even much sympathy.

CHRISTIAN MINISTERS ON PEACE.

I OBSERVE in the last *Advocate* an article respecting the "Duty of Ministers on Peace." That article presses the subject at the right point, and by the right considerations. Would that it were made a closet companion with all ministers of the gospel! The war sentiment of a people has depended, and must ever depend, on the supposed countenance of their religion; and the considerations there presented leave the continuance or discontinuance of the war-system very much at the option of the clergy. They say, and say truly, we do preach peace, and make prominent its virtues of meekness, forgiveness, love of enemies, and the duty of overcoming evil with good, as an integral part of the gospel. Our sentiment is, convert the hearts of men to God by means of the gospel, and wars will cease of course.

Now, all this is the language of piety, but should never serve as an excuse for neglecting to expose the wrong and absurdities of the war-system. Preaching peace in the abstract will never do away war. Long and loud was the voice of the ministry uttered against drunkenness during the first quarter of this century. Its shame, its guilt and its fatal consequences were hung on high as a beacon warning to all, and the voice of not only the Church but of the community at large condemned it. Still the flood of alcoholic drinks rolled on with increasing strength, so long as the clergy and the church themselves indulged in them as a beverage. Why? Because such use of alcohol was incipient drunkenness, and was all that the sot claimed a right to do. The clergy and the church in their individual capacity had to begin the reform.

So it must be with war. So long as merely offensive wars are made the object of detestation, with no attack on the war-system itself, the war on *our side* will be approved as defensive. Such has been, and will be, the utterance of every nation. The fact is, the war-system itself knows no distinction between offensive and defensive wars, but recognizes them both as lawful. They both claim and concede the right of appealing to mere brute force for the settlement of their disputes. It is only duelling on a large scale. War is a great public duel; and the terms offensive and defensive are always bandied back and forth between the parties very much alike.

It is in vain to say the evil is intangible. Whatever may heretofore have been the case, this excuse can no longer be even plausible. War has now become an art, a science, and as such is made a system, with its rules and alleged rights. Let us look at a few of these. Says Vattel, "The troops, officers and soldiers, indeed all by whom the sovereign makes war, are *only instruments in his hands*; they execute his will, not their own; they are not responsible." "The arms and all the apparatus are only instruments of an inferior order." Thus every enlistment is a sacrifice, a suicide of the man's humanity. Yet the soldier is a man, and must at length give account of himself to God,

who has said, "though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished." Says Vattel, "The cause of every just war is injury either done *or threatened*." "In every case susceptible of doubt, the arms of the two parties are to be accounted equally lawful as to external effects. Whatever is permitted to one by virtue of a state of war, is also permitted to the other. On a declaration of war, a nation has a right of doing to the enemy whatever is necessary to the justifiable end of bringing him to reason, and obtaining justice. The lawful end gives a right to the means which are necessary for obtaining such end." "When a nation cannot obtain justice, it has a right to do itself justice. One method is obtaining satisfaction by retaliation, according to which we make another suffer exactly so much evil as he has done."

Now, is there nothing to rebuke in such laws or rules as these? Nay, does not the gospel imperatively require its ministers to hold forth a persistent testimony against all such laws as being utterly inconsistent with Christianity? Ought you not to show their absurdity and their wickedness?

Some may object that such a course would weaken the hand of government. But this objection can never annul the commands resting upon you. "Hear the word at my mouth, and warn the people from me." "Teach them all things whatsoever *I have commanded you*." But we need not fear weakening the hands of governments, or diverting them from their proper object by abolishing the war-system. The true object of government is to protect those rights with which our Creator has endowed us, such as life, liberty and property. Yet have not governments been by the war-system made the great destroyers of all these? It is no more the proper sphere of national governments than of heads of families, to declare war against each other by virtue of their authority. If it be pleaded in excuse of war, that there is no tribunal to which nations may appeal, it is sufficient to reply, there *ought to be*; and to secure a suitable tribunal for such purpose, has been a prime object with peace societies. If some apology may be found for the multitudes who support war in the fact that they are ignorant of the war-system and the soldier's liabilities, there can be no such apology in this land of letters.

The ministers of religion, then, ought, like Ezekiel, to enter this chamber of imagery, and spread out its abominations before the sun, that their theory may be seen to be commensurate with their physical evils. No dogma that the papal see ever inculcated, can surpass the war-system in absurdity; and no language can duly set forth its physical results. The burning of heretics to purify the Church is cast in the shade by it.

We say, then, it is clearly the duty of ministers to unite their efforts against war, until it is banished from the earth. It cannot be denied that aspiring young men would regard this as narrowing down the sphere of honor; but Christians should seek that honor which cometh from God only. To expunge the provisions for war found in the laws of nations, would undoubtedly sap many of the maxims, which have

long been cherished by allied civil and ecclesiastical despotism, such as the divine right of kings or governments, and placing their morality above and beyond the sphere of individual guilt or innocence. They ought to be thus expurgated. Even in our Declaration of Independence, the inaugural of our nationality, though founded on the true scripture principles of government, we find the right asserted to wage war. But that may well be cast off now as among the swaddling bands of our nation's infancy, and inconsistent with the fundamental principles of government. Though by such a course we might incur the temporary charge of cowardice, it would be an exhibition of greater moral courage than is afforded on the battle-field, thus to take the lead before the world in so sublime a reform.

Only let the present war-system be abolished, and governments would undoubtedly soon organize some police force in strict subordination to the civil authority, which would afford it ample efficiency for internal purposes, while a just regard for national honor would give more efficiency to rules of peaceful intercourse among nations than it now gives to the laws of war.

Do not, then, all motives combine to prompt ministers to assert their distinctive character as ambassadors of the Prince of Peace?

July, 1866.

S. W. B.

EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.—The tide of emigration to this country seems to be steadily increasing. From Europe alone, the chief hive, there came from 1847 to 1866, May 16, a period of nearly twenty years, a grand total of 3,459,659, which will probably reach before the close of this year, 3,700,000. If we reckon all our 'immigrants' from every quarter during the last 20 years, they would doubtless exceed 4,000,000, thirty or forty per cent. more than our entire population at the close of our Revolutionary War in 1782. Here is a list of arrivals, as far as registered from year to year:—

1847.....	129,062	1857.....	183,773
1848.....	189,176	1858.....	78,589
1849.....	220,791	1859.....	79,322
1850.....	212,603	1860.....	195,162
1851.....	289,601	1861.....	65,529
1852.....	300,992	1862.....	76,306
1853.....	284,945	1863.....	156,844
1854.....	319,223	1864.....	225,916
1855.....	136,323	1865.....	196,347
1856.....	142,342	1866 to May 16,.....	65,813

These are nearly all refugees from the heavy burdens imposed by European tyranny, and its chief engine, the war-system, upon the common people in the Old World. Alas! this system is now meeting them here in its manifold and ubiquitous taxes; and should we idolize it, as past ages have always done, it will in time rule us with a rod of iron, and either crush our liberties, or render them of comparatively little value.

RECENT WARS. — According to Haussener, a learned German, war in 50 years from 1815 to 1864, has sacrificed 2,762,000 men, an average of 43,000 a year, not including deaths caused by epidemics and other incidental diseases resulting from war. In these fifty years, what a mere fraction of such numbers have died in efforts to spread the gospel among the unevangelized! Here are some of the items — in the Eastern or Crimean war, 508,600 fell; viz., 256,000 Russians, 98,800 Turks, 107,000 French, 45,000 English, and 2,600 Italians. In the Italian war of 1859 there fell 129,870. The total number of lives lost in the wars of Europe from 1792 to 1815, was 5,530,000, an average of 240,434 deaths a year in 23 years. From our long familiarity with such statistics, we do not believe the above figures give one half the actual loss of life.

LIFE LOST IN OUR REBELLION. — We find it stated, as the result of official inquiry and computation, "that 280,739 officers and men lost their lives from the beginning to the close of the war." Supposing the rebels lost as many more, — and they were much *more* reckless in sacrificing life, — nearly 600,000 men have fallen victims in this suicidal effort for the overthrow of our government. These figures, however, come far short, we fully believe, of the facts in the case. The sacrifice of life, in one way and another, by our rebellion, could not have been much, if at all, less than a million.

THE PEACE CAUSE ADVANCING. — Elihu Burrit, now our Consul at Birmingham, England, said at the late anniversary of the London Peace Society, "I feel an increasing interest in the cause of Peace, and believe that, notwithstanding all discouragements and pull-backs, there are many signs of a hopeful character. For one, I might mention the idea of International Congresses. This is a growing idea in the public mind — not merely *post-bellum* Congresses to be held when all the mischief is done, but Congresses to *prevent war*. Some ask what have Congresses done already? Look at Poland, Italy, etc., etc. Well, this was the work of Congresses that began their work at the wrong end. What we want are Congresses to *intercept and prevent war*. I believe if the recent proposition of Louis Napoleon had been accepted, there would have been no Danish war, and the evil results arising from that war would also have been prevented. I long to see a Congress of the eminent jurists of Europe called together to discuss practical points of International Law — some of those vexed questions, for instance, which have arisen during the recent American struggle, and which are loudly crying out for definite arrangement as regards the future. This Congress, moreover, might concoct an arrangement for a progressive and simultaneous disarmament; a measure imperatively needed through the stupendous fanaticism which is reducing so many of the nations of Europe to the verge of bankruptcy. Such a measure is truly feasible, and would injure no one; for, if equals be taken from

equals, the remainders are equal." After alluding to the past Congresses of the Friends of Peace, to the preliminary difficulties in each case, and to the unexpected measure of success attained, he strongly desired that the Peace Society should signalize this fiftieth year of its existence by calling a Congress.

GERMAN WAR:

SPECIMENS OF SO-CALLED CHRISTIAN WARFARE.

BATTLE OF SADOWA.

THE English people can have no idea of the state of the country which forms the stage for these magnificent tragedies. You hear vaguely of three, four, or ten thousand thalers being levied from this or that town; and doubtless it seems hard enough that the poor Bohemian villages should furnish forth such amounts. But, comparatively speaking, that is nothing; nor is the more cruel fact that the peasantry here, who manage to exist by confining their necessities of life to what they can grow on their own little bit of ground, find themselves deprived of provision for the coming winter, without money to purchase food, without a trade to obtain money. Here, so long as a man lives, and is in health, it is well with him. *The horror of the place consists in the fact, that there are wounded and dying men everywhere around, and the houses are not big enough to hold them, nor are there sufficient men to attend to them. The slaughter of Sadowa took place on the 3d, and yesterday I saw on the fields there dead men lying about, still unburied. Nay, two days ago, 125 wounded men were found in these fields and ditches, and yesterday there were brought to Horzitz three men, who, wounded on the 3d, had lain in the cold and wet without food for six days.* For these latter there is of course a swift and sure relief, which has probably by this time come to them; but those who are unfortunate enough not to die, have a sad time of it. The villages are so small that any amount of billeting, and any amount of willingness on the part of the inhabitants, cannot produce accommodation that does not exist. When every inn has been turned into a hospital, and every private house into a miniature lazaret, nothing more can be done; and the unhappy soldiers are sent northward in slow wagons, shivering through the cold and wet of these bitterly cold and wet days and nights.

Properly to recognize the present state of things, one must take a two or three days' walk from Turnau down through the country. The roads, torn up by the incessant wheels of the ambulance-wagons and carts, and softened by the rain that has poured almost constantly for several days, are now canals of mud, and the only method of getting along is to force a passage through fields of wet corn. But be the roads good or bad, that constant roar of wheels is heard from morning till night, while the mounted soldiers in charge of them, splashed with mud to the crown of their helmet, ride backwards and forwards at their wits' end because the country people cannot speak a word of German in reply to their questions. On the outside of the rude little inns, where once was a hospitable invitation in Bohemian,—there is now scrawled in large white letters "Lazareth." The small church, instead of ministering to wounded spirits, now ministers to wounded bodies; the seats have been removed, and there are rows of white couches on which

lie white-faced men, from the door to the very altar-steps. About nine miles from Turnau is the little village of Libun, in the neighborhood of which the fight that is called the battle of Gitschin took place. The Libun people have no wounded from Horzinowitz; their houses were already filled with their own wounded. The good priest of the little place took me through these small but cleanly hospitals, and almost the sole reply to his kindly "Wie gehts?"* was "Schlecht, sehr schlecht."† One after another of the men stretched out his lean arm to take hold of the father's hand, and press it to his lips, sinking back into his pillow with a sigh. Here, also, the church is filled with the wounded.

At Gitschin the stream of wagons divides, most of the provision-carts going on by Horzitz and Königgrätz, while the pontoons and artillery ammunition go straight south towards the Elbe. Towards Gitschin, also, come the Austrian cannon and enormous heaps of Austrian rifles captured at the great fight of Horzinowitz, which has made us here almost forget the little encounter at Libun. Twelve miles from Gitschin is the town from which I write; and here the horrors of the war have reached their climax. There is an office for the billeting of the wounded; but what signifies billeting when literally every one of these poor dwellings has as many sufferers as can sleep on the sacks of straw it will hold? Yesterday, *six days after the slaughter*, the wounded men were still being brought in. The previous evening there remained in the chief inn of the place the saloon still unoccupied; and the doctors and others here attending on the injured had, as a great favor, prevailed upon the hostess to let them sleep on the cushioned forms. She, poor woman! was standing at the table declaring, with much hysterical crying, how she had been utterly and irretrievably ruined, her wine taken, her money taken, even the house-clock carried off, when the soldiery entered the village. Suddenly there enters an officer with the white badge round his arm. 'This room is required for the wounded; clear it out.' There was no use in her frantic representation that the house was already full of soldiers; the officer—who had a hard duty to do, and did it manfully—at once went out to superintend the carrying in of the men. Wagon after wagon comes up; and as the light of the lantern is thrown upon each man's face, he is asked where he is wounded, so that they may lift him accordingly. 'Where are you wounded?' they ask of one man. There is no answer. 'In the foot?' Still no answer. 'In the breast?' The man will not even open his eyes; so they catch him by the shoulder, and find he is dead! And he is better off than his next neighbor, whose shouts of pain as they lift him ring along the little dark street, and draw a crowd of terror-struck villagers round the cart. In half an hour the large room was filled, and the doctors had to try to sleep—for the attempt appeared to be a miserable failure—in a sort of hayloft, on some loose straw, and with a cold wind rushing through the place during the whole night. But, like many others, they were doubtless glad to be protected from the rain.

Other eight miles of mud bring you to the neighborhood in which the battle took place. When you are yet half a mile from the battle-field there is no mistaking the road; the wind brings a horrible message from these flattened slopes of corn. Here is a long wood of birch and fir, in which the Prussians first took up their position; and in the adjoining meadows remain their lines of huts formed by the stems of young trees, and thatched with branches. A quarter of a mile of trees has been cut down to make these temporary dwellings; and all around these lie pamphlets and letters, and match-boxes, and glasses, left by soldiers who never were able to return for

* "How are you?"

† "Bad, very bad."

them. In the eastern part of the wood, fronting the Austrian forces, there is scarcely one of these magnificent firs that has not had its trunk cleft asunder by the grooved grenades which the Austrians use to such fell purpose. There are no small circles of rifle-bullets—the infantry were not sufficiently near; but the largest of the trees are rent asunder as if by lightning, and around lie thick shreds of iron, the remains of the exploded missiles. Issuing from the wood, you come upon a broad expanse of undulating country, that seems to be clothed with specks of brown and upright sticks; but these specks turn out to be the knapsacks of the soldiers, most of which have already been rifled by the peasantry, and the sticks are the legs of dead horses, lying on their backs in ditches! In the middle of the fields, at the foot of trees, by the roadside, everywhere, you come upon these carcasses; and as 200 of the poor animals still await their covering of earth, the stench that prevails over the country is horrible.

AFTER SCENES OF BATTLE. — Blood is everywhere. There is now quoted the prophecy of an old Bohemian soothsayer, who said that "When there are two kings in Bohemia the ditches will run with blood." The prophecy has been literally fulfilled, though one must hope that these deep, red, slow-dripping streams are the blood of horses rather than of men. But all over the wet fields, and on the articles you see lying about, are terrible stains, were nothing else there to tell the story. If you lift a helmet or cap, there are ten chances to one you find a bullet-hole in front of it, a corresponding circle behind, while inside there is the universal crimson stain. Nay, I have a card—one of a pack which has been scattered over the ground where the fiercest encounter seems to have taken place—wherein is neatly cut one of these bullet-circles, obliterating the shoulder of a pink-faced young man who is courting a pink-faced young woman under a yellow tree. Here a number of peasants have dragged forty-five horses into a great ditch, and are beginning to throw over them the damp earth. Up there by the huts of Sadowa are small parties who still scour the mounds and hollows in search of the wounded; and by the side of that line of trees, they dig graves for the dead.

It is six days after the battle, and these soldiers still lie there, and revealing a sight which shall have no description from me. As it is, they have passed that transitionary stage in which death is most frightful; and one looking on these black faces, can scarcely recognize them as having once been the faces of living men. It is only when a stony laugh is on the lips that they seem horrible; and even then they appear to be only masks, especially when you see the black face streaked with a light-colored moustache and eyebrows. The peasantry, unable to strip the dead of the uniform, tear off the clothes, and pitch the body into the great earthen pit, there being no clergyman present. They fling about the dead man as though they had been trained to witness horrors from their youth, and as though they saw in the corpse a lump of useless matter that had never walked and spoke and thought as one of themselves. The troops of horsemen, as they pass along the road to Königgrätz, turn away their head from the sight; nay, the patrols as they walk up and down have not had courage to lift the man who lies face downward in that ditch. The work of burial seems to have been left in the hands of the peasantry, who simply dig a hole in that part of the field where the dead lie thickest, and stripping them, fling them in. Where the soldiers have buried the dead, there is generally the two spars of wood crossed, with the number of the buried marked; while occasionally one or two officers have their names thereon inscribed, with the motto "True even until death." And this mournful work goes on from morning till night.

Here are the poor fellows who tried hard to win. We find Königinhof station little else than a hospital. There are tents filled with wounded, and heaps of straw piled up against the station wall, where wounded men lie blinking in the sunshine. It presently rains, and they are soaked as they lie on the straw. No neglect of them or carelessness of their fate can be charged to the nurses. But what is to be done? There are so many, it has been so great a mowing down, that nurses and volunteers can only struggle towards making things comfortable. In time they will have every one under shelter. We new-comers are drawn into the work of nursing by irresistible attraction. A faint cry from yonder straw heap brings me to the side of a wretched mangled form, which thirsts, and begs to be satisfied. Then, when once the water is seen, there are a dozen anxious faces turned towards it. This handsome young soldier is eager to speak. His breath comes very hard, for he has been shot through the breast, and is injured in the lungs. He wishes his mother to know that he is alive; she would miss him so, for he has no sister, and father and brother are dead! From this sad case I turn to another, less able to find expression, but equally plain to understand. A powerful man, who wears the medal for Italy of 1859, has been struck on the jaw, and is bound up until only his eyes and mouth are visible. He craves either food or drink, but is unable to ask, except by signs. There are groups of mere boys saying piteously, "Nicht Deutsch," and supposed to be Hungarians. They lie contentedly on their damp straw, which begins to grow warm again as the sun shines forth. But rain or shine, they are always thirsty. How rich a prize would twenty dozen of lemonade be to-day in Königinhof! — *Cor. Daily News.*

SCENES IN THE GERMAN WAR.—In my wanderings, I caught sight of a small white house, on which the word "schule" was written, and over which a white flag was hung. A sentry standing before the door told us we could not come in, because all the patients there were men with bad cases of cholera; but on being assured that this made no difference to us, he allowed us to pass in. The house was a little country school, consisting of four bare whitewashed rooms, from which the school benches had been removed. A more ghastly scene I have never witnessed than that which was shown me, as door after door was opened. On the bare hard floor there were a few trusses of dirty straw scattered loosely, and on these, without mattress or pillow, or covering of any kind, there lay some score of soldiers, half undressed, half covered with their stained, tattered uniforms, writhing in pain, dying, so far as I could judge, in different stages of cholera. There, in their filth, agony and wretchedness, these soldiers lay dying, alone and untended! In one room there was a poor, tottering old hag, who seemed to be doing what little she could to help the sick; but there was neither doctor, nor nurse, nor soldier present to help these poor wretches in their last moments. On going up the stairs, you had to pick your footsteps carefully to avoid stepping in pools of foul liquid with which the floor was soaked! Through the open windows, which looked upon the streets, you could hear one long wailing sound of pain.— *Cor. London Teleg.*

BIT OF A SURGEON'S EXPERIENCE.—The bright July (1866) sun shone at Necharitz on a fearful scene of human suffering. More than 600 severely wounded, of whom only the officers had beds, were waiting for us. There were only three doctors to take charge of them all. Necharitz, most of whose

inhabitants had fled, is a little town of 200 houses, with only one story, and little low rooms. In about 36 of these houses, and in the church, lay the wounded on scanty straw and hay, with only such food as the clergyman and mayor, who had remained behind, could with difficulty obtain. Prussians, Saxons, and, most of all, Austrians lay together, a ghastly crowd! We dismounted and after a slight meal began our work. All fatigue we felt soon disappeared before so much suffering, and we did not leave off before eight o'clock in the evening, when we found ourselves extremely tired, but had the pleasant consciousness of having spent the day in efforts to relieve the suffering around us. . . Of the battle which began at Necharitz and ended only at Königgrätz ten miles distant, the accounts we receive of our troops tell us of their perpetual triumph; but, alas! we cannot here share the joy of victory, for the suffering we see around us effectually neutralizes all pleasure. Many have already died, many others doubtless will; and many a father, many a wife will come in search of those who are already covered by a few feet of Bohemian earth.

PRUSSIA AFTER HER TRIUMPH. — Her war-system is likely to be more expensive and burdensome than ever; a very natural, if not inevitable result. A writer at Berlin estimates at 1,115,000 the force that can be raised by the new German Confederation, at the head of which Prussia now stands. Of these forces, 650,000 belong to the regular army, and the remainder to what is called the *land-wehr*, a force somewhat intermediate between our militia and our regular troops in actual service. What a multitude of moths and vampyres preying continually on twenty or thirty millions of people! Is there in Christendom or even in Paganism any other form of oppression to exceed or match this ubiquitous, ceaseless incubus? And yet the present civilization of Christendom would seem to continue and perpetuate this mammoth incubus.

HENRY W. BEECHER ON PEACE.

FROM a sermon lately preached by Mr. B. to his own people from the text, *Overcome evil with good*, we cull some extracts breathing in part the true spirit of peace, and justifying the hope we have long indulged, that his fine powers, and his genial and generous susceptibilities, shown in his advocacy of other Christian reforms, would yet be exhibited effectively in the cause of Peace.

“The apostle understood human nature, and knew when he made the exhortation that men are not to avenge themselves, they would cry out, ‘it is not in human nature not to do it; it is not possible for a man to receive wrongs, bitter wrongs, and not avenge himself.’ Then the apostle says, ‘do it as a Christian; and that is not to strike back, but to pay back by kindness. If you say human nature demands that you should give a man as good as he sends, do it; but take care that you give the *right* thing. It must be love, and kindness, and forbearance, and patience, and forgiveness. That is the only revenge that you are permitted to seek; and, if you wish to heap coals of fire on a man’s head, do it in that way, by

doing him good.' And then, to make the whole matter sure, he condenses it into the form of a principle, "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." That is the only instrument a Christian has a right to employ. He is obliged to fight evil all his life long; but never may he fight fire with fire. Always must he fight evil with good.

No more important principle could be deduced or expounded than this, as applied to the conduct of life; and its application has a range far wider than we are accustomed to think. It is not one of those maxims which touch a single point of human procedure, but one of those universal principles which touch human life on every side, and the individual in every single relation.

The almost universal tendency of men is to repay evil with evil. We attempt to repay words with more bitter words; anger with anger that is yet more intense; violence with more despotic violence. The attempt to put down by the hand of superior strength those that are doing wrong or offending us, is universal; and long after we know better, the impulse remains. The old nature is mightier than the new nature. That tendency which we have as a part of the animal kingdom in us, we do not easily get rid of; and we attempt with bone and muscle to subdue bone and muscle. The first impulse of men everywhere, even after their higher nature is developed, is to meet and punish evil with evil; whereas the divine wisdom never was anywhere more beautifully or more signally illustrated than in the success of the other and higher, though more difficult, method of overcoming evil with good.

Take, for instance, the case of those who sin against us — our enemies. The law of nature is, *Render evil for evil*. *If a man hates you, hate him. If he plots against you, counterplot against him. If he does you injustice, await your opportunity, and get it all back, with interest; and let it be compound interest.* But the law of Christ is this: *If a man hates you, or evil entreats you, or despitefully uses you, and persecutes you, love him; pray for him; watch for his good.*

I know men say forgiveness ought to be conditioned on repentance. Please tell me where you find that doctrine. Shall I find it where it says, "If thy brother trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him"? But that does not say you shall not forgive him if he does not repent. I ask those who attempt to justify their unforgiveness to listen. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him." It does not say that when your enemy is reconciled to you, when he has come to you and repented, then you are to feed him; it says that while he is yet your enemy, you are to feed him. "If he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." This kind of conduct will strike him with a remorse so pungent that it shall burn out the dross, and leave only the pure gold of a better life.

But let us go back to the teaching of our Saviour. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thy enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies." Take that word in the large sense of benevolent love. Interpret the command as enjoining the duty of exercising benevolent dispositions, kindly, well-wishing, genial thoughts and feelings toward your enemies. "Bless them that curse you." Men say, "that man is a wicked man, and has behaved hatefully to me, and still behaves hatefully to me; and I cannot forgive him, I am not called to. If he will lay aside his wickedness, I will forgive him. I do not wish him any harm; but I cannot forgive him so long as he persists in his present course." Now, Christ says, 'love that man, bless him, pray for him, though he has despitefully used you, and is actually persecuting you now; and you are to do it,

that you may be the child of your heavenly Father, and that you may be in his likeness. You are the agent that is to work a moral change in the man; and your forgiveness, your lenity, your great-mindedness, your goodness heaped on him, are the instruments which God has placed in your hands by which to change him. Nothing so soon dissolves the animosity of brother and sister as for one of them to forego his or her rights for the sake of the other.

If this doctrine of forgiving your enemies was preached as often as it ought to be, it would be preached much oftener than it now is. It ought to be in the liturgy, and be made a part of every Sunday morning's and every Sunday evening's service. It is astonishing how wide the range is of revengefulness. I used to think, before I knew much of life, judging from my impression of boys and young men who had not much to do with each other, that vengeance was not very common; but I have come to think differently since I have seen the interior of life, and seen what hatreds are bred out of friendships; how men come to work intentionally and unintentionally against each other; how they seek to supplant each other, and how they attempt to avenge wrongs done to them, watching and waiting for their victim, saying, 'he served me a mean trick; but never mind, I shall have a chance by and by;' and then, when he is in trouble, taking advantage of his misfortune to pay him off. A Christian man under such circumstances, would say, 'when I was in trouble, he tripped me; now I am going right out to hold him up, and show him the difference between being a Christian, and not being a Christian.' But these men say, 'he tripped me, and I am going to wait till he gets to the edge of the precipice, and then I will trip him; and then scores will be quit, and we will rub out the slate.' Men lay up a wrong done to them, and cherish it, and, as embers are raked up at night, rake it up, and then uncover it that it may burn the next day, and rake it up again, and uncover it again, and so keep it alive, and nourish it, till an opportunity comes for taking revenge and so wiping it out. This is as common in business as anywhere else, except in polite life, where abound little spites, and cutting remarks, and inuendoes, and scandal-bearings, and all manner of carrying and fetching. Life is full of these things; and how persons professing to be Christians can live in the state that some do in this regard, from week to week and from month to month, and call upon the name of God in the household, and sit at the Lord's table in the sanctuary, and partake of the body and blood of the great Sufferer, without being rebuked by their conscience, I cannot imagine. It is horrible!

Christ sought to reform the world by love. Love makes the best physician. Hatred is unwise. It is the least used and longest neglected bolt in the great treasure-house of God's wrath. It is the final and only alternative when he uses it. But love is the great divinely-appointed remedy. Love ministers patience. It is love that enables God to bear with men through their long evolution and development. Love cures all the sores that spring from the constitutional depravities of men. Love is the most essential element which has been revealed to the world, and is indispensable to the child, to man, to society, and to ages. And no one is fit to call himself a disciple of Christ who does not know how to make love stronger than any other feeling, and how, out of it as out of the bosom of a mother, to minister those recuperative influences by which wickedness shall be changed to goodness."

All this Mr. B. applies to our treatment of rebels: "The North should have been a thousand-fold more eminently Christian than the South. The people here should have felt and prayed for the people there, and should have longed for their well-being, while, though I know that hundreds and

thousands have done this, the apathy of the community has been that of a stern, cold judge, and they have favored paying iota for iota, measure for measure. This is my mourning and regret. I would have requited good for evil abundantly. I feel that it was a mistake that such a course was not pursued; and I believe that we shall not have a national life unchecked and harmonious and generous until we learn to exercise our civil functions as well as our individual functions according to the injunction, "Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you."

"There is no man," he says in another place, "so wicked but that his wickedness ought to excite in you the intensest sympathy for him; and in proportion as he is wicked, in proportion as you abhor his wickedness, you are fitted to be God's almoner of a better example and a better spirit to him. I do not believe we are going to reform wicked men by stripes, and chastisements, and restrictions of their liberty; and all prisons and penal systems which void kindness and Christianity, are mere heartless means of building a wall between the good and the bad, for the sake of saving the good, and leaving the bad to their destruction. "Overcome evil with good."

We suppose Mr. B. would have his reasoning applied to our treatment of ex-rebels, but does not tell us precisely how he would deal in general with wrong-doers, offenders against society. It is a vexed question which he seems not to have considered. When men violate law, what shall we do with them? Shall we return only good for the evil they have done? If they commit ever so many and ever so great crimes, must we not punish them according to law, but only load them all the more with favors, and show them special tokens of kindness, respect and confidence? This principle, pushed to all its logical results, would neutralize and annihilate all government, human and divine. It *must* punish the violation of its laws, or it ceases to be a government; and the vexed question is, how to reconcile the indispensable exercise of its legitimate functions with the principle of overcoming evil *only* with good. Was this rule meant for the guidance of government in dealing with the violators of its laws? Does God himself so treat it?

Since writing the extracts above, we regret to have found, in a more recent sermon of Mr. Beecher's, views and modes of reasoning that betray a strange lack of acquaintance with the general question of Peace, and show how much he has yet to learn on the subject before he can be expected to inculcate aright this part of the Gospel.

EMIGRATION FROM ENGLAND. — It would seem well-nigh incredible that she should in fifty years send forth from her little territory at home, all put together not so large as a single one of our largest States, nearly 6,000,000! Such is the statement of her Emigration Commissioners — 5,901,538 in all from 1814 to 1865, of whom 3,597,780, nearly 61 per cent., have come to the United States, and in 1865 they amounted to 209,801. Since 1848 they have sent back to friends there nearly \$70,000,000!


AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

SOURCES OF INCOME.—Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up an annual collection for the cause.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE—Devoted to the Peace Question in its manifold bearings, and containing discussions of principles, and measures connected with the peace movement, statistics, anecdotes and illustrations from history, biographical sketches of distinguished friends, reviews of books on the subject, and general facts respecting the progress of the cause through the world.  Monthly, or a double number once in two months, making a volume in two years, for \$1.00, or ten cents a number. To auxiliary societies, or clubs of not less than ten, 30 per cent. discount.

GRATUITOUS CIRCULATION OF THE ADVOCATE.

FUNDS have been raised for sending it gratuitously for a time. — 1. To a large number of our 4,000 or 5,000 periodicals, in the hope that they will help spread the information it contains; — 2. To a select number of our 40,000 preachers of the gospel, to all, indeed, who take up a collection for the Society; — 3. To prominent laymen, and to the Library or Reading Room of our higher Seminaries, to be preserved for permanent use.

✂ We presume that those to whom it is sent, will willingly pay the postage; but, if not, they can return it. We trust that not a few will become subscribers, contributors, or co-workers in other ways. Such information as it contains we would fain put in every family.

PUBLICATIONS ON PEACE.

IN the cause of peace, more perhaps than in any other enterprise of benevolence or reform, the press has been employed as the chief instrument in bringing the subject before the public in its various bearings. Besides its periodical, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and more than eighty stereotyped tracts, it has published the following volumes:

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706 (very few),.....	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196 (few),.....	1 00
Boles' Essay on a Congress of Nations,	40
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,.....	1 50
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252	40
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212 (few),	40
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108,.....	30
The Right Way, pp. 303. Issued by Am. Tract Society, N. Y.,.....	40
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,.....	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, D. D. 12mo., 310, ...	50
Jonathan Dymond on War, 8vo., pp. 168,.....	40

ADDRESSES BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

1. By Walter Channing, M. D., delivered in 1844.
 2. By Hon. William Jay, delivered in 1845 and 1855.
 3. By Hon. Charles Sumner, on the War-System, delivered in 1849.
 4. By Rufus W. Clarke, D. D., delivered in 1851.
 5. By F. W. Huntington, D. D., delivered in 1852.
 6. By William H. Allen, M. D., LL. D., delivered in 1854.
 7. By Rufus P. Stebbins, D. D., delivered in 1857.
 8. By Hon. Gerrit Smith, delivered in 1858.
 9. By G. B. Cheever, D. D., Eulogy on Judge Jay, delivered in 1859.
 10. By Samuel J. May, D. D. delivered in 1860.
 11. By Howard Malcom, D. D., LL. D., delivered in 1862.
 12. By Hon. Amasa Walker, delivered in 1863.
- Of the above, we have only a few of 1, 2, (except that in 1855,) 4, and 9; of 3 we have many, a large second edition, 80 pp.; and quite a number of the others.

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 BARON STOW, D. D., *Chairman of Executive Committee.*
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FORM OF BEQUEST. — I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge.

✂ Be sure you give the Society its exact name, and have the will drawn in the way, and attested by the full number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or the will may be broken.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, Cor. Sec., to whom all communications may be sent.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

CONTENTS.

Progress of Peace Views.....	165	Peace Movements.....	189
Need of the Peace Society.....	169	Southern Reconstruction	191
International Law.....	171	Burying the Dead.....	193
Wickedness of Governments.....	176	War Degeneracy of the Church.....	193
Effect of War on Liberty.....	178	German War — Cost	193
Powers Developed in War.....	179	Statistics of the Rebellion.....	194
What Royalty Costs.....	179	Frauds on Government.....	194
Rise of War Debts	180	Poetry.....	194
Results of this System	184	Our National Finances.....	194
Treatment of Rebels.....	185	Annual Contributions.....	194
A Dream.....	187	Receipts.....	195

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1866.


AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

SOURCES OF INCOME.—Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up an annual collection for the cause.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE—Devoted to the Peace Question in its manifold bearings, and containing discussions of principles, and measures connected with the peace movement, statistics, anecdotes and illustrations from history, biographical sketches of distinguished friends, reviews of books on the subject, and general facts respecting the progress of the cause through the world.  Monthly, or a double number once in two months, making a volume in two years, for \$1.00, or ten cents a number. To auxiliary societies, or clubs of not less than ten, 30 per cent. discount.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1866.

PROGRESS OF PEACE VIEWS:

THEIR DIFFUSION OUTSIDE OF THE PEACE SOCIETY.

THE Peace Society never conceived the idea of accomplishing by its own direct agency a tithe of the great reform it has undertaken. It does, indeed, look after its general interests; but its chief mission is to stimulate and guide inquiry and effort on the subject. We may regard it as a flag-staff from which to unfurl the banners of Christian Peace before the world, and rally the friends of God and man for the overthrow of that war-system which has so fearfully cursed all nations for so many thousand years. It has collected and made available for use a vast amount of facts, statistics and arguments. It is thus diffusing silently, but widely through civilized nations influences that must sooner or later recast the general modes of thought, feeling and action on the whole subject.

The seed thus sown we already find springing up in various quarters. Soon after the first Peace Congress, at London, in 1843, there appeared on the Continent, especially in Belgium, publications on the subject; and the Congress at Brussels, in 1848, and subsequently at Paris and at Frankfort, were followed, chiefly through the indomitable energy and enterprise of Elihu Burritt, with efforts to enlist in the cause quite a number of the leading continental journals. Articles, brief, pithy and striking, were prepared and published either gratuitously or as paid advertisements. Thus the chief practical bearings of the Peace question,

more especially the means of averting the supposed necessity of war, and of leading governments to reduce their vast and enormously expensive armaments, were brought before a large number of thoughtful, cultivated minds all over the Continent.

To such influences as these we are probably indebted for Louis Napoleon's proposal, in 1863, of a general Congress, designed to settle a variety of questions likely to imperil the peace of that Continent. We know not precisely how he came by the plan; but we remember that not long before he proposed it, one of the petty princes in Germany — some of them men of high intellectual culture — made a long visit to the French Emperor, and may have communicated to him a portion of the views which the friends of peace had so widely diffused more especially in Germany. However this may have been, Louis Napoleon adopted some of our leading ideas, and set himself earnestly at work to carry them into effect for the permanent pacification of Europe; and had his proposals been met by England as they were by all the other governments, it would doubtless have averted both the Danish and the German wars that have since occurred.

In many other ways is the peace leaven at work. Ever since the first Peace Congress, more than twenty years ago, there have been discussions from time to time in the press, and in some of the legislatures on the Continent. Some of the most eminent writers in France have discussed the subject with much ability. In Holland and Belgium, however, has been shown the most interest. In a late number we quoted somewhat largely from their journals; and the last London *Herald of Peace* says, "Some of our French and Belgian fellow-laborers are working with great assiduity and energy to promote international fellowship in good works. A Society, under the name of the *Ligue Universelle du Bien Public*, has been formed, the Central Committee of which is at Antwerp, having for its object, among other things, the propagation of pacific principles. With this Central Committee are associated auxiliary committees at Berne, Geneva, Naples, Madrid, Pisa, Alexandria, &c., and other places. It is obvious that bodies like these, if well organized and wisely conducted, may be of very great use in diffusing sound opinions and friendly sympathies among the different nations of Europe and the world. We hope, in our next number, to furnish our readers with fuller information respecting this movement."

The question of Peace is, also, attracting the attention of multitudes

who little suspect that the Peace Society has had anything to do with their interest on the subject. Within a few years have arisen, especially in England, *Social Science Associations*, whose special aim seems to be the most effective application of science, art and general knowledge to all the interests of society. Before the last meeting of this British Association at Manchester, a distinguished American lawyer, David Dudley Field, of New York, read a paper of much interest on the improvements needed and practicable in International Law. Last year a similar association was formed in this country; and before such associations, which seem likely to be multiplied through Christendom, the question of peace is sure ere long to be largely and earnestly discussed in its various bearings on the welfare of society.

Another significant and auspicious sign is found in the willingness of our most influential journals to enter upon the discussion of this subject. We will now refer only to a single one. During the year the *North American Review*, which has always stood at the head of our periodical literature, has published, perhaps through the influence of Senator Sumner, a long and elaborate article on *International Arbitration*, embodying the pith of what we have been for many years diffusing through our society's publications. It is a very scholarly and statesmanlike essay, and proves the writer to be familiar with the whole question. We cannot well condense it into any abstract, but shall endeavor hereafter to copy its main points.

Of the many influences at work outside of the Peace Society in favor of our great object, we must not omit the recent publication of a work by the Hon. Amasa Walker on "*Political Economy, or the Science of Wealth*;" a work, for a subject hitherto deemed so abstract, remarkably simple, practical and level to the comprehension of all minds; a work embodying a vast amount of facts, statistics and arguments on questions that come home, not only to capitalists and financiers, but to the mass of the people. Mr. Walker has shown a remarkable degree of skill and tact in simplifying his subject, and giving it interest to all thoughtful minds. Into the old skeleton of Political Economy he has so breathed the breath of life as to make it an agreeable as well as useful study.

Our readers know well Mr. Walker's interest in the cause of peace; and without turning aside at all from his appropriate theme, he has scattered throughout his work incidental facts and arguments of much value to our enterprise. Let us quote a few specimens:—

When illustrating the *Principles of Trade*, he says, —

“Every nation is interested in the production of every other nation. Anything which impedes the production of any individual or community injures the trade of the world. Such causes, for example, are pestilence, as the cholera, yellow-fever, and plague; the convulsions of nature, as earthquakes and inundations; war, as in the case of the late war in India, which sensibly affected the trade of the world, and, still more striking and recent, in the case of the great Rebellion in the United States, which was felt, it may almost be said, by every human being on the globe. Not a consumer of cotton, high or low, civilized or savage, but suffered in consequence.”

On *Obstructions to Trade*, —

“Suppose the Gulf of Mexico to be infested with pirates, so that the danger to life and risk of property should double the price of sugar brought from New Orleans to New York. This increase of price, caused by the cost of insurance against robbery and murder, so long as it lasted, would be a protection to that extent to the cultivation of maple sugar in the North. War, under all circumstances, whatever the occasion or result, whether between different nations or parts of the same, always has the effect of disturbing trade, arresting all the healthful agencies of production, and disturbing the harmony of the economic world.”

On the subject of *Protection*, he says, —

“If it is alleged, under any circumstances, to be essential that a nation should possess within itself the means of war, we answer that it should undertake the manufacture by a special government agency, not by changing the entire industry of a people to produce this as an incidental result. Such is, in fact, the procedure of most, if not all, civilized nations, and leaves no force in the plea for national independence. But the argument for protection from the necessities of war has almost disappeared in the intenser light of our growing civilization. The independence of each nation *in* commerce, existing harmoniously with its dependence *on* commerce, forms the best hope of peace and tranquillity for the future. It may be safely assumed, that the probabilities of war between any two peoples are inversely as their commercial relations. The great reason against war, in the present age, is not the expense of maintaining armies, nor the destruction of life, but the interruption of trade. This not only puts peacemakers in the councils at home, but makes all nations mediators between the parties at variance.”

Discoursing on the *Importance of a right Consumption*, Mr. W. says, —

“Consumption makes use of the wealth which production has brought about with all the world’s industrial energy. It determines how each appreciable atom shall be applied: whether to degrade, or to

elevate; whether, like fruitful seed, to reappear in harvest, or, like a virulent acid, to destroy the very vessel in which it is placed; whether to set forth the humble household of the laborer, or to gleam a moment in the halls of revelry; whether to feed a thousand workmen on the temple of national industry, or to melt out of sight, like Cleopatra's jewel, in wanton luxury. All the moral and social interest that belongs to wealth, belongs to its use; for as that is right or wrong, healthful or hurtful, so wealth itself is a blessing or a curse. So science should strive after it with earnest efforts, or guard against with the same wise precaution and thorough research which keep out the plague. There is a right consumption of wealth that would bring comfort, health, and education within the reach of every human being not born incapable of receiving them; that would make poverty impossible on the earth; that would dispense with half the inducements to crime; that would beautify every home, and lighten every work. It may not be wise to expect the quick attainment of such a result, or worth while to prepare our robes for such an ascension of humanity; but just as far as the consumption of wealth can be affected by human laws, or customs and agreements, in so far may this end be approached in every day of time. It is only one part of this possibility at which the poet looked when he said:—

“ ‘Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts.’ ”

“The mind can hardly lift itself to see—‘What might be done, if men were wise.’ Yet political economy is a ‘dismal science,’ indeed, if we cannot look forward to the gradual amelioration of our human condition, not by miracle from the earth or air, but by a wiser use of wealth, for kind purposes created and bestowed,—

“ ‘All slavery, warfare, lies and wrongs,
All vice and crime might die together;
And wine and corn,
To each man born,
Be free as warmth in summer weather.’ ”

WHAT NEED OF THE PEACE SOCIETY.

There are so many things at work outside of the Peace Society in favor of its object, that we are sometimes asked, What occasion is there for such a society? Why not rely solely on these outside agencies and influences to secure in time all the ends sought by the friends of peace?

No man, familiar with modern progress, or imbued with its spirit, would ever put such questions as these. These outside, incidental influences have themselves come almost entirely from the great associated enterprises of benevolence and reform that so honorably distinguish the last half-century. Suppose the friends of humanity had relied, from

the start, upon such influences alone, in what year of our Lord would they have attempted the abolition of slavery or the slave-trade? When would they have suppressed duelling, privateering, or intemperance, or started Tract or Bible Societies, Home or Foreign Missions? Preach this doctrine of reliance exclusively or chiefly on the good, incidental influences of the age, and what answer would you get from the friends of these objects? Would they disband at once all their organizations, and blindly rely for the attainment of their respective ends solely upon the good general influences of which you speak? Never. They would just put the value of these influences to the test by pressing them into their service. Such influences are the common property of every good enterprise; and, so far from superseding the Peace Society any more than they do the Bible, the Missionary or the Temperance cause, they should only be laid under the largest possible contribution for its support and triumphant success. It is thus everybody reasons about kindred enterprises; and we see not why the logic is not equally applicable to Peace. It clearly is so; and why should men so strangely forswear their common sense on this great Christian reform?

But trace to their source these outside influences. Whence did they come? Chiefly from the very enterprises which this logic would disparage, ignore and supersede. What rallied so many good and powerful influences for the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade? The special agencies set at work in those reforms. Why so many outside influences now operating so effectively in favor of the Temperance, the Bible or the Missionary cause? It is because so many good men are associated in such vigorous, wide-spread efforts in behalf of these causes. Hence it is that the pulpit, and press, and fireside, and nearly all organs of popular opinion are so loud, spontaneous and effective in the advocacy of their claims. Put an end to special efforts for such objects, and how soon would nearly all outside influences in their behalf cease.

Men who give such counsel, we must regard as either hostile to our cause, ignorant of its nature, or indifferent to its claims. No sane man would ever give like advice to any other cause. It is the logic of an enemy; and everybody would deem it equivalent to an utter abandonment of the reform. Every true friend of peace must despise and denounce it. These outside influences in favor of peace we highly appreciate; but, so far from tempting us to give up or relax at all our efforts in its behalf, they should only encourage and stimulate us to a large increase of zeal.

INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Oliver Warner, Secretary of State, has issued a statement respecting certain branches of industry during the year that ended May 1, 1865. The first report, published in 1838, made the sum total at that time \$86,000,000; while in 1845 it had reached \$125,000,000, in 1855, \$295,000,000, and now no less than \$517,000,000; "over a million and a half dollars for each working day in the year, with a capital of \$114,499,950, and giving employment to 271,421 persons engaged in manufacturing, and 68,686 in agricultural pursuits." Surely "Peace hath her victories" that ought to be "no less renowned than those of war," since they contribute incomparably more to human improvement and welfare.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

At the late annual meeting of the Social Science Association, at Manchester, England, David Dudley Field, Esq., of New York, read an essay, which seems to have awakened deep interest, on the Necessity of an International Code. As the subject comes directly in our province, we give large extracts: —

NEUTRALITY AND OTHER QUESTIONS. — The vexed questions respecting the rights of neutrals to send goods by the ships of a belligerent, or to carry the goods of a belligerent in their own neutral ships — questions illustrated by the formulas, "free ships, free goods," and "enemies' ships, enemies' goods" — are matters in which the trade of the whole civilized world is interested, and yet how unsettled! The obligations of a true neutrality, what are they? Do they permit the supply to a belligerent of ships and munitions of war? Do they require a neutral to prevent the fitting out and sailing of ships? Do they require a neutral to disarm and arrest bands of professed travellers or emigrants who are seeking to pass the border, with the real intent of making a hostile incursion? Take the case of the *Alabama*, to which I refer for no other purpose than illustration. Here is a case where all the people of my country think that you are responsible for all the damage done by that vessel. Your own people, I am told, are of a contrary opinion. Ought such a question as this to be in doubt; or rather ought there to be any such question at all? The security of property and the peace of nations require that there should be no such question hereafter.

Then there are grave questions respecting the doctrines of expatriation and allegiance, which have given rise to some misunderstanding already, and which may give rise to greater misunderstanding hereafter. It is time that the conflicting claims of ancient monarchies on the one hand, and of young republics on the other, should, if possible, be reconciled. You have in the list of subjects for discussion on this

occasion that of the extradition of criminals as affected by the right of asylum. This is a topic which requires you to consider and guard the right of society to protect itself against crime, and the right of humanity to an asylum from oppression. You have also in the list the subject of copyright. This is a question properly to be left to international regulation. We need a uniform rule binding upon all Christian countries, and affecting not only the subject of copyright, but that of patents for inventions, money, weights and measures. I might continue this list to a much greater length. There is the question of the right of search, which has already given rise to angry disputes, not yet quite settled; there is the question of the right of nations inhabiting the upper basin of rivers, or the shores of inland seas to an outlet to the ocean; both of them greatly needing a just and ready settlement.

PREVENTION OR MITIGATION OF WAR. — What might be done for the prevention or mitigation of the greatest scourge of the human race, war? First, by way of prevention. Let us suppose that the governments of England and America were to commission their wisest men to confer together and discuss a treaty, for the express purpose of preventing war between them. Can there be a doubt, that if their representatives should come together, animated solely by a love of justice and peace, they would agree upon a series of mutual stipulations, which, without compromising the dignity or independence of either country, would make it extremely difficult to fall into open war without putting one party or the other so completely in the wrong as to subject it to dishonor? Whatever those stipulations might be, whether providing for an arbitration before an appeal to arms, or for some other means of adjustment, the same stipulations which would be inserted in a treaty between our two countries could be inserted also in treaties between them and others. Is it too much to hope that by this means the time may come when it would be held impious for a nation to rush into war without first resorting to remonstrance, negotiation and offer of mediation?

Supposing, however, war to have become inevitable, and two nations at last engaging in actual hostilities, how much may not be done afterwards in favor of humanity and civilization, by adding to the rules which the usages of nations have established for mitigating the ferocity and distress of war. Could not private war, and war upon private property, be forever abolished? Could not more be done in the same direction as that taken by the late conference at Geneva, which produced such beneficial effects during the last contest in Germany, in exempting surgeons and nurses from capture? Could not the sack of a captured city, or the bombardment of a defenceless town, be forever prohibited? Might not such transactions as the storming of Magdeburg and San Sebastian, and the bombardment of Valparaiso, be made violations of the laws of war? Could there not be a great improvement upon the rules which provide for the proper treatment and exchange of prisoners? What, indeed, might not be done, if an earnest effort were made to lessen to the utmost its evils before the passions are aroused by the ac-

tual conflict of arms. Discarding at once the theory that it is lawful to do anything which may harass your enemy with a view of making the war as short as possible — a theory worthy only of savages, and, carried out to its logical conclusion, leading only to indiscriminate fire and slaughter, even of women and children — the object should be, while not diminishing the efficiency of armies against each other, to ward off their blows as much as possible from all others than the actual combatants.

NECESSITY OF AN INTERNATIONAL CODE. — How can these changes, so desirable in themselves, be effected? I answer, by the adoption of an international code. Every consideration which serves to show the practicability and expediency of reducing to a code the laws of a single nation applies with equal force to a code of those international rules which govern the intercourse of nations. And there are many grave considerations in addition. The only substitute for a code of national law, an imperfect substitute, as I think it, is judiciary or judge-made law. This is tolerable, as we know from having endured it so long, where there is but one body of magistrates having authority to make it. But when the judges of each nation, having no common source of power, and not acting in concert, make the laws, they will inevitably fall into different paths, and establish different rules; and when they do, there is no common legislature to reconcile their discrepancies or amend their rules. Indeed, if there is ever to be a uniform system of international regulations known beforehand for the guidance of men, it must be by means of an international code.

How can such a code be made and adopted? Two methods present themselves as possible; one a conference of diplomatists to negotiate and sign a series of treaties, forming the titles and chapters of a code; the other the preparation beforehand by a committee of publicists of a code, which shall embody the matured judgment of the best thinkers and most accomplished jurists, and then procuring the sanction of the different nations. The latter appears to me the more feasible. The difficulties in the way will arise not in the labor of preparation, but in procuring the assent; yet great as are these difficulties, and I do not underrate them, I believe they would be found not insurmountable, and that the obstacles and delays which the jealousies of nations and the rivalries of parties would interpose, would finally give way before the matured judgment of reflecting and impartial men.

The importance of the work is so great, and the benefits that will result from it in promoting beneficial intercourse, protecting individual rights, settling disputes and lessening the chances of war, are so manifest, that when once a uniform system of rules, so desirable in themselves, is reduced to form and spread before the eye, it will commend itself to favor, and the governments, which after all are but the agents of the public will, must at last give it their sanction.

Let us suppose this association to make the beginning. There is no agency more appropriate, and no time more fitting. You might appoint at first a committee of the association to prepare the outline of such a

code, to be submitted at the next annual meeting. At that time subject this outline to a careful examination, invite afterwards a conference of committees from other bodies; from the French Institute, the professors of universities, the most renowned publicists, to revise and perfect that which had been thus prepared. The work would then be as perfect as the ablest jurists and scholars of our time could make it. Thus prepared and recommended, it would of itself command respect, and would inevitably win its way. It would have all the authority which the names of those concerned in its formation could give. It would stand above the treatise of any single publicist, nay, above all the treatises of all the publicists that have ever written. Is it a vain thing to suppose that such a work would finally win the assent, one by one, of those nations which now stand in the front rank of the world, and which, of course, more than others are under the influence of intelligent and educated men?

The times are favorable, — more favorable, indeed, than any which have occurred since the beginning of the Christian era. Intercourse has increased beyond all precedent, and the tendency of intercourse is to produce assimilation. When they who were separated come to see each other more and know each other better, they compare conditions and opinions; each takes from each, and differences gradually lessen. Thus it has happened in respect to the arts, and in respect to laws, manners and language. In a rude state of society, when men are divided into many tribes, each tribe has a language of its own; but as time melts them into one, a common language takes the place of the many. Your own island furnishes a familiar example of the influence of intercourse in blending together different elements and forming a united whole. This tendency to assimilation was never before so strong as it is now, and it will be found a great help towards forming a uniform international code.

The tendency towards a unity of races is another element of immense importance. Germany will hereafter act as a unit. Italy will do likewise. In America no man will hereafter dream of one public law for Northern and another for Southern States. Even the asperity which always follows a rupture between a colony and the mother country, will give way before the influence of race, language and manners, so far as to allow a large conformity of disposition and purpose, though there cannot be a reunion of governments. The relations between America and England are, or were till lately, softening under this influence, and if Spain be ever governed by wiser counsels, she will make friends of her ancient colonies, instead of continuing to treat them as enemies, and will confer on them benefits, rather than wage war against them. Would it not be a signal glory for this association, rich in illustrious names, and distinguished for its beneficent acts, to take the initiative in so grand an undertaking? Wearing the honors of a thousand years, and standing at the head of the civilization of Europe, England will add still more to her renown, and establish a new title to the respect of future ages if she will begin this crowning act of beneficence.

The young republic of the West, standing at the head of the civilization of America, vigorous in her youth and far-reaching in her desires, will walk side by side with you, and exert herself in equal measures for so great a consummation. She has been studying all her existence how to keep great states at peace, and make them work for a common object, while she leaves to them all necessary independence for their own peculiar government. She does this, it is true, by means of a federative system, which she finds best for herself, and which she has cemented by thousands of millions in treasure and hundreds of thousands in precious lives. How far this system may be carried is yet unknown. It may not be possible to extend it to distinct nationalities or to heterogeneous races; but there is another bond of states less strict, but capable of binding all nations and all races. This is a uniform system of rules for the guidance of nations and their citizens in their intercourse with each other, framed by the concurring wisdom of each, and adopted by the free consent of all. Such an international code, the public law of Christendom, will prove a gentle but all-constraining bond of nations, self-imposed, and binding them together to abstain from war, except in the last extremity, and in peace to help each other, making the weak strong and the strong just, encouraging the intellectual culture, the moral growth, and the industrial pursuits of each, and promoting in all that which is the true end of all government, the freedom and happiness of the individual man.

These views of Mr. Field are a marked improvement upon the ordinary mode of reasoning hitherto prevalent on International Law. Writers on the subject speak of it as real law; but in truth there is no such law, nor ever has been. What passes under the name, is not a real code of law, but only a compilation of facts and arguments, opinions, precedents and treaties. The compilation is indeed valuable; but, after all, it is not strictly and properly Law. What is implied in this term? A law-giver, or a power to exact law; next a judge or judiciary, to interpret the law, and finally an executive, with authority and power to put it in execution. Every tyro in history knows that the Law of Nations, so called, does not contain a single one of these elements. It is called Law only by courtesy; a real Law of Nations is still a desideratum, "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

FOLLY AND WICKEDNESS OF GOVERNMENTS:

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE LATE GERMAN WAR.

We believe Austria was the least criminal of the three parties. Whatever may have been her past demerits, in this instance she was more sinned against than sinning. Yet mark the infatuation of the course she has taken. That the possession of Venetia, with a discontented population, constantly excited by the example, close neighborhood, and aggressive intentions of their Italian countrymen, was far more of a burden than an advantage to Austria, nobody ever doubted. It was a matter of all but absolute certainty that, if she had only consented to relieve herself of this charge, which drained her resources to an enormous extent, and kept her in a state of perpetual perturbation, the war would not have begun; for it is not at all likely that Prussia would have assailed her alone. But yet, when the French and English Governments attempted, before the strife actually began, to induce the three Powers to meet in Congress in order to seek some solution for the difficulties existing between them without having recourse to arms, the project was wrecked by the obstinacy with which Austria refused to allow the question as to her possession of Venetia to be even called in question; and yet, a fortnight later, after thousands of human lives had been sacrificed, and untold misery had been inflicted upon tens of thousands of innocent people, she voluntarily offered to cede Venetia to the Emperor of the French, with a view to its being transferred to Italy.

Then observe how the Italians acted. The acquisition of Venetia was the object which they have been professing to aim at for years. If they postponed all internal improvement, if they crippled their finances to the very verge of bankruptcy in the maintenance of enormous armaments, this, we were assured, was owing to no love of war for its own sake, but to a simple, pure impulse of patriotic sympathy for their brethren held in durance under the yoke of Austria. Let Venetia only be free, and Italy would gladly disarm, and turn her attention to the arts of peace. Well, Venetia *was* free by the act of Austria; for no man doubted for a moment that its cession to France was only a preliminary step to its being annexed to Italy. But did that satisfy the Italians? Were they glad to accept that compromise as the means of saving further bloodshed? Glad? They spurned the offer with inexpressible scorn. Why? Simply because Venetia should have been delivered direct to them instead of transmitted to them through the hands of the Emperor of the French. On this point of honor, this punctilious etiquette, they were prepared and determined to plunge headlong into any amount of slaughter and misery! True, their treaty with Prussia did present a real difficulty; but, apart from that difficulty altogether, the whole country was transported with indignation at the bare idea of acquiring what they had so long coveted, and putting

an end to the terrible scenes of blood enacting around them, at so small a sacrifice of national pride as would be involved in taking Venetia from France rather than from Austria.

Turn we now to Prussia. Before the war began the *people* of Prussia protested against it strenuously as unnecessary and immoral. They knew perfectly well that the object of the unprincipled statesman who was hurrying them into the war, was "to turn the attention of the nation, by a brilliant foreign policy, from internal affairs, in order to confuse its sense of right, and stifle its cries for freedom." They wisely distrusted his professions of care for German unity. But Bismarck has been successful. The Prussian army has victoriously overrun Germany. The needle-gun has routed the Austrians, horse and foot; and Prussia bids fair to be able, in a few days, to dictate her own terms to her prostrate foe from Venetia. And lo! the character and policy of this man, who had robbed his country of her dearest rights, become the objects of rapturous admiration to the very people who, a few days previously, had execrated him as a tyrant. Not only in Prussia, but in our own country, has a sudden halo of glory gathered around the head of Bismarck. It seems we have been all the time mistaken. True, he has trampled under foot in the most insolent spirit all guarantees of constitutional freedom in his own country; he has dissolved the Chamber, and raised taxes without its consent; he has instituted endless prosecutions of the press, and declared openly that "the great questions of the day are not to be decided by speeches and decisions, but by iron and blood." True, he has carried out his foreign policy in regard to Denmark and the Duchies by most unscrupulous use of intrigue, falsehood, and dishonest cunning. But the answer to all that is he has been successful, and therefore we *must* have been mistaken. The man was, after all, a sagacious statesman, a far-seeing patriot, a friend of the cause of nationality and freedom. He has plundered his neighbors, deceived and then bullied his allies, duped by lying the collective statesmanship of Europe, and been the means of drenching three great countries in blood. But because he has been successful, all this must be suddenly condoned! It is impossible to receive a more astounding proof of the essential immorality of the whole war-system than is afforded to us by this open avowal that success consecrates crime. If the Prussians had been defeated at Koniggratz, the opinions of our papers on the character and policy of Bismarck would have found triumphant confirmation. But are the principles of morality dependent upon the accidents of the battle-field?

Three years ago the Emperor of the French, in the exercise of a thoughtful and sagacious foresight, proposed to the various European Governments to meet in Congress with a view to seek a pacific solution for those unsolved political problems, which he anticipated were likely to lead to war. What were the points which he suggested should be taken up at this friendly concert? The relations between Denmark and Germany, the state of affairs which prevailed on the lower Danube, and the unsatisfactory attitude of Austria and Italy towards each

other. Well, all the dangers which he apprehended from leaving these questions unadjusted, and which he was anxious to avert by a Congress, have actually come to pass. The war between Denmark and Germany was not only disgraceful and disastrous in itself, but it laid the scorpion's egg, out of which the present far bloodier conflict arose. The Danubian Principalities are in a sort of chronic anarchy; while Austria and Italy, as we see, have rushed into fierce collision. It is well known that the failure of the Emperor's project was owing entirely to the influence of the British Government. It is curious enough now to look back at the objections stated by Lord Russell to that project. Insisting most unreasonably upon knowing beforehand *how* the difficulties proposed to be dealt with were to be solved — which should have been the work of the Congress itself — his lordship asked M. Drouyn de l'Huys, "Is it intended to ask Austria to renounce Venice? Her Majesty's Government have good grounds to believe that no Austrian representative would attend a Congress where such a proposition was to be discussed."

After the experience of the last three years, will any one say it was not a grave mistake to frustrate by our cavils the Emperor's overture? If the Congress had met, there was at least a possibility — we think a probability — of coming to an understanding which would have saved Europe from all the horrors that have since ensued. But if it had failed, things could not have turned out worse than they have done, while the great Governments would have gained the honor of attempting at least, in the words of Mr. Gladstone in reference to the arbitration protocol of the Paris Congress of 1856, "to assert the supremacy of reason and justice, of humanity and religion," in international affairs. — *Herald of Peace*.

EFFECT OF WAR ON LIBERTY. — Our conflict with slave-holding rebels has seemed to imperil our liberties much less than we feared; but, however fairly it may end in the final settlement, no reader of history can question the tendency of such use of the sword to weaken, if not to sweep away the great safeguards of law and popular rights. Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress in 1779, and sent Minister to Holland in 1780, was captured on his way, and imprisoned in the Tower of London fourteen months. After his release on *habeas corpus*, he was invited to dine with the Premier, Lord Shelburne, who said, referring to the separation of the two countries, "I am sorry for your people." "Why so?" asked Laurens. "They will lose the *habeas corpus*," was the reply. "Lose the *habeas corpus*!" said Laurens. "Yes," said Lord Shelburne. "We purchased it with centuries of wrangling, many years of fighting, and had it confirmed by at

least fifty Acts of Parliament. All this taught the nation its value; and it is so ingrained into their creed, as the very foundation of their liberty, that no man or party will ever dare trample on it. Your people will pick it up, and attempt to use it; but, having cost them nothing, they will not know how to appreciate it. At the first great internal feud, that you have, the majority will trample upon it, and the people will permit it to be done, and so will go your Liberty!"

POWERS DEVELOPED IN WAR.—Here are a few specimens during our late rebellion. The wonderful bridge over the Chattahoochee, 780 feet long and 92 high, was built by Gen. McCallum's construction corps in four days and a half. That over the Potomac Creek at Aquia, 414 feet long and 82 high, was built ready for trains to pass in forty working hours. In their leisure time this corps rebuilt the Chattanooga rolling mills, which turned out in a few months nearly four thousand tons of railroad iron for the government, and were sold at the end of the war for a hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. With justifiable pride Gen. McCallum classes the attempt to supply Sherman's army of a hundred thousand men and sixty thousand horses and mules from a base three hundred and sixty miles distant, over a line of a single track, as one of the boldest ideas of the war. Whole corps, and even armies, were frequently transported hundreds of miles on the mere verbal orders of their commanders. In 1865, the Fourth Army Corps were transported from East Tennessee to Nashville, a distance of three hundred and sixty miles, without delay or difficulty, this herculean task requiring nearly fifteen hundred cars. Not were the services thus rendered unattended with danger. Guerillas and raiding parties dogged the footsteps of the construction corps wherever they went. In the first six months of 1865 one wrecking train picked up and brought into Nashville sixteen wrecked locomotives and nearly three hundred carloads of wheels and bridge iron, the destructive handiwork of rebel raiders.

With such vast powers of accomplishment, how much might be gained, if they were directed to such ends, for the relief, improvement and welfare of mankind. Are these marvellous capabilities to be hereafter put forth in the work of destruction, mischief and misery?

WHAT ROYALTY COST.—The following are the sums paid by England to the royal family:—

The Queen per annum.....	\$1,925,000	Princess Alice.....	30,000
Duchess of Cambridge.....	30,000	Prince of Wales.....	200,000
Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz	15,000	Princess of Wales.....	50,000
Duke of Cambridge.....	60,000	King of the Belgians.....	260,000
Princess Mary of Cambridge	15,000		
The Princess Royal.....	40,000		
		Total per annum.....	\$2,615,000

In addition there are several hundred thousand dollars in pensions to the Duke of Marlborough, Duke of Schomburg, Earl of the Bath, and

pensions to the servants and their descendants of the Georges, King William, Queens Annie, Caroline and Charlotte, making the total annual expenditure of \$3,000,000 to the royal family.

It is painfully amusing to see in what way these sums are spent. Here are some details about "the Chapel Royal: — "There is the dean of the chapel, a sub-dean, a clerk of the Queen's closet, three deputy clerks, a closet keeper, eight priests in ordinary, sixteen gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, of whom one clergyman and eight gentlemen wait monthly; two organists, two composers, one violist, one yeoman of the vestry, one groom of the vestry and one master of the boys, about forty chaplains in ordinary, ten honorable chaplains in ordinary; another dean for Whitehall, also a sub-dean, three preachers, two reading chaplains, another organist, and one more yeoman. These offices are filled by bishops, doctors of divinity, right reverends, very reverends and reverends, baronets, masters of art and honorable gentlemen."

Here are the provisions for sickness. "If Her Majesty is sick, she calls upon the medical department, composed of three physicians in ordinary, a physician to the household, two physician accoucheurs, two serjeant surgeons, a surgeon of the household, a surgeon apothecary to Her Majesty, a surgeon apothecary to the household, three physicians extraordinary, four surgeons extra, an oculist, dentist, chemist, and a dentist to the household." So "in the horse department there is a master of the horse, a master of the buck-hounds, a chief equerry, four equeries in ordinary, five extra equeries, one honorable equerry, four pages of honor, one crown equerry, a superintendent of the royal mews, beside clerks, storekeeper, messenger and assistants.

It is thus about \$2,000,000, are spent every year upon a sort of public, political doll called the Queen. Pretty dear pay for the whistle; yet such is the costly, imposing farce played by nine governments in ten the world over.

RISE OF WAR DEBTS.

RISE AND GROWTH OF THE MODERN FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

(From Walker's Political Economy.)

No large national debt has ever been paid, or in any way discharged, except by repudiation. The debt of the old French monarchy was wiped out with the "assignats." The debt incurred in the American Revolution vanished in worthless "continental money." The present debts of England, France, Austria, and other European countries, are so large, the constantly-increasing demand for more extensive and costly armaments so pressing, so absolutely overwhelming, that the hope of any payment of the principal cannot be reasonably indulged. A national debt may be regarded, under the existing war policy of the world, as a fixed institution, an inevitable appendage of government.

The United States, which, up to the time of the great Rebellion, formed the only exception among the principal nations of the earth, has entered upon the same course. That general system of finance, of which national

indebtedness forms so important a fact in its influence upon the industrial interests of mankind, deserves a careful consideration.

When William of Orange succeeded to the throne of England, Louis XIV., then at the zenith of his power, refused to acknowledge him as a legitimate monarch, and espoused the cause of the exiled Stuart. War, of course, followed. But fighting, in consequence of the invention of gunpowder, and the changes it gradually introduced into warfare, had become an expensive luxury; a game which kings, with their limited and uncertain revenues, could ill afford to play at, particularly for a great length of time. War with one so powerful as the *Grand Monarque* could not be safely commenced or successfully prosecuted, while every penny must be extorted from a reluctant and now independent Commons, and the taxes immediately assessed on the large land or other property holders of the realm.

Such was the difficulty which King William encountered; but, fortunately for his fame, he was a shrewd financier, as well as an able soldier. Up to this time, England had never had a permanent organized national debt, a national bank, or any regular and reliable system of revenue. Grants and subsidies had been voted, from time to time; duties and special taxes had been imposed; but these were not to be depended upon.*

The monarch might and did borrow money from time to time, in great emergencies, but on the most disadvantageous terms. The credit of the government was always low, because there was no regularity or system in the public finances. Men had no confidence in the responsibility or punctuality of the government. William changed all this. He borrowed for a specified period, and promised the punctual payment of the interest semi-annually, and the principal when due; and pledged "the public funds" for the fulfilment of his promises. Hence the public securities were called "the funds." He negotiated loans and issued stocks. He granted annuities, upon the payment of specific sums. Interest and principal were secured by a pledge of the public funds, or revenues derived from various sources.

This put a new face upon the financial affairs of England; but something further was desirable; viz., an agency by which the national debt would be readily managed, and its semi-annual interest promptly paid. This was accomplished by the incorporation of a national bank, consisting of the holders of the public stocks, to the amount of £1,200,000. One thing more was wanting; viz., a permanent and sufficient income, to meet not only the interest on the accumulated debt, but the current expenses of the government, already large, and constantly increasing. To effect this, a land-tax was established; small, indeed, in amount, and upon a *fixed* valuation, so that it could not be increased with the increasing value of the land.

A system of duties on all imports was also enacted, and an excise laid upon all home manufactures and products. In short, a system of *indirect taxation* was adopted, far more general and effective than any which had before existed. Thus was completed the grand triad of the system of finance, inaugurated by the English Revolution; viz., funding, banking, and indirect taxation.

* That this has been disputed, on the authority of Mr. Macaulay, we are well aware; but we do not find anything in his statements that contradicts our views of the subject. Partial efforts, more or less successful, for the establishment of a thorough financial system, had already been made in England, Italy, and some other countries of Europe; but the great work was at length successfully inaugurated during the reign of William and Mary.

The immediate, as well as ultimate, results of the new system are alike remarkable and worthy our attention.

1st, The credit of the government was now firmly established. It could borrow more money, and at a lower rate of interest, than ever before. Men of small means could now loan money to the government, and with entire confidence. The whole community could be laid under contribution.

2d, Government was enabled to carry on war by borrowing, instead of imposing taxes. War could be waged with credit, instead of cash. Parliament had only to vote a loan. No expenditure need be stopped for want of funds, while the national credit was unimpaired. This was a great change. Many a war had been abruptly closed for want of funds. There was to be no such necessity hereafter.

3d, This course removed the fear of immediate and pressing taxation from the rich, because the greater part was now to fall upon the masses of the people, who pay taxes, not in proportion to property, but to consumption. This was an agreeable consideration to the wealthy classes; and the more so, because, as the public stocks were multiplied, better opportunities were afforded for investments.

4th, Especially was the new policy acceptable to the aristocracy, who, at that time, even more perhaps than now, monopolized the public offices, and whose revenues and patronage were increased by governmental expenditures.

We have said that William became involved in a war with France. In eight years, besides expending all he could raise in taxes, he increased the national debt from £1,200,000 to £21,500,000. A peace of five years followed Anne's accession (1701), during which five millions of the debt were paid off. Then came the war of the Spanish succession. The ostensible object was "to humble the Bourbons, and deprive Philip V. of his crown." This lasted eleven years, and added £37,500,000 to the debt, besides consuming £6,500,000 raised in taxes; so that, at the peace of Utrecht, the national debt was £54,000,000.

In 1727, the House of Hanover succeeded to the throne, in the person of George I., and then came a peace of twenty-six years; but, in all this time, the public debt was reduced to the extent of only £7,500,000. Why? Because it was no object with the ruling class to pay off the debt, since the national stocks had become the most eligible investments; so the resources of the nation were squandered upon the court. In 1739, therefore, the debt was £46,500,000, when the war of the Austrian succession took place. Its specific object was to secure the throne of Austria to Maria Theresa; and the debt was carried up to £78,000,000. Then came eight years of peace; but the debt was reduced only three millions.

In 1756 commenced what was known in this country as "the old French War," or "the Seven Years' War." It was caused by a dispute about colonial boundaries, or as the wags of those days said, "about a few acres of snow in Nova Scotia;" but it eventually involved a great part of Europe, and the American colonies of both France and England.

Then followed a peace of twelve years; but only £10,500,000 were paid off. The war of the American Revolution lasted seven years, and carried the debt up to £239,000,000. In the ten years of peace and prosperity which followed that great contest, the public debt was reduced but £5,000,000, notwithstanding that the resources of England were largely increased, and her ability to reduce the national indebtedness was ample, if the disposition to do it had existed.

In 1793 began the war that grew immediately out of the French Revolution.

This lasted for nine years, and increased the debt to £526,000,000. Then, in consequence of the Treaty of Amiens, a period of one year's peace intervened; but it was only an armed truce: military preparations were continued, and the public debt was increased £3,000,000.

In 1803 commenced the final struggle with Napoleon, which terminated in 1815, leaving the British debt at £865,000,000 sterling. During the twenty years following, £87,000,000 were paid off. This was from necessity, rather than choice; a measure of policy adopted to secure the credit of the government. In 1835, the debt was but £778,000,000; but the emancipation of eight hundred thousand slaves in the West Indies added to the debt £20,000,000. It has stood at £800,000,000, very nearly, ever since.

We have given this history of the rise and progress of the debt of Great Britain, as exhibiting the natural effects of such a system as she inaugurated during the reign of William and Mary. But we have shown only a part of the system. The history of the national bank is interwoven with that of the national debt. It was incorporated in 1697, with a capital, as we have said, of £1,200,600. As the public debt was enlarged, the capital of the bank was increased; that is, more and more of the debt was incorporated into the bank organization, until it amounts, at the present time, to £14,475,000. This bank, as before stated, has never had a shilling of capital to lend to the people; it has simply held a certain amount of the national stocks, and, upon the credit of these, has issued its own promises to pay; and these promises, having been made a legal tender by Parliament, have circulated as money.

The government has no interest whatever in the bank, so far as its profits are concerned; but it has always stood by it, sustained it by its influence and legislation, besides allowing a large annual sum for its services, in paying the dividends on the public debt. When the bank was obliged to suspend payment, in 1797, the government came to its rescue, by legalizing the act; and the bank went on issuing its notes during the twenty-three years that followed, and sometimes to an amount so excessive, that gold was carried up to a premium of twenty-five to forty per cent.: generally, however, during this period, the difference was small, — some ten to fifteen per cent.

The last feature to be noticed in this connection is that system of **INDIRECT TAXATION** which became so general and efficient under the new financial policy. Duties, as we have said, were laid upon every description of foreign merchandise, and excise upon all articles of home production. This measure was indispensable to the full development of the system. When the masses of the people can be taxed in such a manner that they are almost unconscious at the moment that they are taxed at all; when the amount taken is in very small sums, so that, if the fact were understood, it would hardly be appreciated; when the aggregate amount for a month or a year cannot be ascertained, except approximately, and then only by long and intricate calculation, — taxation may be carried to its utmost possible limit, so far as to leave to the poorer classes only the bare necessities of life. Such a people may feel that they are very poor, but they will regard this as the consequence of their low wages; they may feel that they are oppressed, but will naturally attribute it to the want of justice or generosity on the part of their employers. The true cause of their poverty and suffering they do not perceive. The gross taxes imposed in Great Britain in 1859 amounted to seventy-three millions sterling, equal to \$14 per head through the whole population, or \$70 for a family of five persons. Such a taxation, if col-

lected at all, must be taken, as it is taken, imperceptibly, as it were a penny at a time. This grand system of currency and finance, so fully established in Great Britain, has at this time become the policy of all civilized, and to some extent even of uncivilized countries, — funding, indirect taxation, paper-money banking.

RESULTS OF THIS FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

1. *An immense extension of the war-system.* Prior to the introduction of this policy, standing armies and armaments were exceedingly limited. Now all Christendom is armed, by land and sea. France leads the van, with an army of some 700,000; and each nation is struggling to create and support the largest possible military and naval establishment: and all this can be done of credit, if need be; there is no limit to these preparations, while national credit holds out.

2. *Universal and constantly increasing indebtedness.* This is true of nearly every country in the world. England, indeed, has not increased her debt for the last thirty years; but almost every other government has been borrowing money from year to year, until many of them are as much burdened by their indebtedness as England, because, in proportion to their wealth and resources, they are as deeply involved. France, we suppose, is really more oppressed by taxation than England. France is a great nation of poor people, compared with England or the United States. She has but a small margin for taxation. The same, indeed, may be said of many other European nationalities.

3. *Impoverishment of the masses.* This is especially apparent in England. What has become of that YEOMANRY, once the pride of the country? Their little estates have disappeared, have been swallowed up by the terrible system of taxation to which they have been subjected. The pleasant hedges which still surround the small enclosures, once constituting the freeholds of her yeomanry, may yet be seen in all parts of the country. They are the monuments of an industrious, brave, and independent class of men, now extinct. These lands are indeed tilled by the hands of their descendants, no longer yeomanry, but peasants, almost the paupers of the nation. How strikingly true this is, may be seen in the fact that there are but one-third as many "holdings" at the present time as one hundred and fifty years ago, while the wealth and population of England have doubled many times. How this has been accomplished, may be seen from statements made by Professor Levi of the whole taxation of Great Britain for the year 1858.*

Total Taxation.	Paid by the Upper Classes.	Middle Classes.	Working Classes.
£73,400,000	£22,550,000	£30,930,000	£20,320,000

From this analysis, it appears that the amount paid by the middle and working classes is equal to five sevenths of the entire revenue, while those who monopolized the landed estates of the country, and an enormous proportion of its public stocks and circulating capital, paid but two sevenths.

We have said that no large national debt has ever been paid or discharged, except by repudiation: nor does it appear that such debts are likely ever to be paid, unless the war policy of the world is changed. All have been created by war, and are perpetuated by constant demand for additional armaments.

The economy of a national debt, under the modern financial system, must always impoverish the productive classes. Its entire influence on them is

* Levi on Taxation, p. 32, London edition.

oppressive. It deprives them of their honest reward, by a false currency, which robs them of a large share of their nominal wages ; it imposes upon them, through indirect taxation, an undue proportion of the public burdens, and is, in fact, a stupendous engine for depressing them, though perhaps not so intended. Hitherto we have known little of its effects in the United States. Until the present time, we have felt little pressure from public indebtedness and consequent taxation ; but the case is now altered. We have an immense debt, and a larger amount of annual interest than any other people on the face of the earth. Hence the great importance of understanding the whole subject of modern finance by the people themselves ; for without such an understanding of it, however much they may suffer, they cannot hope for relief. They must know the cause of their sufferings, or they cannot apply the remedy.

TREATMENT DUE TO REBELS :

ADVICE OF FOREIGNERS CONTRASTED WITH THEIR EXAMPLE.

How to treat rebels aright is a very grave and delicate question, to which our government is practically giving an answer likely to invite and abet future rebellions without end, and sure, if adopted in the case of all crimes, to make our whole criminal code little else than a mere bugbear and mockery. Every government has on its statute-book stringent laws against treason and rebellion. Are such laws wrong? Then repeal them. Are they right? Then execute them. Were they not made to be executed? If not, they ought never to have been enacted. No view of the case can relieve the palpable, inexcusable inconsistency of passing laws which represent treason and rebellion as the greatest of all crimes, and then treating them, when actually committed by wholesale, as no crimes at all. We are not saying now what the laws ought to be ; but there they are on the statute-book — execute or repeal them.

We are no friends of Draconian severity ; but we are advocates of *real* government, and of law duly enforced. The dread penalty threatened against rebellion, nobody ever dreamt of having inflicted upon a whole community ; but, where millions have conspired to commit the most atrocious crimes known in law, shall none of those gigantic villains be punished? We have hung a few convicted of complicity in murdering our chief ruler ; but the far greater criminal, a man steeped in the guilt of half a million murders, goes unpunished, and is left at Fortress Monroe as a pet and idol of all rebeldom, a living, world-wide and perpetual proclamation that the slaughter of such multitudes, the

destruction of eight thousand millions of property, and filling half a continent with mourning and lamentation, if only done in rebellion, are no crimes. Shame on our inconsistency! Such a farce the world never saw before.

We deplore and abhor, however, the savage barbarities so commonly perpetrated heretofore in the punishment of rebels. If rebellion be, as every government says it is, the very climax of all crimes, it certainly ought to be punished, but with as little severity, and in the person of as few of its leaders, as will suffice to maintain the authority and majesty of law, impress all men with a due sense of its transcendent guilt, and thus prevent like crimes in future.

We confess we have little patience with the homilies on this subject from foreigners whose governments have punished rebels with a degree of remorseless severity at which humanity shudders. There is scarce a government in Christendom not deeply stained with such deeds. Take a few from that of England:—

“After the Restoration, her government was not content with hanging, disembowelling and quartering traitors whom it caught alive; but it caused the bodies of dead men to be dug up, and suspended them to gibbets. Not even the grave was a place of rest for men so great as Cromwell and Ireton. After Monmouth’s invasion, the hangman was the busiest functionary in England. After the Jacobites were beaten, in 1715–16, their leaders were beheaded or hanged by the dozen, while humbler offenders were sold into slavery. Still severer were the measures adopted after Culloden, in 1746. Fourscore men suffered by the axe or by the cord. Military execution was visited upon a large part of Scotland, where Cumberland’s name became as odious as that of Jeffrey’s in the west of England. The whole system of life in the Highlands was forcibly changed, loyal clans being subjected to the same harsh laws as those which were enacted for the subjugation of clans that had been in rebellion. The Irish rebellion of 1798 was a short, sharp and sudden affair, raging in but a small part of Ireland; yet the executions were very numerous. Two thousand were hanged or transported. A few years later occurred that trifling *emeute* in which Robert Emmet took part. Was he not as good a man as Jefferson Davis? Yet the English hanged Robert Emmet, though his action had not in the least disturbed their ascendancy, and they could have suffered nothing had they banished him. Now they whine about the wrong and cruelty of hanging Davis, who headed a revolt in which half a million of men lost their lives! It is but eight years since the Sepoys revolted against the English in India. That revolt was put down in a most merciless manner. One general hanged *all* the men on whom he could lay his hands as he marched from Allahabad. Maj. Hodson shot two princes of the house of Tamerlane with his own hand, they being his

prisoners, and utterly helpless. On one occasion the English had forty Hindoos to butcher, and they blew them from the mouths of cannon."

The leniency of our government to rebels is in some respects highly commendable, but in others quite inexcusable, and pregnant with wide, far-reaching mischief. It is the guardian of the general weal, first, by enacting, and then by executing law. Only thus can it become "a terror to evil-doers;" and, in order to prevent crime, it must visit crime with sure and condign punishment. If it fails to do this, it cannot be a terror to evil-doers, but becomes, in fact, an abettor of their crimes. By its executive it must put in force what its legislature enacts. If in its laws it says that rebellion is the climax of all crimes, but, by its neglect to execute these laws, says it is no crime whatever, it stultifies itself, neutralizes on this point nearly its whole power, and virtually invites to future rebellions without end. If such men as Davis and Lee, Breckenridge and Forrest, are not to be hung, then no rebel can ever deserve a halter; and we may as well blot out at once our entire criminal code, and make our country, without further delay, an elysium or pandemonium of rascals and villains.

A DREAM.

IN one of those quiet hours kindly afforded to age for surplus sleep, I was gently wafted in imagination to an island isolated from the rest of the world. There I found myself surrounded by society, possessing, apparently, all the characteristics of civilized and Christian society. Their language accorded with my own. I had no difficulty in understanding them, or in making myself understood by them. Their reasoning, habits of thinking, and views on moral subjects, appeared essentially the same as my own. They were familiar with the Bible, and received it as their one sacred book, their only infallible rule of faith and practice. In their families a just sense of subordination seemed to mark their intercourse. In their public schools a due degree of authority was delegated to the preceptor, and justly exercised, to secure order and *decorum*.

In the midst of all this, however, my attention was suddenly arrested by threats between two heads of families in language like this: 'If you don't do it — if you don't leave off such trespasses, and make restitution, I will flog you until you do. I will burn your house or barn, and other property, until you shall learn your place, and keep it, or until

the last drop of your blood is shed.' The other replied: 'Two parties can play at that game. You will find I have as large a family and as wide a circle of domestics and dependants as you have, and can certainly call in as much help from abroad, and as readily. Now attempt it if you dare.'

Surprised at this, without inquiring the grounds of controversy, I at once expostulated: 'Why, neighbors, disgrace yourselves with such language, inconsistent with piety, common morality or even with civilization?' They both responded, 'In cases like this such language, so far from being debasing, is commendable in the highest degree. It is demanded, imperatively demanded by the strongest dictates of honor, civilization and of religion too. So, if need be, would be the carrying out of such threats. As there is no umpire between our families, by means like these we refer our cause to the decision of the God of battles. That this is right and proper, may be abundantly shown from the Bible. You speak of disgracing ourselves: success in this way is the acme of human glory. The whole history of our island teaches that: and none but an ignoramus can doubt it.'

Having learned thus much of the affairs of the island, I set myself at work to convince the islanders of the desirableness of establishing among themselves a civil government to settle disputes between families by a system of laws. This I attempted to urge by every consideration of self-interest, backed by the Moral Law, and the maxims of the Gospel. But by doing this I soon found myself a laughing-stock. 'What?' say they, 'this fellow, having dropped in among us awhile, would ride rough-shod over our customs, venerable for ages, yes, over those maxims which have, by the combined wisdom of our race from time immemorial, become settled law. He would press on us the command "Thou shalt not kill," as if we did not know that this command is often superseded by the necessities of war. Yet this fact may be clearly shown by various injunctions of Scripture, and especially by its historic parts. Our guns can never be spiked by such sharp-pointed texts of Scripture. And as for his doctrines of legal justice, that in controversies a party should never be judge and executor in his own cause, that will do for minors and subalterns; but who, that is worthy the name of man, would suspend his inalienable rights on the popularity of his cause, and thus barter them away for the uncertain adjudication of others? Our brave islanders will never do that. All just sense of liberty and independence forbids it. Besides, on such

theory where would be an arena for great and noble deeds? Submission upon submission might render us all a set of puny, craven souls.

Notwithstanding this reception, however, I resolved to press the merits of civil law in contrast and in preference to physical armed force as a criterion of civil right. This I resolved to do with the hope that the seeds of legitimacy thus sown broadcast, though on the mere surface, yet some of them at least might germinate, bear fruit, and so stock at length the island with righteousness and peace.

Now, is this a mere idle dream? Is it not rather a miniature model of the condition of the great family of nations called Christians? The families (nations) of the earth are by art brought into close proximity to each other. They are neighbors. They have, in the Christian faith they profess, the elements of true civilization — the elements of that kingdom which is righteousness and peace. Yet they cherish to the last degree all that false sense of national honor which renders their international relationships sheer barbarism. Now, though not resident on the supposed island, I find myself still a temporary resident of the little planet Earth, redeemed earth, a schoolhouse, a place of training for a more perfect state; a school, a progressive school, itself verging toward moral perfection. During my stay, then, shall I not scatter broadcast the seeds of peace, in obedience to the divine injunction: "in the morning sow thy seed, and at evening withhold not thy hand, if thou knowest not which shall prosper, this or that, or whether both shall be alike good?"

B.

Middlebury, Vt.

PEACE MOVEMENTS.

1. **AMONG FRIENDS.** — The *Friends' Review* reports a "Peace Conference in Baltimore," 4th–6th October, and says it is to meet again in Richmond, Indiana, next March. Nearly all the delegates from the Yearly Meetings were in attendance; the great objects of the meeting were solemnly considered, and, it is hoped, will be eventually promoted by its labors. An address to Friends was prepared by a committee, and 20,000 copies will be divided among the several Yearly Meetings for distribution."

This looks like a new and earnest effort on the subject by the Quakers; and we trust it will lead to a much wider diffusion than ever of peace principles *outside* of their religious Society. They have been commendably watchful over their own members; but we have long been anxious to see them doing vastly more than they have yet done in our day for spreading through

the entire community, right modes of thought, feeling, and action on this whole subject. Though few in number, the Friends have a large amount of moral power; and we hope they will soon put it forth in effective efforts to efface from Christendom her whole war-system, and replace it by a truly Christian system of peace, amity and justice among its nations.

2. BY RADICAL PEACE-MEN. — The friends of peace known under this designation, dissatisfied all along with the Peace Society as never sufficiently radical in its principles, its measures, or its spirit, have been during the year making special efforts to revive in effect, and somewhat in form. "the New England Non-Resistance Society," organized in 1838, and kept alive for a time by such reformers as Rev. Adin Ballou, Henry C. Wright and their associates.

This class of peace-men, chiefly the leaders in that ultra-peace movement nearly thirty years ago, against which even the Quakers felt constrained to protest as not representing their own views, have this year held three conventions, each of two or three days' continuance; first, at Boston in March, next at Providence, R. I., in June, and last at Philadelphia in October. At the second, they organized a *Universal Peace Society*, and issued "an address to all persons, families, communities and nations." Their plan, we believe, is to carry on the peace agitation chiefly by popular conventions, akin to those held by the radical abolitionists of the last thirty years.

We need not repeat the assurance of our interest in whatever is attempted to do away the war-system, which is our own sole aim; and in this view we sympathize with the honest, earnest zeal of these non-resistants in reviving the efforts of past years, while we must refrain from endorsing views or measures that go beyond those which our own Society has so long and uniformly kept before the community in its publications and lectures. These radical peace-men, however, we would not obstruct in their peculiar efforts, so far as directed merely against the war-system; but when they seek, as they do in their logic and their measures, to undermine and neutralize all effective, reliable civil government, we must of course avow our dissent and let the public know that we are not responsible for such views. We know they profess, doubtless in sincerity, to be in favor of what they call civil government, but deny to it what we all recognize as essential to make it a *real* government — the right to enact laws, and put them in force against those who violate them. It is in fact the old No-Government theory in a new and somewhat improved edition, but still essentially the same thing chiefly under the same old leaders of thirty years ago. We could easily show this, and shall do so whenever it shall become necessary.

At present, however, we ask merely to be put right before the public. On this point we have reason to complain; for these radical peace-men have in all their conventions persisted in misrepresenting us. Instead of quoting our constitution, and the expositions of our views and measures stereotyped for many years, they habitually contradict or ignore these fair exponents of

our Society, and substitute for them their own caricatures of us, as if we were not true, reliable opponents of the war-system, just because we do not countenance their no-government modes of reasoning. They may not be conscious of doing us this injustice, as they seem well-nigh incapable of seeing much that does not lie in the direction of their peculiar views and aims; but we trust they will hereafter represent us by what we have actually said and done, by our well-known principles and measures, the only fair exponents of our Society.

Respecting the last of these conventions, the one in October, a friend has given us some account. "The meetings continued three days. The weather was exceedingly inclement, and the attendance did not average over fifty. Most of the persons present were females, a few of whom were dressed as "Friends." Great harmony prevailed, though some of them seemed to be non-resistants, and some not such. The public notice invited all 'friends of pure peace principles, apart from theological or political opinions.'" Our informant gives a sketch of the views and measures announced, which accord with those we have already described as characteristic of this radical movement.

SOUTHERN RECONSTRUCTION :

THE CHIEF HINGE OF ITS DIFFICULTIES.

THE Southern leaders furnished potent reasons for the general feeling of insecurity. The very men who had advocated the secession heresy and inaugurated the rebellion, who had been foremost in the war, in the government of the rebel States, and the Confederacy of their creation, thrust themselves forward for all prominent positions. They soon filled the whole magistracy of the South with men of this class, and resumed the discussion of 'States Rights,' 'States Sovereignty,' and all the irritating issues which had resulted so fatally to their followers. The whole legislation was generally unfriendly to the adherents of the Union cause, and hostile to the freedmen, who were in no wise responsible for the results of the war. The crude ideas upon this subject have been one of the greatest sources of irritation; but they are as nothing compared to the prevailing assumptions that the rebellion was right, and the successful efforts to crush it wrong and cruel; that no one legally offended by resisting the United States authorities, and that those who battled for the rebel flag are alone worthy of the rewards due to Southern patriotism. No party in the North which recognizes the justice of these Southern pretensions, or undertakes to defend or justify the legitimate consequences of such teachings, can ever succeed before the people. And until the Southern people learn to renounce their errors, and to start upon ideas more consistent with law and order, all disagreements about remedies must result in the triumph of those who were all the time for the Union and for the war as the only means of its preservation. When the President insisted upon the restoration of the Southern States, it was under the firm belief that the submission was in good faith and complete. Congress believed differently, and demanded further guarantees. It must now be apparent to every thinking mind that the American people will never lower these demands. And yet it is apparent that the same impracticable

men are controlling public opinion there, and that the majority of the people are following the blind guides who before plunged them into the bottomless pit. — *N. Y. Times*.

This, says the *N. Y. Methodist*, we think a just view of the case. The whole continued quarrel hinges precisely here. Had the South retained its apparently repentant spirit, as showed immediately after the failure of the rebellion, when it seemed to be ready gratefully to accept any terms which the victors should offer, the latter would have proposed no other "policy" than that of the extreme possible generosity consistent with future safety. By the present time all Northern resentment for the terrible evils inflicted on the country by the South would have been waived, and the utmost endeavor of the North would have been made to reinvigorate the apparently broken spirit of the South, and to restore its capital, its political status, and its ruined business. The South is responsible for all its subsequent troubles. It would have been to-day on the highway to prosperity, pervaded by Northern capital and enterprise, and the best immigrant population, had it only conducted itself as its circumstances demanded. It has very nearly forfeited all the confidence of reflecting men in the North, and it is now evident that the loyal people will not trust it for the future without the most definitive guarantees.

The impolicy of the South arises from a deeper cause than is generally supposed. It is no accidental ebullition, no mere political blunder; it is fundamentally a *moral defect*. A just, a Christian view of its great crime has not been taken by it; and until it does frankly take that view, retributive evil will continue to fall upon its people, self-inflicted, however it may seem to come from extraneous sources, from Northern votes or Northern leaders. It seems to have scarcely any idea of the divine authority of Government, of the profound immorality of rebellion, except in the rare, the extreme case, where, to save the life of a people, the right of revolution intervenes, the rarest of all the emergencies of civil government. All the waste of billions of treasure (enough to educate this whole New World for all coming time) has been a stupendous violence and crime on the property of the toiling people. These crimes, if there is a moral Government over our world, cannot escape retribution except by repentance of the evil-doers, and that self-curative, self-recuperative influence, which, by the beneficent arrangement of the moral system of the world, comes from repentance whether in the individual or the State. The South is failing deplorably at precisely this point, and by the irreversible laws of the moral world there can be no hope for it till a *moral change* comes over it. All doctrines and expedients of policy must fail to meet such a case without this fundamental requisite. God has his own policy, and ours can never contravene his; men must by repentance, "cease to do evil and learn to do right," or sink in impotence and destruction before the march of his immutable ordinations.

Never, in recorded history, has there been greater clemency shown to great public criminals than in this contest. Men responsible for these unspeakable crimes are at large to-day under the protection of the very flag which they endeavored to dishonor and rend to pieces. One of them, (Gen. Lee) who by laws of all civilized countries would have been punished, is now exalted to be a teacher of the youth of the country. The pirate (Semmes) who wasted our splendid commerce over most of the seas, is a dictator of public sentiment, as an editor in Mobile; the butcher of Fort Pillow (Gen. Forrest,) is at full liberty, and is lecturing the populace in public assemblies; the men who maddened the heart and brain of the South as editors are still

wielding the public press there, and scorning the heroic patriotism that saved the country. A few assassins and jailors have been hung; but nearly all the chieftains of the unparalleled crime are unpunished, are at large, are protected. No politician or statesman who may hereafter wish to attempt the enormous crime of murdering the life of the nation, has yet had a fair warning given him by the solemn voice of public justice. Human policy may thus ignore the claims of law; but God Almighty will never do so. Retribution, evaded by Government, will, under the divine administration, find other means of vindicating eternal morality; means that will at last not only strike the criminal, but rebound in corrective punishment upon a negligent Government.

The upshot of all our terrible experience in the late rebellion on both sides must be to prove, as we well knew from the start it would, that nothing but legal means and moral influences can settle satisfactorily such disputes. No battles, no victories, on either side can ever suffice. Fight as long as the parties please or can, they must come to this conclusion at last. Strange that they could not have foreseen this, and thus averted the world of evils that have come upon us.

BURYING THE DEAD.—Everywhere about the field, fatigue parties are digging large trenches in which the Austrian and Prussian killed are being laid side by side, clothed in their uniforms. No other tombstone is put to mark each grave than a plain wooden cross, on which is written the number of each regiment that lies below. The officers are placed in single graves near beside the men. But here and there a few are seen silently carrying some comrade to a more retired spot. On one part of the field a Prussian general with his staff was burying his son, who had fallen in the attack on the Austrian right. Close by, the wife of a private soldier, who had found her husband's body on the field, had it buried by some soldiers, hung some oak branches on the little wooden cross at the head, and was sitting on the freshly-turned earth sobbing her heart out with his shattered helmet in her lap. She had followed his regiment in order to be near him from the beginning of the campaign, through all the long marches the army had made. The less severely wounded have been moved to Horzitz, from which, on the approach of the Prussians, the inhabitants had nearly all fled. The vacated houses have been converted into hospitals, and at nearly every window and every door men are hanging about listlessly, with heads or arms bound up, with a half-stupefied look, as if they had not yet recovered from the stunning effects of the blow which had disabled them. Many are Austrians, and are prisoners of war; but the greatest liberty seems to be accorded to them, for they are allowed to wander about the streets, and to mix freely with the Russian soldiers. — *Prussian Mil. Corr.*

WAR DEGENERACY OF THE CHURCH.—When the church threw aside her pacific character, harnessed herself for battle, and rushed into the bloody field, she sealed her apostasy with blood, and from that day to this has worn a garb foreign to her proper character, and derogatory to the honor and interest of her King.

GERMAN WAR.—The cost to Austria alone of the late war is estimated by the Austrians at \$240,000,000. A low estimate of her financial losses from her suicidal resort to the sword in that case.

SOME STATISTICS OF THE REBELLION.—Vermont towns are said to have paid in bounties to volunteers, substitutes and drafted men, with attendant expenses, \$5,210,442. The total war expenses of that little State were considerably over \$10,000,000. Massachusetts taxed herself in perhaps a still higher ratio. There were required of her 139,095, and she actually furnished \$158,380, or more than one to every eight inhabitants.

FRAUDS ON GOVERNMENT.—We must not charge all these on our Rebellion; but we all know the war multiplies well-nigh tenfold the opportunities and temptations to such crimes. Our public prints have teemed, not only during the Rebellion but ever since, with startling facts of this sort; and a leading Revenue Inspector estimates the loss of the Government by such frauds in the manufacture of tobacco alone, at no less than \$8,000,000 a year.

SPIRIT OF PEACE.

There is a calm the poor in spirit know,
Which softens sorrow, and which lightens woe;
There is a peace which shines within the breast,
When all without is stormy and distressed;
There is a light that gilds the darkest hour,
When dangers threaten, and when troubles lower;
That calm to faith and hope alone is given,—
That peace remains, when all beside is riven,—
That light shines down to man direct from Heaven.

OUR NATIONAL FINANCES—Are remarkably prosperous for a people just emerging from their long and desperate effort to put down the most gigantic rebellion the world ever saw. We devoutly hope this unique prosperity will not be suffered to tempt us into wars with other nations—a prosperity that has enabled us in a single year, and that so soon after our rebellion, to pay off nearly \$200,000,000 of our national debt; a result without a parallel in history. In our next we shall give fuller statements on this and some kindred topics.

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS.—December is the usual time for contributing to our cause; and we earnestly hope our friends will bear in mind how much it needs their aid, even more, we are sorry to say, than ever before. The return of peace has opened the way, and made a loud demand for enlarged efforts, which we have already attempted beyond our means, and ought, if possible, to increase them tenfold more than we have. We cannot, however, do more than our friends give us the means of doing; and we hope they will all, without failure or unnecessary delay, forward us by mail whatever they think they can give. Can they not *all* contribute to this cause in its present exigency as largely as they do to *any other*? It certainly *needs* such liberality, and, as we think, richly deserves it.

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19. Chief Evil of War, by Dr. Chan-		com.....	16
ning	4	51. War a Destroyer of Souls.....	8
20. Loss of Life by War.....	12	52. War and the Hearth.....	12
21. Witnesses for Peace.....	4	53. Plain Sketches of War, by R. P.	
22. Views of War, by Robert Hall.....	4	Stebbins, D.D.	4
23. Early Christians on War, by Thos.		54. Grimke on Peace.....	12
Clarkson	12	55. War as a Judicial Redress.....	4
24. War Debts of Europe.....	4	56. War and Missions.....	12
25. Results of One War.....	4	57. Causes of War, by Jonathan Dym-	
26. Neckar on Peace.....	8	mond	8
27. Peace Practicable.....	4	58. Moral Results of War, by J. Dym-	
28. Substitutes for War.....	4	mond	8
29. Arbitration as a Substitute for		59. War Unlawful for Christians, by	
War.....	8	J. Dymond,.....	24
30. A Congress of Nations.....	24	60. Efficacy of Pacific Principles, by	
31. Extinction of War, by Hon. Josiah		Jonathan Dymond.....	4
Quincy	4	61. Rights of Self-defence, by Jona-	
32. War Unchristian.....	12	than Dymond	4
33. Insensibility to the Evils of War,		62. War a Trial by Battle, by Hon.	
by Dr. Channing.....	12	Charles Sumner.....	4
34. Claims of Peace on all Christians.....	12	63. True Grandeur of Nations, by	
35. The only Remedy for War, by Dr.		Hon. Charles Sumner.....	24
Channing.....	4	64. Claims of Peace on Literary Men.....	12
A Sketch of the Cause of Peace.....	4	How to Aid the Cause of Peace.....	4
A Remedy for War.....	4	Bequests to the Cause of Peace.....	4
Way to Peace.....	4	Peace Themes	4
Success in the Cause of Peace.....	8	Funds Necessary in Peace.....	2
Le Monde; or, in Time of Peace pre-		Money a Divine Trust.....	2
pare for War, by Hon. Amasa		Cause of Peace; Why no more accom-	
Walker.....	24	plished	2
The System of Means in Peace.....	4	How to Prevent Rebellion.....	4

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In the cause of peace, more perhaps than in any other enterprise of benevolence or reform, the press has been employed as the chief instrument in bringing the subject before the public in its various bearings. Besides its periodical, the *Advocate of Peace*, and more than eighty stereotyped tracts, it has published the following volumes:

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

CONTENTS.

The Peace Reform.....	197	Northern Losses from the South.....	219
Brutalizing Influence of Custom.....	201	Difficulties of Peace.....	220
The next Step in Civilization.....	203	Thoughts on Peace.....	220
Hard to find Soldiers.....	204	Correction of Mistakes.....	221
War-Ships.....	204	Prejudices arising from Ignorance.....	222
War-Claims.....	204	National Wealth.....	224
Patriotism.....	205	Additional Bounties.....	224
Conference on Peace.....	206	Domestic Effects of War.....	224
Letters.....	207	French Army.....	225
Resolutions adopted.....	207	Tombs of Early Christians.....	226
War in Miniature.....	210	Decease of Friends of Peace.....	227
Scenes in Bohemia.....	211	Waste of Life in the Rebellion.....	227
International Arbitration.....	212	Cost of Pensions.....	227
Nature of Arbitration.....	212	Our Relations with England.....	227
History of Arbitration.....	213	True Christianity.....	228
Special Cases of Arbitration.....	217	Pacific Histories.....	228
American Debts to Europe.....	219	Cost of Monarchy and War.....	228
Our National Debt.....	219	Value of Decisions by the Sword.....	228
Death Records of the Rebellion.....	219	The Waste of War.....	228

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AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

SOURCES OF INCOME.—Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up an annual collection for the cause.

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1867.

THE PEACE REFORM:

ITS PRECISE AIM, SPHERE AND MEANS.

No enterprise, like the cause of Peace, can hope for success except on certain conditions. Its object must be specific, well-defined, and confessedly good and important. Its principles and measures should be made to cover, as nearly as possible, the precise end to be sought. To this object it should restrict itself, and seek the co-operation of those who may favor this object, without holding either them or the society responsible for views entertained on any other subject. As ends can be attained only by appropriate means, as the means necessary in such an enterprise are to be found chiefly in a right application of the gospel to the case, and as the followers of Christ, the Prince of Peace, are peculiarly bound to make such an application wherever their religion prevails, there clearly should be sought as widely as possible the active, habitual support of every Christian community.

All these conditions are met in the cause of Peace. Its grand, sole object is admitted by all to be good, and vastly important. On this point we suppose there can be neither doubt nor diversity of opinion; for war-men themselves, the stanchest sticklers for that war-system which alone we seek to do away, deplore its evils, and profess a strong desire to see its necessity superseded, and its legitimate ends secured by peaceful means alone.

The precise object of this cause, moreover, is well defined. It is no vague, visionary, impracticable scheme for the cure or prevention of all evil in the world, but only of this specific one ; no quixotic attempt to change the nature of man, to quench or exorcise all his bad passions ; nor any denial to society of civil government with the right, inseparable from its very existence, to enact laws, and put them in effective force. No such impossibilities has the cause of Peace ever promised, but from the first has proclaimed its sole aim to be the abolition of war, the practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword, their well-known war-system sustained all over Christendom itself at vast expense as their recognized method of insuring mutual justice and safety. On no other subjects does the Peace Society assume any responsibility, but regards them as not lying in its proper sphere.

Thus the cause of Peace, eschewing all side-issues, restricts itself to the single purpose of doing away this well-defined war-system. It never had any other aim. Its mission is not to prevent or settle disputes between individuals, in families, or among different portions of a people living under a common government ; not to do away litigation, duelling, or any other wrong habit or custom ; nor yet to decide how far individuals or society may use legal force for their own protection ; what laws government may enact, or how it may execute them ; how it shall punish theft, robbery or murder, riot, insurrection or rebellion. These are all grave questions ; but the cause of Peace has always regarded them as lying outside of its specific province, and consequently left its friends each to his own views respecting them. Thus it treats rebellion, like any other crime, as an offence to be dealt with by every government in accordance with its own laws, and does not interfere with any of its legitimate internal operations. The custom of war it regards not as a domestic but as strictly and solely an international question ; in no proper sense a process of justice, an act of government intelligently and rightfully punishing its own subjects for their crimes, but merely a blind resort to brute force, with no power or reliable tendency to insure justice ; and in all our efforts for the abolition of this custom, we recognize the right of every government in its own proper sphere to enact and execute law at discretion for the welfare of those who are subject to its authority. It may abuse this right ; but the right itself is inseparable from the idea of government, nor can the abuse of it disprove its existence or its necessity.

The cause of Peace, thus confining itself to the intercourse of nations with each other, and seeking as its only object to do away their prac-

tice of relying on the sword as the arbiter of their disputes, hopes for success chiefly through a right application of the gospel to the case. Nothing else can ever cure this inveterate, world-wide evil ; but for this purpose it must of course be rightly applied, and such an application the followers of Christ are bound to make in every land where their religion of peace prevails. When thus applied, we believe the gospel has power, and will be sure in time, to do away this great sin and scourge. It is the mission of the Peace Society to enlist Christians everywhere in making such an application of the gospel in its pacific principles as shall insure and hasten this blessed consummation by recasting public opinion in its own mould, and thus leading all Christian nations to supersede their present war-system by rational, peaceful expedients like stipulated arbitration, or a Congress of Nations.

Here, then, is the great work to be done ; for whenever this change in public opinion shall be effected, everything else that may be needed will follow as a matter of course. On this point everything turns ; and hence our first and chief business must be to educate men everywhere in the principles of peace. Their modes of thought and feeling must be recast in the mould of the gospel. Nothing short of this will ever suffice ; and to this result must all our efforts ultimately converge. We must set and keep at work the manifold, ubiquitous influences that create or control public opinion. We must enlist the fireside and the church, the pulpit and the press, the platform, the lyceum, and our seminaries of learning from the highest to the lowest. It is a vast work ; but it *can* be done and *must* be, before we can expect, what God has so clearly promised, the permanent reign of peace in every land blessed with the light of his gospel.

It is here the friends of peace have been most deficient. They admit what we now say, but do not act up to it. They have hitherto used only a mere fraction of the means indispensable to full success. The scale of operations attempted has always been quite disproportioned to the great work we have undertaken. On this point not only the community at large, but our own friends have entertained very inadequate views, and practically overlooked the universal law, that ends can be secured only by appropriate and sufficient means. Not a few seem to imagine, that a custom nearly as old as human depravity itself, and woven into the habits and institutions of every people on earth, can be eradicated without such efforts as have been found necessary in other reforms far less difficult. Not a tithe, if a hundredth part, of the money and labor has yet been spent in this cause that will be found indispensable to full

success. With the pittance of means hitherto used, we may well marvel that it should have accomplished so much as it confessedly has. In no year has our Society's income exceeded six or seven thousand dollars, very seldom more than half this sum, at times not a tithe as much, while for years had a single individual, with only small resources of his own, been left to bear a responsibility that ought to have been shared by many thousands.

In view of such facts, we are met with the practical question — how can the friends of God and man be induced to use the means so clearly necessary in this cause? We believe they *can* be thus induced, but not without much time and patient, long-continued efforts. It is ours, as the recognized leaders in this great reform, to make the efforts requisite for this purpose. Its claims, like those of the Bible, or the missionary cause, to be, as they have never yet been, kept constantly before the Christian community, and Christians of every name be trained to pray, labor and contribute in its behalf as one of their Christian duties. They should view the spread of peace, the prevention of war, the abolition of the war-system, as one of the promised results of the gospel which they are bound to seek by a right application of its principles to the case, just as they would the extinction of slavery, intemperance or paganism itself. The pulpit should be induced to preach, and the Christian press to publish on this subject, as they would on any other question of duty, or any other enterprise of benevolence or reform.

We need not go into further details; but in ways like these the question should be brought home to every village, family and individual in the land, and be kept in close, active contact with the general mind until public opinion on this subject, everywhere recast in the mould of the gospel, shall at length constrain all reputedly Christian governments to discard the war-method of settling their disputes, and replace it by some rational, peaceful, Christian expedients for the purpose.

Such, then, is the grand consummation we seek; and for its accomplishment the Peace Society has already devised, though but very partially set at work as yet, a system of instrumentalities designed to secure the habitual, permanent and effective co-operation of the pulpit, the press, and every department of education, from the common school up to our colleges and professional seminaries. Whenever these main-springs of moral power in society shall be fully enlisted in this great reform, its triumph will become ultimately sure, if not rapid, in every land blest with the light of the gospel.

To carry out this system of instrumentalities as far and fast as possible, we have procured and stereotyped several volumes, and a series of nearly a hundred popular tracts. The number or diffusion of these we would fain increase, and give them so general a circulation as to reach every hamlet and habitation in the land. We have always issued a periodical devoted to our cause; and this we have been very desirous of sending to as many as possible of our four or five thousand periodicals, and of our forty or fifty thousand Christian ministers, in the hope of thus enlisting the chief influences that create or control public opinion on all such questions. Before the late rebellion we employed agents in different parts of our country; and one or more such laborers we would gladly set at work now in every State to deliver lectures, to circulate our publications, and establish depositories of them in great centres, to organize local societies, bring the subject before ecclesiastical bodies, collect funds, and in other ways promote the cause intrusted to our care.

How far we may be able to carry out these plans, we know not; and certain it is that their execution to any considerable extent will require a much larger amount of funds, and a far wider and more earnest co-operation of the Christian community, than we have ever yet received. For all this we confidently hope in God's good time; and with his Word, his Providence and his Spirit on our side, we can well abide our time, nor, as blind John Milton said of himself, "abate a jot of heart or hope."

BRUTALIZING INFLUENCE OF CUSTOM.

It is humiliating to see how a community, in some repute for intelligence and social culture, will yet drift into usages the most barbarous and brutalizing. Two specimens of this degradation, one ancient, the other modern still in progress, have recently been brought before the public.

SPANISH BRUTALITY. — Lady Herbert, an English traveller in Spain, lately saw at a bull-fight in Seville, 20 horses and 6 bulls killed in two hours and a half for the gratification (!) of spectators "whose delight was the greater the more horrible was the state of the disembowelled animals. One of the horses belonged to one of the richest gentlemen in Seville, had been his favorite hack, and was as well known on the Prado as his master. The gallant horse, disembowelled as he was, *would not die*, but survived one bull after another, though his entrails were hanging in festoons on their horns; and finally, when the gates were open to drag out the carcasses of the rest, he managed to crawl away, also, and to drag himself — where? — to the very door of his master's house, which he reached, and where he finally lay down and died!"

GLADIATORIAL BRUTALITIES OF ANCIENT ROME. — CARLETON, in a recent letter from Rome to the *Boston Journal*, gives a vivid sketch of these in describing the Amphitheatre.

"The day is gone; and it is a fit hour to call from their nameless graves the multitudes who gathered here to witness the spectacles when Rome was mistress of the world. On the western side is the seat of the Emperors clad in royal purple. They appear on the Imperial dais. Above and around in every seat, in all the passage-ways, walking along the corridors, and beneath the arches, we see the mighty assembly of rich and poor, patricians and plebeians, civilized and barbarians, gathered to enjoy the spectacle of brute courage, strength, endurance, valor and death. They love blood. Ah! what a glorious moment it will be when the iron bars are drawn which confine the African lions in yonder arch! To see the ferocious tiger leap into the arena! To see the gladiator with drawn sword step forth to battle with the king of beasts! What joy to behold the hated Christians tossed to the grovelling beasts, to see a fair maiden torn from limb to limb, and devoured as a sweet morsel of food! No cry of horror escapes the multitude. Not a heart in all that multitude shudders at the sight. Roman virtue is not of that stamp. Roman civilization rejoices in the sight. There on this ground, now a verdant turf, the lions leaped, and roared, and licked their bloody fangs. There the gladiators fought the beasts and each other, deeming it an honor to die in such a contest! From hence early Christian martyrs went rejoicing up to heaven. What an assembly! ferocious beasts, men more fierce than they, shaking the solid structure with the thunder of their applause — the arena all dust and blood — dying men and women upon the ground — disembowelled, headless, armless trunks torn, disfigured, half eaten by famished tigers! Here it was — right here where we stand! Here the eye of Faith looked through the opening clouds of heaven, radiant with eternal glory. Here gray-haired men and tender maidens, believing in Jesus, went to their death as calmly as to a night's repose.

We can see the vast multitude pouring out from the archways when the sport for the day is over, wending their way through the streets to their homes, talking of the play, its good points, how grandly the lion leaped upon its victims, how beautiful the countenance of Christian kneeling with clasped hands, how sublimely the gladiator rushed recklessly on to certain death — talking it all over just as your readers talk of the play at the theatre. Who shall say that Alaric was not a blessing instead of a curse to the world? What but fire and the sword, and utter extinction of such a people, could eradicate such a fiendish thirst for blood?"

Here we see the legitimate, inevitable effect of custom in brutalizing communities reputedly somewhat intelligent and cultivated. Human nature is always and everywhere essentially the same; and but for the malign influences of a popular, long-continued custom, it would have cried out in horror at the barbarous and brutal developments here described. Such is generally the imperceptible, unconscious influence of custom. We see it perhaps most of all in war. What else could prompt or allow civilized, nominally Christian communities to eulogize or even tolerate the deeds of war? The day is surely coming when men, better instructed in the gospel, and more fully imbued with its spirit, will look back on the war-sentiments and war achievements of our times, very much as we now do on the revolting brutalities of ancient Rome and modern Spain.

THE NEXT STEP IN CIVILIZATION.

THAT the character and aim of the Peace Society should have been overlooked by American citizens during the late rebellion, is not at all surprising. But we are a nation of thinkers ; and, as every man interests himself more or less in matters of political economy, we confidently renew our efforts to bring before every voter, every mother, every boy and girl, the grand question, *IS WAR NECESSARY ?* We need not depict the horrors of war — they have been staring in every one's face for five years. Nor need we dwell on its costliness ; every family feels it in their trade and taxes.

It is only needed now, that every one shall inquire, *Is war necessary ?* Of course, contentions will arise between nations as between individuals, for nations are governed by individuals ; and these quarrels may drag the nations after them. But the mass of the people, left to themselves, would never demand war. They will attend to their private vocations, to earn their bread, or use their capital, whether in war or peace. Cannot the rulers of nations, then, be brought under some restraint ? Must they always have power to plunge at will a nation of quiet people into a war with another quiet people against whom they have as individuals no hate ? Must the million be butchered, and taxed, and have their homes desolated, at the caprice of half a dozen wicked or foolish statesmen ?

No ! it *need* not be. We need only advance one step in civilization and morality to institute a set of laws that shall govern States and statesmen, and a court which shall adjudge cases of controversy according to those laws. Here is the grand object of the Peace Society ; an object which some have affected to sneer at as visionary, and some to condemn as impracticable, but no man of common sense opposes as undesirable. No one doubts that peace will be universal in the millennium ; and yet one imagines that human beings will even then be anything *but* human beings. If peace will be practicable then, it is practicable now. If rulers could be properly restrained, peace would soon be universal now, and armies would be kept on a small scale only for police purposes.

But the whole world never makes a simultaneous movement in either morals or politics, upward or downward. Reforms have a local origin, while degeneracy is contagious and gradual. Some one nation must begin the movement for universal peace, and a portion of that

nation must first be moved to measures which shall influence the whole. And what nation is more interested to have "peace on earth," or better prepared to bring the great question before the world, than these United States?

Let every one, then, who fears God, and loves man, exert his local influence to abolish war. Was ever an enterprise more grand, more glorious? Let petitions go up from every portion of the land, calling upon Congress to initiate measures for inducing nations to come under some just code of international law. Let such petitions go up from session to session, till our government makes the sublime movement for universal peace. It *can* be done; and are not we the people to start this great reform for the world?

H. M.

HARD TO FIND SOLDIERS. — In most, if not all countries on the continent of Europe, government by conscription compels men to be soldiers. England is too free to bear this; and now she "is distressed to find soldiers for her army. Labor has grown so valuable, and emigration so tempting, that the class from which soldiers are recruited, can do better than accept the petty pay, not changed for these fifty years, that the army offers. A good mechanic earns eight shillings a day, while as a British soldier he has but a single shilling. Nor can the government afford to put the army pay up to a fair competition with labor. So it is in a puzzle. Did it ever think to solve it by abolishing the army? In fact, with labor so high and so important as it is now to every manufacturing country, governments cannot afford to keep up large standing armies. What they cost in pay and rations, and more, what is lost to the productive industry by their withdrawal from labor; is a burden on government and country, that cannot justly be borne. And more, it *will* not be. Civilization is fast moving to a recognition of the fact, that it *cannot afford to fight*, or be *prepared* for fighting. The profit and loss aspect, not the moral or religious one, will speedily settle the fact, that there shall be no more wars. The great wars of the last ten years in Europe and America have only cleared the way for this consummation. They have given opportunity for the development of labor, and the growth of men as men, that make the resort to wars both unnecessary and impossible." — *Springfield Republican*.

WAR-SHIPS. — To furnish timber sufficient for a single seventy-four gunship, would require, it is estimated, the matured crop of forty-four acres of woodland, or 2,200 full-grown trees. Even these would be only a small part of the cost of such ship; and iron-clads are said now to cost from five to ten times as much. What a waste, and of what real use after all!

WAR-CLAIMS. — The incidental claims arising out of any and every war, but especially such an one as our late rebellion, are almost interminable in the shape of pensions, damages, and the like. We shall soon have an ava-

lanche of them from ex-rebels in the South as well as from loyal men at the North.

"A recent decision of Attorney General Stanbery, that a pardon entitled a man to be considered loyal in the settlement of claims, and the alacrity with which Southern rebels were hastening to obtain payment for damages done by United States forces in the South during the war, have led Congress to prohibit the payment of claims arising from such destruction of property. The necessity for such legislation may be inferred from a statement in a recent Washington letter, that there is a Southern railroad President in the Capital now, with claims which he feels certain will yet be good, and so expresses himself after communication with the White House—the claims covering rents for his road during the term of its occupation, rents for the locomotives and cars used and destroyed, and damages for the wear and tear of the rails. A single item of his claim is twenty-five dollars per day for the use of locomotives captured. Taking this as a basis of calculation, and referring to Gen. Cullum's report giving the number of locomotives taken, and the term for which they were used and it appears that the allowing of such a claim will cost the Government \$2,439,000 for locomotives alone; and this would probably be the smallest item in the settlement of the railroad account. The item for fences destroyed would resolve itself into paying for about half the wood burned by the armies for four years. The item of forage used is almost beyond computation: and if all these and other things used or destroyed by the army, were to be paid for, the sum total would be immense, and might even exceed our nation's debt."

PATRIOTISM.

ITS MORAL ELEMENTS.

As the charge of want of patriotism will be noisily urged against all who endeavor to establish purer principles of international morality, it may be well to examine the meaning of that much-abused word, and the history of the idea it represents. Patriotism, as the dictionary will tell us, means love of country. It is too hastily assumed that love of country is an absolute and unmixed virtue. It is a virtue as opposed to love of self, but not as opposed to love of the race. For it is clear that the love we feel for our country is itself not without a mixture of selfishness, which cannot be eliminated. No one would hesitate to say that love of country is to be ranked higher in the scale of virtue than love of our nearest relations, the reason evidently being that the selfish alloy enters more largely into the latter than into the former.

Love of country, then, is laudable because and in so far as it involves a sacrifice of our selfish instincts. From a variety of causes there is not, and cannot be, the same conflict between selfishness and patriotism in the citizens of most modern European states as in the republics of antiquity. The relation of the individual citizen is much less close and personal. The Athenian felt that the greatness and even the existence of his country depended appreciably on the conduct of himself, his friends and acquaintances. Giving his vote for war meant exposing himself to the chance, and the not remote chance, of having to leave his business, don his fighting gear, and march to the border, or perhaps of being told off for service for many months at Memphis or Potidæ. If he had only to mount guard on the Long Walls two nights out of three, he was a lucky man. If he fell into

the hands of the enemy, it was not to be exchanged or "paroled," but more frequently to be despatched on the spot. If his city was taken, he would probably be turned over to the executioner, and his wife and children to the slave-dealer.

Now, when the English Government, with the approbation of the country, declared war against Russia in 1854, we knew very well that it would make no difference to any of us personally. City men went into their business as usual. Country gentlemen killed time and partridges neither more nor less sedulously. Rural skittle grounds and metropolitan gin-palaces did a fair average business. I never heard that Pall Mall looked empty, or that Lombard Street was less thronged, or even that things were flatter in Petticoat Lane. The 22,000 red-coats who perished by the sword of the enemy, or the arrangements of the War-office, were not missed out of a population of 27,000,000. Certainly the Russians did not manage to put in mourning a family that I was acquainted with. There was the war nine-pence, it is true; and we did not like to pay it. But will any one who reads these pages say that it curtailed one of his comforts, or of even his luxuries? As for apprehensions of having the horrors of war brought home to us, of seeing hostile ships off our coast, or hostile troops on our soil, it is needless to say that they never occurred to any one. To talk of patriotism under such circumstances is simple nonsense. It may be safely said that during the last half-century no Englishmen have had an opportunity of showing their patriotism, except perhaps the builders of the Alabama, and they did not avail themselves of it.

Patriotism is now only a specious name for national insolence. To an Englishman his country is not something for which he is to sacrifice his personal interests, but something which promotes them. His associations with it are entirely of an agreeable kind. They turn exclusively on material advantage. He does not, indeed, owe to himself that the ennobling elements of patriotism, such as sacrifice, fidelity, loyalty, duty, are practically obsolete. On the contrary, he gives himself credit for all these qualities, as a matter of course. Patriotism has ever ranked as one of the noblest of virtues. When he rejoices over the capture of Peking, or the establishment of compulsory trade with Japan, he is a patriot. The inference is obvious and comfortable. In reality his feelings towards his country are neither more nor less elevated than those of a shareholder in a prosperous joint-stock company, towards the concern in which he has been lucky enough to invest his money. — *Prof. Beesley on "International Morality."*

CONFERENCE ON PEACE.

THE Committee of our Society issued Dec. 19th, 1866, the following circular to a select few of its leading friends :

You know how sorely the cause of Peace has been tried in the late rebellion, trials sufficient permanently to cripple almost any cause similarly circumstanced ; but by the blessing of God, it has been kept alive in its integrity, and with all its old arguments greatly multiplied and intensified. With this bitter experience of its necessity, the way would now seem open for its friends to revive it with new vigor and with better prospects.

Allow us, then, to request you to meet at our office, January 17th, 1867. at 10 A. M., in conference with other friends to interchange views as to what

ought now to be done or attempted. We stand before the public charged with the care of this cause; and we trust you will cheerfully share with us the responsibility of meeting the demands of the hour. We earnestly hope you can attend; but if not, we trust you will communicate your views by letter, and let us know, if you can, how far we may rely on your co-operation in efforts to give this enterprise the new start and impulse which it so urgently needs.

In response to this request, a few of our friends braved the severest storm known here for years, to attend the proposed conference. Hon. AMASA WALKER was appointed Chairman, and Prof. ALPHEUS CROSBY, Secretary. Dr. Beckwith read extracts from some dozen letters sent by friends who could not attend, all expressing their cordial interest in the cause, their unabated confidence in its ultimate triumph, and their readiness to co-operate in efforts to give it now a new start. We can copy only a small part of these communications, but will give a few specimens: —

Our able and most reliable friend, Prof. URHAM, D. D., whose health did not allow him to be present, writes: —

“I have endeavored to think over the subject which you have placed before me. Others will perhaps present to you different views; but my own feeling at present is essentially this: The war-spirit is not as yet sufficiently quieted to admit of a successful public effort on a large scale. We must, however, keep up our organization, circulate peace publications as widely as possible, and press wisely but earnestly upon our rulers the great principle of Arbitration. I am in hopes, that the expiration of another year will find the nation fully restored, and such a change in public sentiment as will justify the inauguration of more effective measures. Nevertheless, we can continue to do much in sowing the seeds of truth in the ways I have mentioned.

The Peace Movement is radical and revolutionary. It proposes to remodel the history of the world; and I have not the least doubt, that the object will in time be secured. The seed which has been sown by Worcester, and Ladd, and Channing, and, allow me to add, not less faithfully and widely by yourself, will assuredly germinate and spring up in its time. I know that you feel almost alone; but I have noticed, that all great reform movements depend, at first, upon the self-sacrifice and the efforts of a few. You received the peace-standard from the great leaders whom I have mentioned; and a kind Providence has, in my estimation, enabled you to bear it most worthily. You have kept it floating amid the terrible tempest of war; the seed has been sown amid streams of blood; but the blood will nurture it. All truth has in itself the elements of immortality and of ultimate triumph; but the highest truths, such as that of universal peace, necessarily require the longest time for ultimate success.”

Hon. GERRIT SMITH, so widely known for his intelligent and active interest in enterprises akin to ours, says, —

“The American Peace Society is misunderstood and misrepresented. It seems to be regarded by many as a Society to promote abstinence from all violence, and to promote Peace in all directions, whereas cessation from national war is its only aim. Had it been named ‘American Anti-War Society,’ its members would not have been so much exposed to the charge of inconsistency for standing by their Government when a portion of its subjects armed themselves for its overthrow. It was an utterly false charge that our defence of our Government in that case was an armed war upon

Slavery. Such a war neither the Peace Society nor even the Abolition Society ever made. No political party made it; it was *not* made; there *was* no such war. When, in the course of the Rebellion, slavery was struck at, it was simply because to do so was necessary in order to put down rebellion.

I trust that our Society will continue to confine itself, as it has hitherto done, to the one work of putting an end to national war. It has nothing to do with Duels, Rebellions, Insurrections, Civil Wars; and it is to go neither for nor against strict 'Non-Resistance.' If Non-Resistance is wrong, our Society is not to be prejudiced by it; and if Non-Resistance is right, our Society is entitled to no credit for it.

The time is not distant when some one of the nations of Christendom, putting her trust in God and her sister nations, will venture upon the duty and policy of Disarmament. Nor will she put that trust in vain. What if France, which is just now in circumstances so admirably suited to the experiment, should venture upon this duty and policy, would her neighbor-nations take advantage of the disarmament to invade her? Oh, no! but they would joyfully make themselves an impenetrable and insurmountable wall around her to protect her from any nation so base as not to be inspired by an example so sublime, and so mean as to make that example the occasion for perpetrating violence and robbery. And soon would those protecting nations be won by this example to the extent of copying it. If the Indians, on seeing that William Penn and his colonists had no arms in their hands, were shamed into the throwing down of their own, is it extravagant to expect that similar influences should produce similar effects upon civilized nations?

If this be pronounced Utopian, we will continue still to work together for a Congress of Nations, or, what is better, for an International Court. Such a court would be the one upward step to Peace and Life for the nations to take. The petty local courts suffice for their narrow range; the more important local courts suffice for their wider range, and the national court is the final arbiter in the internal strife of the nation. Add the International Court, and then the one thing, the only thing, now lacking, a Tribunal for disposing of international differences, will have been supplied.

The American Peace Society can do little without money; but it can do much with a little money. An extra five or ten thousand dollars, at this time added to the ordinary contributions to its treasury, would enable the Society to multiply very greatly its streams of light and love. Can you not induce fifty or a hundred persons to give each \$100? I will be one of them."

All the other letters were in a like strain. Our venerable friend, Rev. R. S. STORRS, D. D., of Braintree, says, "No Mather of modern times, nor Paul of earlier ages, ever conceived a better 'device' for the destruction of Satan's power, or the establishment of Christ's authority in the hearts of men, than that of reiterating the song of angels at the Saviour's birth, in connection with Heaven's great Law, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'" Another friend, "bordering on his 90th year," Hon. JOHN PRENTISS, Keene, N. H., our representative at one of the Peace Congresses in Europe, says, "The millennium is, of course, in the distance; but, as Gen. Miller said when asked whether he could carry that height, 'I will try,' so we must *try*, and continue to try."

B. W. TOMPKINS, Esq., Norwich, Ct., says, "Your Society and its allies will be among the last to be appreciated in this sin-cursed world; but its agency is not the less important on that account. Its progress will be slow, slower than other Christian organizations: for much that passes for Christianity, will need reconstruction before the world shall be sufficiently evan-

gelized to accept in simple faith the gospel as the conservator and regulator of society. This development will be among the last and grandest achievements of Christianity. In that culmination, your labors will be recognized, your reward will be great, and all the more glorious for the patience of hope that has been its history."

From Rev. A. Lord, Ill., and from Rev. Geo. W. Thompson, N. H., to each of whom our cause has been greatly indebted, letters were received, the former, in particular, sketching plans for a much wider extension of our efforts than we have ever yet been able to attempt. Along with others, communications of much ability, but too long for insertion here, come from S. S. WARDWELL, Esq., Providence, R. I., and Dea. S. W. BOARDMAN, Middlebury, Vt.

After a free and very full interchange of views, the Conference adopted the following resolutions:—

Resolved, 1. That as the only direct object of the American Peace Society is the prevention of war between nations, we regard it as having been wise in so carefully restricting its efforts to this object, and not interfering as a Society with questions, however important in themselves, beyond its proper sphere, such, for example, as those which concern the relations between governments and their own subjects, and the best methods of securing obedience to law. Differences of opinion respecting such questions should not prevent the friends of Peace from acting together harmoniously and efficiently in their own proper work.

2. That the true principles of Peace, so far from endangering or weakening government, could not fail, if duly wrought into the sentiments and habits of society, to furnish the best, if not the only reliable guaranty against insurrection, rebellion, or any other peril to its order, welfare, and permanency.

3. That in the prophecies of the Old Testament, in the pacific doctrines of the New, and in the grand progressive movements of the world's history, we find the most ample assurances of ultimate success in the cause of Peace; nor do we see in all the bitter experiences of the last few years, in our own and other countries, any grounds for permanent discouragement, but the strongest motives for the friends of Peace to redouble their zeal in their great and good work.

4. That there is need, however, of a much greater amount of effort than has ever yet been attempted in this cause; and, for securing such a result, its claims ought to be brought and kept as distinctly and widely as possible before Christians of every name, as a cause common to all the followers of the Prince of Peace, and before patriots of every land as essential to the welfare of their respective countries and of the whole world. "The field is the world;" and amid all its changes and commotions, alike through sunshine and storm, it is rapidly growing "white to the harvest."

5. That we fully approve the general system of means employed by the American Peace Society (though as yet, from its too limited resources, but imperfectly put in operation, indeed scarcely more than well begun) for effecting such a change in public opinion and custom as shall lead nations to adopt, in place of their present war-system, some methods analogous to those now in use between individuals and minor communities, for the settlement of their disputes without resort to the sword.

6. That the friends of Peace should spare no practicable effort to promote the pacific adjustment of any differences that may arise between nations; to secure in every treaty that may be made, a recognition of the principle of arbitration; to inspire mutual confidence among nations, and to hasten the

reduction of the great standing armies with which they are now menacing each other ; and thus to prepare the way for some efficient and permanent system of international government, order and justice, substantially such as the friends of Peace in our own and other countries have advocated under the names of an International Court, and a Congress or Confederation of Nations.

7. That the American Peace Society needs and merits liberal contributions for the prosecution of its great work through publications, correspondence, and the voice of living advocates ; and that it is eminently desirable that the friends of Peace should, in their several localities, form or give new energy to organizations in its behalf, and endeavor by public meetings, the distribution of documents, and other appropriate agencies, to commend the cause to the popular reason and conscience.

Such were the main conclusions reached by the Conference ; but the best and most hopeful commentary on the proceedings is the fact, that by the friends present, and those from whom letters had been received, more than eight hundred dollars were pledged towards a wider and more effective extension of the Society's operations. Will not many of our other friends "go and do likewise" ? If they will, we shall soon secure the "five or ten thousand dollars" proposed by Mr. Smith to be raised as an extra effort. Does not the cause deserve, as it certainly needs, all this, and even much more ?

WAR IN MINIATURE.

In 1846 a family named Johnstone settled in Carter County, East Tennessee, near the Rogers family. Johnstone cleared the land, assisted by two young sons, and one day Rogers claimed a pile of rails that Johnstone held was his property. The result was that Rogers shot Johnstone dead, and the murderer, being a man of some influence in the settlement, was acquitted in Court. The two Johnstone boys vowed vengeance on Rogers, and some time after the elder of the boys, James by name, shot him through the heart. Rogers left a boy, who, when he grew to manhood, shot James Johnstone, who had married, and had a son named Henry, who a few years after shot the Rogers who had killed his father. But the latter also left a son who some years after killed the son left by James Johnstone.

Thus it went on for years, first a Johnstone falling by the hands of a Rogers, and then a Rogers falling beneath the avenging hand of a Johnstone, until our civil war broke out, and the feud for a time appeared to have ended. The cessation of the hostilities between the North and the South brought the survivors of the two families back to Carter County. These survivors were Randall Rogers and Robert Johnstone, both battle-scarred veterans, and both unmarried. They met in a grocery store on the 5th of January, and quarrelled, but were separated by friends. Later in the day they met in the street, both drew revolvers and fired at each other, and both were mortally wounded, Rogers being shot through the brain, and Johnstone through the abdomen. Almost at the same instant the vital spark fled from each body, and thus ended a feud that had lasted twenty years, in the course of which fourteen men died violent deaths.

Here we have a fair illustration of war in its spirit, its principle, its methods of redress, and its ultimately suicidal recoil upon the parties. In

this case each decided for himself what was right, took vengeance into his own hands, and, without any satisfaction or benefit to himself, brought only ruin upon both. There was no law as a recognized rule of right; but each claimed to be a law to himself. There was no calm, honest attempt on either side for real justice, but only a haughty, selfish, vindictive determination to have his own way, right or wrong, by sheer force. There was no semblance of real justice; but each party, acting as accuser, witness, judge, and executioner in his own cause, pushed madly on in his purpose of savage vengeance.

Is not this war in miniature? Does not war *avowedly* act on this principle, and essentially in this way? Instead of being a process of justice, is it not in its nature, and generally in its results, an engine of blind and brutal vengeance? Whenever justice or any good does come of it, is it not a matter of chance, an interposition of God, making the folly and wrath of man work out the purposes of his wisdom and love?

How different all this from *any* legal process of justice. Here neither party is allowed to decide in his own case, or to act as either judge, jury or executioner. The whole question is left entirely in the hands of impartial men, solemnly sworn to decide according to law and facts; and their decision, when duly reached, is to be carried into effect, not by men in the heat and fury of passion, but by chosen, reliable executors of law. Whenever a party resists, force may, of course, be used, but only for the purpose of securing the ends of legal justice. Neither life, limb, nor any interest is put in peril, except where necessary in bringing the criminal to condign punishment. If he will quietly submit to the officers of the law, not a hair of his head will be harmed till after his case is fairly decided in court; but if one offender or a million shall resist and defy the government, all the force must be used that shall be found necessary to maintain its authority, and carry its laws into effect. Where many combine in resistance, the conflict may have the violence, bloodshed, and other evils of war; but, after all, they are only the evils incident to the enforcement of law. It is not, even in these extreme cases, *war*, strictly speaking, but a *process of legal justice*.

SCENES IN BOHEMIA.—Accounts from Bohemia describe, as one of the most heart-rending sights imaginable, the crowds of women, both of the highest and lowest classes, who, having rushed to the scenes of carnage from all parts of North and South Germany, are seen wandering over the battle-fields, through lazarets and hospitals, looking for their fathers, husbands, brothers, and lovers. The terrible cries that every now and then strike the ear when one of these heart-broken creatures has suddenly discovered her dearest friend among a heap of slain, or dying on the battle-field, or among the thousands of sick, are said to shake even those most hardened against all forms and expressions of human misery. It is chiefly in Turnau, where the thousands of wounded at Sadowa at present are housed and tended by the numerous sisters of mercy and Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, that these scenes mostly occur. Many of the poor ladies have to return to their homes without finding those they sought.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

THE "North American Review" for April, 1866, had a long and elaborate article on this subject, noticed heretofore by us as a very valuable contribution to our cause, and though unable to copy it entire, we cannot refrain from giving some of its main points.

NATURE OF ARBITRATION.

Is arbitration a new or an old method of settling international differences? What rules govern the parties to it? What disputes have been referred, and with what results?

Those books to which we commonly go when in doubt on questions of international law, help us little. They all speak of arbitration as one method by which international difficulties are settled; Wheaton and Halleck dismiss the subject with a section, Phillimore and Twiss with a few pages. When we look through these volumes, we are struck by the fact that they devote so many chapters to the rules of war, and have so little to say of peaceful umpirage. But war needs to be restrained. Belligerents cannot injure each other unless they do it by rule, and they cannot injure neutrals unless for violation of rules. War, then, is governed by law, and so also is arbitration. Both war and arbitration consider in theory that all nations are equal, with the same rights and the same duties. When war attempts to enforce these equal rights and duties, it expects to succeed, because nations are unequal in might. To reconcile a theory so inconsistent with the practice, war requires many rules for the protection both of the parties and of neutrals. Arbitration needs no rules for this purpose, for it regards nations as equal both in right and might. Arbitration, settling international disputes by a method known to individuals, is governed by rules found in the common and civil law; while war, employing its own peculiar means, needs its own peculiar laws. For this reason the writers on international law have labored principally to define the *leges belli*, and have given but little space to the laws of arbitration.

"An arbitrator is a person selected by the mutual consent of the parties to determine the matters in controversy between them, whether they be matters of law or fact." An arbitrator "is a person authorized by the parties in difference to decide what shall be done with regard to the matters submitted to his judgment." The above are definitions, one from Russell on Arbitration, and the other from Wildman on International Law. In the first quotation the parties are men, and in the second they are nations. The consent in one case is shown by a writing, known as the submission, stating the matter in controversy, and the points on which the decision of the arbitrator is desired. A treaty, or convention, in which the parties agree to be bound by the award of an arbiter in certain matters of difference between them, gives the authority named in the second definition. Nations may submit

any questions they choose to whomsoever they choose. When they have submitted any question, and the award has been given, that award must be conclusive. "Although the civil law may decide upon the conduct of arbitrators to whom a compromise is referred, so as to allow an appeal from their decision, or complaints against their injustice, this can never take place between kings and nations. For here there is no superior power that can rivet or relax the bonds of an engagement. The decree, therefore, of such an arbiter must be final and without appeal."* These words of Grotius would seem to indicate that a nation would never be justified in refusing to accept the conclusions of an arbitrator; but later writers state distinctly that no state is bound to abide by an award presenting a clear departure from the terms of the reference, an absolute conflict with justice, or resulting from fraud and connivance.

An arbitrator, as known to nations, need not be a monarch, or possessed of any political power, nor is it necessary that the power to award should be in one person. We shall find that three methods of arbitration have been practised. Some nations have settled their disputes by referring them to a congress made up of representatives from each nation, as the Greek cities in some instances referred matters in dispute to the Amphictyonic Council, and abided by its decision. Others have trusted their differences to the chief of some friendly nation, as when the United States and Great Britain invited the King of the Netherlands to settle a line of boundary. And others have preferred the award of a commission composed of an equal number of citizen arbitrators chosen by each state, and an umpire selected by lot or agreement, or, in later cases, appointed by some friendly sovereign, like the commission now sitting in Washington to settle claims between our government and Colombia.

HISTORY OF ARBITRATION.

Arbitration as a means of preventing war has long been practised. Grotius says: "'Tis barbarous and abominable to fall upon him as an enemy who is willing to put his case to reference."† And then reminds us that the Greeks and Romans submitted to the opinion of an arbitrator, and that even Cyrus, Philip of Macedon, and Pompey desired to have an award. Strabo writes, that in former times the Druids in Gaul were the umpires between nations at war, and had often accommodated matters upon the point of an engagement. A treaty between the Lacedæmonians and the Argives provided that, if any dispute should happen between two states in alliance, they should refer their cause to some other state that was indifferent to them both.

Bynkershoek wrote only of the law of war, and so gave us no method to avoid it. In Vattel we read that arbitration is a method very reasonable, and very conformable to the law of nature, in determining all differences that do not directly-interest the safety of a na-

* Grotius, Book III. Chap. 20.

† Book II. Chap. 23, Sec. 8.

tion.* Grotius wished something more than that the future writer on international law should be able, as he had done, to chronicle individual cases of successful arbitration. He advised that nations should unite in sending representatives to a general congress, which should settle whatever differences arose between the states represented. For such a proposition he was thought rash and visionary; but this plan was not without its advocates. In France, during the next century, Nicole, and, later, the Abbe Saint Pierre and Rousseau, advocated plans for universal peace. In Germany, Leibnitz, Kant, and Fichte seconded the suggestions of the French philosophers, while Fenn and Jeremy Bentham, in England, endeavored to cause nations, like individuals, to settle their difficulties by right, not might. Whether or not the plan for a congress of nations would be a practical one, it is not our present purpose to inquire; and we have only considered it so far, that we might show the form which the idea of arbitration took among writers till about the time of our Revolution.

We find that our fathers had no sooner ended the war which had been forced upon them, than they began to talk of the advantages of settling international difficulties by some more satisfactory method. Jefferson asked: "Will nations never devise a more rational umpire of differences than force? War is an instrument entirely inefficient towards redressing wrongs, and multiplies instead of indemnifying losses." Madison expressed the same thought. Franklin, having asserted that there never was a good war or a bad peace, asks, "When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their difficulties by arbitration?" In an address of Mr. Sumner, delivered before the American Peace Society on its anniversary in 1849, we find a letter of Samuel Adams written to the delegates in Congress from Massachusetts, at some time before 1789. It is in the form of a letter of instructions. "You are, therefore, hereby instructed and urged to move the United States, in Congress assembled, to take into their deep and most earnest consideration whether any measures can by them be used, through their influence with such of the nations in Europe with whom they are united by treaties of amity or commerce, that national differences may be settled and determined without the necessity of war, in which the world has too long been deluged to the destruction of human happiness and the disgrace of human reason and government." It does not appear that this letter led to any legislative act; but the words quoted show how strongly one of the leading minds of the country desired to substitute arbitration for war.

With such men directing the policy of the new state, we are not surprised to find that various questions between the United States and Great Britain, France, and Spain were referred to commissioners, by whose award the parties agreed to abide. Several cases of arbitration occurred before 1812, when came the war with Great Britain to decide a question which after the war was still undecided; for the treaty of Ghent said not a word about the right of impressment, though it pro-

vided that certain claims existing before the war, together with some questions of boundary, should be referred to different boards of commissioners. Though the United States were thus enabled to settle some disputes, yet all the friends of peace were not satisfied. By the efforts of Noah Webster, William Ellery Channing, William Ladd, and others like them, the idea contained in the letter of Samuel Adams was kept before the people.

In 1828 several small societies united to form the American Peace Society. The members of this society desired to bring about a congress of nations, to which all differences between nations should be referred. As they did not expect to accomplish this general congress at first, they labored to induce the government to settle each particular difficulty, as it arose, by arbitration. To give legislative sanction to their endeavors they petitioned Congress; and in the session of 1837-38 Mr. Legare reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives, "recommending the reference to a third power of all such controversies as can safely be confided to any tribunal unknown to the Constitution of our country. Such a practice will be followed by other powers, and will soon grow up into the customary law of civilized nations."

But not alone in the United States were the advocates of peace at work. A Peace Society had been formed in London in 1816; similar societies afterwards came into existence in France and Germany. Urged on by Elihu Burritt, the representatives of these and other societies held a Peace Congress at Brussels in 1848.

The following resolution was passed by this Congress: "It is of the utmost importance to urge upon the different governments of Europe and America the necessity of introducing into all international treaties an arbitration clause, by which war shall be avoided in the settlement of disputes." In this resolution we have embodied what is known as stipulated arbitration. Mr Cobden wrote to the President of this meeting, "I most heartily approve of this proposition"; for which he recommended a separate treaty.

In this same year the United States House of Representatives again considered this question. In 1849, another Peace Congress, held at Paris, declared that it was "the duty of all governments to submit to arbitration all differences that arise between them." At a third Congress, held at London in 1851, it was resolved, "that it is the duty of governments to refer to the decision of competent and impartial arbitrators such differences arising between them as cannot be amicably settled."

These last resolutions only advised arbitration in individual cases; but the friends of peace in the United States went further, and each year presented petitions asking for stipulated arbitration. Mr. Foote, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, said in the Senate, in 1851, that the measure was perfectly reasonable, and presented the unanimous report of the Committee, "that it would be proper and desirable for the government of these United States, whenever practicable, to secure in its treaties with other nations, a provision

for referring to the decision of umpires all misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation, in the first instance, before a resort to hostilities shall be had."

From another long and very able Report from the same Committee, by Mr. Underwood, in 1853, we make an extract which is also valuable for its opinions on some questions to be hereafter considered: "All that the Committee are willing to advise and recommend for the present is, that, in the treaties which are hereafter made with foreign nations, it shall be stipulated between the contracting parties that all differences which may arise shall be referred to arbitrators for adjustment. Under such stipulation, the board of arbitrators, or the single arbitrator, would be selected after the occurrence of the difficulty. Each party would be careful to select impartial persons, distinguished for their virtues and talents, and each would have the opportunity of objecting to any one proposed who might not possess these high qualifications. In the opinion of the Committee, the arbitrators should be eminent jurists, having little or no connection with political affairs."

Several of the State legislatures had passed resolutions instructing their Senators to favor stipulated arbitration; and there is no doubt that, if a treaty embracing a provision to this effect had been presented to the Senate, it would have been ratified by them. At this very time a treaty was pending with Great Britain, and the President and Secretary of State expressed their willingness to insert such a proposition if the British Minister would assent to it; but though Mr. Crampton intimated that he would be glad to put his name to such a treaty, yet for some reason, when the treaty was ratified by the Senate, there was no article providing for the submission of all differences between the parties to a board of arbitrators, but only of those which should arise under the treaty.

The British government were not so favorably inclined to stipulated arbitration as was the government of the United States, as appears from the report of a debate in the House of Commons, on June 12th, 1849,* when Mr. Cobden moved, "That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to direct her principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to enter into communications with foreign powers, inviting them to concur in treaties binding the respective parties, in the event of any future misunderstanding which cannot be arranged by amicable negotiation, to refer the matter in dispute to the decision of arbitrators."

In France there was also a movement in favor of arbitration. A proposition was made in the National Assembly during this same year, 1849, that the French Republic should propose to the governments of Europe and America to unite by their representatives in a congress which "should substitute an arbitral jurisdiction for the barbarous usage of war." The Committee on Foreign Affairs, having considered the question, declined for the time to recommend the proposition.

though they distinctly sanctioned its object. Thus we see that in the United States, Great Britain, and France a considerable movement had been made in favor of arbitration.

The next step in the matter was taken in 1856 by the Congress of Paris, at which all the great states of Europe were represented. The twenty-third article adopted by the Congress was in the following terms: "The plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the name of their governments, the wish that states between which any serious misunderstanding may arise should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly power."

This article was proposed by Lord Clarendon, now Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Count Walewski, speaking in behalf of France, said that it was fully in accordance with the tendency of the epoch. If we rightly understand the debate and the resolution, they advise, not mediation, but arbitration. A mediator gives his advice, and the parties may or may not accept it. An arbitrator gives his opinion by which the two nations have agreed to be bound. "Good offices" is the phrase commonly used to express the offer made by a mediator; but here the plenipotentiaries advise that nations should have recourse to the good offices, that is, should agree to abide by the opinion, of a mediator invited to settle their differences. Between such mediation and arbitration there is little or no difference.

SPECIAL CASES OF ARBITRATION.

Having now seen that the idea of submitting the difficulties which arise between nations to arbitration is nothing new, but that from early times arbitration has been practised under a variety of forms, and that at no other time has there been so much general interest in the subject as now, we are ready to consider individual instances in which international differences have been referred to arbiters.

The review then proceeds through nearly thirty pages to give a pretty full and somewhat detailed account of the instances in which our own government has resorted to arbitration instead of war, and says, in conclusion: —

We have now gone over most, if not all, of the instances of arbitration which have occurred in our own history. This chronicle is not only a history of, but will serve as an argument for, international arbitration. We need not now show that arbitration is a common and practical method of settling international disputes, for the record has shown this. In no way can we compare arbitration and war as two means of deciding questions of right, without at once seeing how preferable is arbitration.

Mr. Gallatin, in a despatch to his government, April 18, 1827, wrote: "An umpire, whether a king or a farmer, rarely decides on

strict principles of law; he has always a bias to try, if possible, to split the difference." Granting that such a bias does exist, and that the award is often what the arbitrator thinks to be a fair compromise; still this compromise is more like justice than that compromise called a treaty which comes after war. If the strength of the parties is equal, and they cease from war because they are each convinced of the other's power, no treaty can be ratified by the two nations, unless it splits the difference. But nations are not often equally matched, and the treaty — the award of the arbiter, war — decides whose military power is greater, but not whose claim is more just. The weaker nation feels its weakness in arms, but trusts to the justice of its cause; yet history is full of the defeats of justice on the battle-field.

In the theory of international law, all nations are equal. How inconsistent is it, then, that war, which can only decide which is stronger, should be expected to decide what is the law! But an award is not as often as it seems to be a compromise. Prejudice, selfishness, and national pride are but glasses which color or distort the object. An award of an impartial person, which to the parties seems a compromise, is often strict justice, and shows that each was right and each was wrong.

Nations sometimes refuse to negotiate, but are willing to abide by the decision of a third party. Before the third party has been able to give his opinion, they choose to agree in a settlement. Now, if we credit war with all the advantages which come from the treaty negotiated after the war, we ought certainly to give credit to peaceful arbitration for the settlement of all the differences which, after submission to an arbiter, are composed between nations for themselves. If this credit is given, we shall then find that arbitration has rarely failed to accomplish the desired object.

There are but few questions which arise between nations which cannot be settled by some form of arbitration. In feudal times many questions which are now settled before the courts, were settled by personal conflicts. Duelling is not now recognized even as an honorable method of settling disputes between individuals; but nations still cling to the feudal idea, and must fight for their honor. We long ago said: "Discords among nations have their origin in two sources, — opposite interests and contested rights. The first may be reconciled by the common principles of justice and mutual advantage; but where a right or a supposed right is involved in the dispute, it is then encumbered with new difficulties, because it touches the spring of national honor."

What is a nation's honor, that it should fear injury from the award of an impartial arbiter? Truth, justice, and honesty to other nations and to its own citizens, are its elements. Accuse a nation of actions which imply lying, oppression, or deceit, and you bring charges against its honor. A nation's honor is the honor of its citizens, not in their private acts, nor yet exclusively in their public acts, but in all acts, whether public or private, which concern other nations. A United States gunboat takes a Confederate agent from an English mail steam-

er, and England's honor demands that he be restored; an English private citizen takes our prisoners from the water, and carries them to England's shore, and our honor is concerned. The moment that one nation claims and the other refuses compensation, the honor of each is at stake. If the claim is just, the refusal is unjust, and *vice versa*.

AMERICAN DEBTS TO EUROPE.—These, held in the form of securities, amount to \$600,000,000, viz.: \$350,000,000 in Government bonds, \$150,000,000 in railroad bonds, and \$100,000,000 in State and municipal bonds. All these are in fact so many bonds to keep the peace between Europe and America; and for this purpose alone they may be worth, vast as the sum is, more than they cost.

OUR NATIONAL DEBT—amounted, January 1, 1867, to the following specified sums:—The debt bearing coin interest was \$1,400,490,741 80; the debt bearing currency interest \$832,379,440 00; matured debt not presented for payment \$16,518,989 31, and debt bearing no interest \$425,673,334 32—making the total debt \$2,675,062,505 43.

DEATH RECORDS OF THE REBELLION.—It seems that these are not yet completed, but the last Report of the Secretary of War speaks of "these mortuary records as including 16,000 folio volumes of hospital registers, 47,000 burial records, 16,000 hospital muster and pay rolls, alphabetical registers of the dead, containing 250,000 names of white and 20,000 of colored soldiers, and the pathological collection constituting the army medical museum. During the year official evidence, obtainable from no other source, of cause of death, or of discharge for disability, has been furnished in 49,212 cases, and 210,027 discharges upon certificates of disability have been examined and classified. The total number of surgical cases classified and recorded is, of wounds, 133,952, and of operations, 28,438."

What a fearful epitome is here! No less than 79,000, "hospital registers, burial records, and registers of the dead containing 270,000 victims, white and colored:" Then there are 259,239 cases in the aggregate of discharges for disability—from wounds and disease, we suppose—have *already* been "examined and classified." How many *more* there are yet to be reported, we know not; but what a terrible tale of pain, suffering and sorrow is implied in such statements as these on only one side of the struggle, with results probably still worse on the other side! More than half a million of victims already ascertained and on record! Nearly eighty thousand "folio volumes" already devoted to recording what loyal men alone suffered! Can any imagination grasp or realize all the loss and suffering condensed in these records?

NORTHERN LOSSES FROM THE SOUTH.—Here is one class of these. "It is computed that at this moment the indebtedness of Southern traders to Northern merchants amounts to the sum of \$315,000,000—\$131,000,000 belonging to the city of New York alone. All this before the rebellion, and nearly all lost by it."

DIFFICULTIES OF PEACE.

PERHAPS no enterprise of benevolence or reform starts so many embarrassing questions as that of Peace. Some of these are inherent in the subject itself, while a multitude of others come from prejudice, misconception, and those wrong modes of thought and feeling which have prevailed from time immemorial in every community. Not a few are felt at times by patriotic, benevolent, Christian men who are in heart favorable to our cause, though not sufficiently informed as yet to appreciate fully its claims, while the million know and care so little about it, that we must expect for a long time to bear as well as we can with their ignorance, neglect and contempt, if not their active opposition. Nor is all this either new or strange. Such has been the fate of nearly every kindred reform; and trials like these the friends of peace ought to meet without surprise or censorious complaint. We have no hope of satisfying all minds with our views or modes of procedure in this cause, but are quite confident we *can* in sincerity and truth so present its claims, that every real friend of God or man will deem it worthy of sympathy and support.

In our experience we have met a great diversity and even conflict of views on the subject of Peace; and we will now give some specimens of these. The first is from one who has been a steadfast friend for many years:—

SOME THOUGHTS ON PEACE.

A MEDICINE that is efficacious in the cure only of the milder and least dangerous types of disease, but entirely inefficacious in the removing of disease in its most malignant form, cannot justly be esteemed as valuable as one which is a sovereign cure whenever and wherever applied. (1)

I must at the outset be allowed to say, that I have not been entirely satisfied with the attitude recently taken by the American Peace Society. (2) I am not unaware of the extremely difficult position which it occupied during our late terrible national conflict. As opposition to the war would have been justly construed into disloyalty, the Society was compelled to confine its labors to the abolition of international war exclusively; (3) but I do not hesitate to aver that events may occur, and indeed have occurred, when a foreign war might be equally unavoidable, and even as justifiable as was our late conflict. So I can easily conceive circumstances wherein the Peace Society would be compelled to sustain and justify foreign war as strongly as it did our late one. (4)

I cannot, therefore, fully approve the position of the Society in discriminating between the *kinds* of war (5) which it would oppose; hence it becomes a question of paramount importance, how ought the Peace Society to act in the solution of those momentous questions which have recently pressed themselves upon it for solution.

While awaiting a reply, I will venture a suggestion or two, which, if not a full reply, will, I think, faintly indicate the solution. Terrible as is war in all its aspects, there are, in our fallen, depraved world, a few things worse even than that. Without going farther into details, I will mention but one, which most, if not all of us, will at once admit to be worse even than war, —I mean that system of chattel slavery which was recently endured by four

millions of our countrymen. If any doubt my assertion, I would ask him to choose between the fate of the warrior, even although compelled to face the cannon's mouth, or endure the life-long horrors of slavery.

The terrible fire that long years ago destroyed nearly half the city of London, with some thousands of its inhabitants, proved one of the greatest blessings that ever happened to it, as since that period the plague which had been before so terribly destructive as to carry off a tenth of its inhabitants at a single visitation, has never occurred there. There always have been, and I fear there still are, evils in the world so terrible and so deep-seated that nothing but war can destroy them. Who will dare to affirm that the horrors of our Revolutionary struggle, or even of our late terrible conflict, more than balance all the blessings which have already resulted, and are yet to result from these wars? (6)

I hope the next issue of the "Advocate of Peace" will make this whole subject more plain than I have done or can do.

H. T. I.

CORRECTION OF MISTAKES. — Our friend can hardly expect us to make "plain the *whole* subject" he has touched upon; but we will try to rectify *some* of the misconceptions that are widely prevalent.

1. His first sentence contains a serious misapprehension of our object. We seek the removal not of *all* the evils found in society, nor even all kinds of conflict, but *only* those of *war among nations*; just this and nothing else. We do not undertake the work of civil government in restraining or punishing burglars, or murderers, of rioters, rebels, or any other class of wrongdoers. Such offences against society we have from the start regarded as not coming within our province, and respecting them we leave our friends to think and act each for himself. The cause of Peace never claimed to be a cure or an antidote for *all* evil.

2. The society's "*recent attitude*" is precisely the same it has *always* been. It has not, so far as we know, altered in one iota, either its principles or its policy. Both were stereotyped nearly half a century ago, and we abide by them still.

3. This we have avowed from the start as our *sole* object.

4. In "our late one," meaning the rebellion, our Society merely treated it as not coming within our province, and our members as at liberty to entertain each his own views respecting it. As our object is to do away the practice of *war between governments*, — *not* the practice of each government restraining and punishing the violators of its laws by its own subjects, — we must of course recognize their existence, and their right in their own sphere to enact and execute law at discretion. How far our government properly used such right in the late rebellion, we have not, as a Society, undertaken to decide; we merely say it *must have* this right, or it is in fact no government at all.

5. As to "discriminating between the different *kinds* of war," we make no discrimination of the sort, but look upon the practice of *nations* settling their controversies by the sword as the *only* thing that can in strict propriety

be termed war, and all other conflicts as so called merely by a figure of speech. It is solely this custom among nations, their war-system, that we seek to do away. With other "questions pressed for solution" the Peace Society does not interfere.

6. How far our friend is right in the two preceding paragraphs, it is no ours as a Society to say. Men will agree or differ on such issues very much according to their general modes of reasoning; but we should bear in mind that the good which an overruling Providence ultimately brings out of human follies, crimes and sufferings, does not at all change their moral character. The treachery of Judas led to a world's salvation; but nobody for this reason ever dreamt of denying his guilt, or canonizing his memory.

PREJUDICE ARISING FROM IGNORANCE. — So far as I have learned the views of Vermont Christians, says a friend there, they think the Peace Society ought to be extinct. With very rare exceptions, they think the late war attributable in great measure to the teachings and influence of the Peace Society. If the rebel States had not fully believed that the anti-war spirit and principles were generally cherished in the Northern States, they would never have presumed to engage in active hostility against the national government; but knowing that military organizations had fallen into neglect, and hoping we had all become so "demoralized" by the prevalence of peace sentiments, that we could not be aroused to efficient warfare, they thought that, rather than meet them in battle, we, disciples of the Peace Society, would accept their terms of peace. At any rate, it is widely, if not generally, believed, that those who hold the doctrines of the Peace Society are wildly inconsistent, if they pretend to justify by word or deed the cause of those who undertook to conquer rebels by the weapons of war, therefore the peace-men are either sneaking copperheads, or dastardly self-fettered patriots. If we say "the Advocate of Peace" is luminous enough to correct such judgments, yet very few can be found *who read it*.

At such instances of prejudice occasioned by a strange degree of ignorance on the subject, we hardly know whether to laugh or to weep, but are tempted to both. Christians in Vermont, with very rare exceptions, think the late rebellion attributable to the Peace Society! Where have these Christians been not to know better than this? Why, scarce one rebel in a thousand or ten thousand probably ever read a page of our publications, and only one of our lecturers ever went into any part of rebeldom; and where he diffused our principles a little — Tennessee and Northern Alabama — the people for the most part remained loyal.

Nor do we see how the Peace Society, with its meagre resources, could possibly have exerted so much influence. It spent at first less than \$500 a year, never more than six or seven thousand dollars at any time, and an average of scarce \$3,000 a year from its origin till now. Can "Vermont Christians" really believe that a few men in the Peace Society, with this mere pittance of means, have wrought so mighty a change in public opinion? If they do, why did they not themselves in season rally along with the friends of peace to create all over the South such a public sentiment as would

have averted the late rebellion, and the others that may hereafter follow in its wake? Had they done so, they would have prevented an amount of crime, mischief and misery which no arithmetic can compute, no imagination fully conceive. Did not their peaceful religion require this at their hands? Was it not designed and well fitted to do this? When rightly applied, as Christians are bound to apply it, will it not actually secure such a consummation, and thus render rebellion hereafter morally impossible? Certainly, Christians believe it may; and why have they not been at work all along to insure a result so blessed and glorious? Had they in season done their duty on this subject, the late rebellion could never have come; and if they persist in this neglect, we may expect hereafter a series of rebellions from which our posterity may at length seek refuge in an iron-handed despotism.

Another proof of ignorance or prejudice, perhaps both, we find in the charge of "disloyalty or wild inconsistency" against the friends of peace. Do the men who make this charge know whereof they affirm? Have they taken the trouble to understand our object, our principles, or our measures? It seems from their own admission, that they will neither hear nor read on the subject, and yet they deal in random and reckless denunciations which every man who *has* examined it with any care, knows to be false and slanderous.

We confess ourselves slow to believe this a fair specimen of "Vermont Christianity." We have ourselves lived in Vermont; and from our past and present acquaintance with them, we cannot help thinking that our friend — whose letter, nevertheless, contained donations to our cause from his own village — is quite too desponding on the subject, and unwittingly does them injustice. If not, it surely is more than time for the friends of peace there to bestir themselves in earnest for the enlightenment and purification of "Vermont Christianity."

THE WASTE OF WAR. — The immense amounts of arms and ammunition used during the war by the Union armies are shown by a report just made from the Ordnance Bureau at Washington. By this report it appears that from January 1st, 1864, to June 30th, 1866, there were provided for the military service, 7,892 cannon; 11,787 artillery carriages; 6,333,295 artillery projectiles, shot and shell; 6,530,909 pounds of grape and cannister shot; 2,862,167 pounds of fixed artillery ammunition; 3,477,655 small arms, muskets, rifles, carbines and pistols; 544,475 swords, sabres and lances; 2,146,175 complete sets of infantry accoutrements; 539,544 complete sets of horse equipments; 28,164 sets of two-horse artillery harness; 732,526 horse blankets; 1,022,176,474 cartridges for small arms; 1,220,555,435 percussion caps for small arms; 10,281,305 cannon primers; 4,226,377 fuses for shell; 26,410,054 pounds of gunpowder; 6,390,152 pounds of nitre; 90,416,295 pounds of lead in pigs and bullets, besides immense quantities of parts for repairing and making good the complete articles which were damaged, lost or destroyed.

NATIONAL WEALTH — FALSE ESTIMATES OF IT. — Of these the late rebellion has given rise to many that time must prove to have been strangely extravagant. While the country was running in debt at the rate of more than a million a day, there were not wanting financial wisecracks who fancied we were growing rich with marvellous rapidity. So it really seemed to many; and how shall we account for such a strange hallucination?

Facts patent to every eye will explain it in part. The suspension of specie payments left banks at liberty to flood the land with a currency so depreciated as to represent for a time more than twice its real value. By this delusive standard we have been, as we still are, reckoning our prosperity and wealth. *Money*, whether paper or even specie, is of little or no value except as it will supply our wants, or minister to our gratification; and its ability to do either is a fair measure of its value.

Just apply this test. Nearly all things bought with money, necessities, conveniences, and luxuries, have cost, as most of them still do, twice or thrice as much as before the rebellion. Meats, butter, sugar, flour, clothing, fuel, whatever is requisite for our gratification or existence, have risen in price two or three hundred per cent. We hear of beef being sold in Canada just across the line for 4 cents a pound, butter for 12, poultry for 5, and flour \$6.00 a barrel, an average of more than four times less than their cost among ourselves. Thus it takes twice as much of our present money to procure the same things as before the rebellion; and we consequently conceive ourselves far richer than we really are. The bubble must burst ere long, and leave, as the grand financial result, a permanent loss of not less than \$8,000,000,000 in our wealth beyond what we should have had if there had been no rebellion.

ADDITIONAL BOUNTIES. — The soldier is likely to be for at least one generation our chief public pet, especially with aspirants to office. They are all, or soon will be, voters; and politicians have a marvellous respect for the hand that holds a ballot, and are quite ready, if not eager, to champion their claims. The Paymaster General's Department, it is said, is examining about ten thousand applications for additional bounties a week, and the payment of some of those first filed has been commenced. Col Gardner Tufts, Massachusetts State Agent, has filed about 3,200 of these claims, which he attends to without any charge to the claimants. Ten thousand every week! At this rate what must be the sum total of these applicants for such bounties! We are not now calling in question the justice of these claims, but only their seemingly interminable number, to show how nearly suicidal is the war process of gaining even the best ends.

DOMESTIC EFFECTS OF WAR. — How many homes in Austria and Prussia were left desolate, how many families deprived of their chief support, will not be told in the list of killed and wounded. The mortal flesh that, covered by gray and blue livery, bowed the head in silent agony, or vented its complaints in groans of anguish which filled the air, had not the worst lot to support. The pains of the wounded last but a few days or weeks, whatever may be the event that closes them; but wives and mothers and sisters have hearts that can be pierced with sharper swords than those of the Prussians, mangled more terribly than shot and shell can tear. In the thinly-peopled agricultural empire of Austria a man is a 'bread winner,' and there will be much unpublished distress. — *Cor. London Times.*

FRENCH ARMY.

FRANCE has for ages maintained one of the largest and most effective armies in Europe; and Napoleon seems now intent on increasing its nominal strength to an enormous extent, no less in extreme emergencies than 1,200,000 men. We copy some comments on the subject.

REORGANIZATION OF THE FRENCH ARMY. — A plan for this purpose is on foot, and the French papers are rightly occupied with considering this proposal in an economical point of view. The army now costs 400,000,000 francs each year, and the cost of organizing these reserves will certainly add 50,000,000 francs more. But the loss occasioned by the withdrawal of these men from the labor market will be a much more serious matter still, especially as France is notoriously in want of laborers, and wages there are rising rapidly. It is estimated that the military establishments of Europe now withdraw 4,000,000 men, more or less, from industrial pursuits, and that her annual tribute in a time of peace for her armaments, in addition to her enormous war-debts, amounts to 200,000,000*l.* sterling, (\$1,000,000,000.) All this to satisfy the jealous fears of monarchs who are afraid of their subjects or of one another, and, instead of making themselves secure, only keep up a mistrust and defiance which of all things are most provocative of war. — *London Patriot.*

INCREASE OF THE FRENCH ARMY. — What is called the active army of France amounts at present to a little more than 400,000 men, but this number seems not now to satisfy her. She has always kept a large reserve force, so that she could raise her army of disciplined troops in case of war from 400,000 to about 750,000 men. It is now intended so to augment the reserve that the army can be raised from 400,000 to more than 1,200,000 men. This reserve force is to be divided into three sets, one of about 200,000, liable to be called out at any time, in peace or war, but not retained as regular soldiers, only undergoing such an amount of drill as shall insure their efficiency in case their services are required; the second set, about equally numerous, will undergo the same drill, and be subject in most respects to the same regulations as the first portion of the army of reserve, but be liable to be called out only in case of war; the third, containing 400,000 men, will bear the name of the Movable National Guard, to be called into active duty only by a special law, and very rarely called out at all. But as the great majority of its members will be disciplined soldiers, it will be a formidable reserve to fall back upon in case of any great national emergency.

The project does not really involve such great changes as it seems to do at first sight; but if there were any probability that the 200,000 men constituting the division of reserves, which may be called out in time of peace, ever would be called out in time of peace, the change would be one of the most tremendous, we might almost say, of the most revolutionary character. Indeed, the mere risk of such a thing is quite sufficient to set the majority of the French people against it. As to the Movable National Guard, this body will really be the only addition to the existing army; and the enormous cost, and the frightful drain on industry required to convert this force into an active army, will be a sufficient guarantee against its abuse. (?)

The proposal of such a change is far from encouraging to those who believe the welfare of nations to depend not on the glory gained by their soldiers, but on the happiness enjoyed by their citizens. The feeling of restlessness and doubt which causes this augmentation is far from satisfactory. To find a

Power so strong as France, a Power which has hitherto been able to control the balance of forces in Europe, feeling herself obliged to augment her means of defence, naturally causes us to look out for danger. If France is afraid, surely there must be some great cause for fear. We confess we do not see it; but the truth seems to be that France wants to put herself on an equality with Prussia by adopting, as nearly as possible, the Prussian plan. In that kingdom the regular army is comparatively small; but every man is able to bear arms, and is on emergencies liable to be called to active service. It is to this model, which seems to give the greatest possible amount of strength in the last resort, that France is now striving to conform her own institutions.

We confess that this attempt to imitate the Prussian principle is by no means a hopeful sign of the times. If European nations are always to be conforming their policy not to the most pacific, but to the most warlike models which they find around them, there can be no end to the race of extravagance except a general bankruptcy, or an exterminating war in which the resources of all nations shall be so exhausted that they will rejoice to come to terms about a diminution of their respective armaments. To have it proclaimed by two of the greatest Continental Powers that a country is not safe unless all its citizens are trained to war, and liable to be called out to service, makes the "good time coming" look a very long way off. Amidst all our boasted civilization, we are relapsing into that very condition of barbarism in which war is considered as the proper vocation for every grown man. It is savagism organized to which our "progress of the age" appears to be bringing us. The dream of philosophers that right is might is being fulfilled in a way they little imagined. The whole sky seems blackening for some terrific storm; and when that storm comes, it will be found what whole peoples trained to arms can do in the way of mutual extermination. Our duty is more and more clearly to keep out of this ruinous competition. Other nations may relapse into a sort of civilized barbarism, but let us at all events stand aloof. Nobody will meddle with us if we keep strictly to our own affairs; and amidst such a conflict of chaotic forces, it would be worse than madness for us to meddle with others. Let Continental nations seek distinction by the pre-eminence of their warlike strength; let it become our ambition to attain distinction by the development of free institutions, and the superior happiness of the great body of the people. — *Leeds' (Eng.) Mercury*.

TOMBS OF EARLY CHRISTIANS. — Military titles are very uncommon. In 10,050 pagan epitaphs, 545, or about 5 1-2 per cent., were found to be those of soldiers, while in 4,374 Christian epitaphs, only 27, or little more than half per cent., were those of soldiers. Another reason may be assigned for the comparative scarcity of military names. Not only would the good Christian, if a soldier, consider that he had a higher service as the soldier of Christ, but, under the pagan emperors, many of the Christians refused to fight, looking upon war as an accursed occupation, and considering that in disarming Peter, and pronouncing the words, "Put up thy sword into its sheath," the Saviour had forbidden the use of arms; and the unwillingness of the Christians to serve in the army has been sometimes assigned, we think without sufficient reason, as one of the causes of the decline of the military spirit at Rome, and the ruin of the empire. Certain it is, that from the time when the sacred monogram was displayed on the standards of Constantine, Christians looked on war in a different light, and even anathemas were pronounced by the Church on those who refused to serve in the army.

DECEASE OF FRIENDS OF PEACE. — We regret to learn from the London *Herald of Peace* the recent death of EDMUND FRY, for the last twenty years an able, zealous and effective co-worker in our cause, and also of JOHN PRIESTMAN, another distinguished friend in England. Such tidings from abroad remind us of our own loss within a few months past — REUBEN D. MUZZY, M. D., LL. D., so eminent and widely known as a physician, a philanthropist and Christian ; WILLIAM JENKS, D. D., of sainted memory, as well as distinguished for his learning and highly cultivated taste ; Hon. STEPHEN FAIRBANKS, long prominent among the merchants and public-spirited men of Boston, whose services in behalf of our cause were gratefully acknowledged more than twenty-five years ago when he brought, as a member of the Massachusetts Senate, the subject of a Congress of Nations before our Legislature in an able and elaborate report, and secured favorable action on behalf of the object.

WASTE OF LIFE IN THE REBELLION — *More in the Rebel than in the Loyal States.* — Time is developing some instructive facts on this point, and showing how fearfully suicidal was the rebellion to its abettors. In the loyal States the population, we believe, has increased after all the drafts and drains upon it from the war ; but a recent census of Alabama proves a decrease of about 19,000 in the last six years. From this we must infer that the waste of life among the rebels was considerably greater than on the loyal side, though among the latter there were probably lost in battle, by disease and casualties, or were crippled for life, full half a million. Now, granting that the object gained was worth all this fearful sacrifice, it certainly is a hard, costly way of gaining a good end. Is it not possible *under the gospel* to secure such ends by safer, surer, far better means ? Such means are proposed and urged by the friends of Peace, and certainly ought to be fairly and earnestly considered by every Christian community.

COST OF PENSIONS. — The appropriation proposed for the payment of our pensioners for the ensuing year amounts to more than \$33,000,000, — a sum more than half as great as all the average expenses of our government before the rebellion, and this will probably continue, perhaps increase, for nearly a generation to come. Such are the legacies of war.

OUR RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND — are in a hopeful way for a peaceful adjustment. At times they have been somewhat alarming ; but we have never, not even in the intense excitement occasioned by the Trent affair, had any serious, permanent fears of war between the two countries. Public opinion in both is too strongly in favor of having all such disputes settled by either negotiation or some form of reference. The history of our intercourse for the last quarter of a century affords pretty reliable assurance that henceforth all matters in controversy between us will, in the end, find a peaceful solution. On this point we may hereafter give some facts to confirm this opinion or hope.

TRUE CHRISTIANITY. — We believe that *war ought to cease* among the followers of the *Lamb*, Christ Jesus, who taught his disciples to *forgive and love their enemies*, and not to war against them and kill them; and that therefore the weapons of his true followers are *not carnal*, but *spiritual*, yes, mighty through God to put down *sin and wickedness*, and *dethrone* him that is the author thereof. And as this is the most *Christian*, so is it the most rational way, love and persuasion having more force than weapons of war. Nor would the worst of men easily be brought to hurt those that they really think love them. It is that love and patience must in the end have the victory. — *Wm. Penn.*

PACIFIC HISTORIES. — Of these there has always been a deplorable dearth. History has hitherto been little else than a record of wars, of unprincipled rulers struggling to gain or keep power, and sacrificing the interests of the million on the altar of their own mad, remorseless ambition. Nearly all history needs to be rewritten; and we rejoice to find a "Text-book Association" in Philadelphia offering a premium of \$1,000 for a "History of the United States which shall be a record not merely of its political progress, but also of its industrial, intellectual and moral development;" a history not alone of our rulers, but mainly of our people. It is a hopeful sign of the times.

COST OF MONARCHY AND WAR. — Such statements as the following, though widely current, seem well-nigh incredible: "Napoleon, since his accession to the French throne, has added \$1,350,000,000 to the debt of France, which now amounts to \$2,415,000,000, a sum almost as great as the total debt of the United States. Napoleon's wars have cost him about \$500,000,000, and since 1851, the annual deficit of the French revenues has averaged \$50,000,000. Fifty millions a year amounts in fifteen years to fifteen hundred millions. How long can France or any other country in the world bear such a burden without sinking at last into irretrievable bankruptcy?"

VALUE OF DECISIONS BY THE SWORD. — We defeated the rebels, and forced them into submission, as we always supposed we should; but the result of six hundred battles is to leave the real controversy between the North and the South, between rebels and loyalists, undecided, and pretty nearly where it was before the rebellion. The sword has, in truth, settled little, if anything, beyond the fact, that the loyal North is stronger than the rebellious South.* The whole difficulty remains to be finally adjusted by rational, legal reasons, by facts, arguments and votes: just as we told both parties, before the conflict by the sword began, they would be compelled to settle them. Thus far it has gone on very much as we expected it would; and though we have much to say about it, we choose to wait, and watch the progress of events. We have the bull by his horns, the lion by his teeth; but what to do with him is now the question. We hope for a peaceful solution in any event; but through how many years, or how many political and financial difficulties, we may have to pass before reaching it, we know not.

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THE


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FOR

MARCH AND APRIL.

CONTENTS.

The Peace Reform.....	229	Stipulated Arbitration.....	249
Its Specific Aim.....	229	A Congress of Nations.....	240
Endorsement of the Cause.....	231	Richard Cobden's Mission.....	245
Views of War.....	232	International Peace.....	253
Three Excuses for War.....	234	Arbitration.....	253
War not Incurable.....	235	A Congress of Nations.....	254
Substitutes for War.....	238	International Disarmament.....	255
Temporary Substitutes for War.....	239	Emile de Girardin on Disarmament.....	256

 The Annual Address before the American Peace Society, by Professor PEABODY, D. D., LL. D., is to be delivered in Boston, on Sabbath evening, May 19th. The Annual Business Meeting, at the Society's Rooms, 40 Winter Street, May 27, at 3 P. M.

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE EXTRA.

MARCH, 1867.

THE PEACE REFORM:

A SKETCH OF ITS AIMS, MEANS AND MEASURES.

It would seem as if such an enterprise as this must commend itself at once to every man. It breathes so fully the spirit of our peaceful religion, rests so clearly on its characteristic principles, and aims at results so vastly important to the whole human race, that we should expect all who love either God or man would be ready to approve and aid it with the utmost alacrity. So they must on becoming sufficiently familiar with its claims; and the Peace Society, charged with the care of this cause in our country, is bound to spread these claims as widely as possible. The press is one of its chief instrumentalities in this work; and we are glad to see the Society re-issuing so many of its eighty or ninety stereotyped tracts, and such volumes as its *PEACE MANUAL*, embodying in small compass so large a number of facts, arguments and illustrations.

Our readers may like a passing glance at its contents. It is divided into three parts, — *Political Evils of War*, *Moral Evils of War*, and *Remedies for War*. In the first, it describes the Waste of Property by War, its Havoc of Life, and its personal Sufferings, such as the general Treatment of Warriors, Military Punishments, Marches, Sieges, Battles, Hospitals, social and domestic Sufferings from War, along with vivid and appalling sketches of its horrors. Part second presents the Moral Elements of War, its Causes, its Vices and Crimes, war viewed in the light of Nature and of Revelation, of the Old Testament and the New, the Early Christians on War, its malign moral influences on individuals and communities, on Social Institutions, on enterprises of Christian Benevolence, on the spread of the Gospel, and the World's Salvation. The third and last part discusses the Remedies for War, or the means and methods of doing it away, the Pleas in its favor, and the influences that still support it, the Possibility of its Abolition, the Substitutes for War, with concluding appeals in behalf of the cause, especially to the professed followers of the Prince of Peace.

SPECIFIC AIM OF THE CAUSE.

It seeks, as its only object, to do away the custom of international war. All the relations among men may be resolved into the relation of individuals to one another, the relation of individuals to society or government, and the relation of one society or government to another. The cause of peace is restricted to the latter class, and aims solely at such an application of the

gospel to the intercourse of nations as shall put an end to the practice of settling their disputes by the sword. We go merely against war ; and war is defined by our best lexicographers to be "a contest by force between nations." It is such a conflict between governments alone ; and hence, neither a parent chastising his child, nor a teacher punishing his pupil, nor a father defending his family against a midnight assassin, nor a traveller resisting by force a highway robber, nor rulers inflicting the penalties of law upon any class of criminals, can properly be called war.

It is by a very simple process we hope to accomplish our object. Public opinion in the long run governs the world ; and if we can once revolutionize the war-sentiments of mankind, and bring the custom under their universal ban, it must of necessity cease everywhere. It now exists solely because they choose it ; and, when nations shall discard it as the arbiter of their disputes, it will of course vanish from the earth like darkness before the rising sun, and give place to rational, peaceful methods, more effectual for all purposes of protection or redress than the sword ever was, or ever can be.

On this point the ground taken by the Peace Society has always been explicit and uniform. "The cause of Peace," says Dr. BECKWITH, the author of this work, first published by the Society more than twenty years ago, "aims solely to do away the custom of *international war*. As a friend of peace, I am of course a supporter of civil government, with all the powers requisite for the condign punishment of wrong-doers, the enforcement of law, and the preservation of social order. I deem government, in spite of its worst abuses, an ordinance of God for the good of mankind ; nor can I, as a peace man, hold any doctrines incompatible in my view with its just and necessary powers over its own subjects. I condemn *only* THE GREAT DUEL OF NATIONS."

After the lapse of twenty-two years, he says, in issuing the present edition, "I find no reason to modify any of its positions. Our late rebellion has served only to confirm them, and to intensify all my previous views. I regret that it should have disclosed in many cases so strange a lack of information on the general question of peace ; a degree of ignorance and misconception quite inexcusable in view of what had been done for fifty years to enlighten the public on the subject. An experience so new and startling as this rebellion might well be expected to shake for a time the faith of those among its friends whose views were not fully matured ; but the chief difficulty respects the government question, which comes not in our province. Seeking merely to prevent war between different governments, we must of course recognize their existence ; but it is not ours as peace men to say how they shall treat their own subjects, what laws they shall enact, or how execute them. Every government must have the right to do both, or it is in truth no government at all. If it may pass laws, it may and should see them executed, and must be allowed to use at discretion all the force requisite for the purpose. Rebellion is a conspiracy to violate *all* its laws ; and

a government that does not punish this concentration of all crimes, abdicates its office, and ceases to be a real government. It must punish every class of law-breakers, whether few or many, one man or a million. It may do this in a wrong way; but this does not alter its right or its duty to do so at discretion. Nor is it material how little or how much force is used, a single policeman or a million of troops. The principle is the same. Our government in all the late rebellion attempted merely to enforce law against its violators; and such enforcement, though by military means, may not be in the eye of reason, conscience and God, any more war than would be the arrest and execution of a pirate. Legally and morally they are the same. You may call it war, as *we* do not; but, whatever called, bear in mind that the friends of peace are not associated to resist or censure the enforcement of law, and that such enforcement is in principle entirely distinct from the war-system which alone we seek to abolish.

Ours, indeed, is a work of prevention; and the only sure way to prevent either war or rebellion, is to train men in the principles of peace. Had people, North and South, been thus trained, rebellion could never have come; and our only reliable security against future rebellions will be found in filling our land with such principles and habits of peace as shall render rebellion morally impossible."

ENDORSEMENT OF THE PEACE CAUSE.

This enterprise started very much as the Bible or the Tract Society, the Temperance Reform, or the cause of Home or Foreign Missions did. The spirit of the gospel, roused anew by the long, gigantic wars consequent on the first French Revolution, constrained a few Christian philanthropists to inquire whether 'the sword must thus devour forever,' and to set at work a system of instrumentalities designed to do away the custom throughout Christendom, its vast war-system. Societies were established, especially in England and America, soon after the battle of Waterloo. NOAH WORCESTER was here the pioneer in this great reform; and the clarion of peace that he blew woke responsive echoes in different parts of our country, and led to the establishment of a number of peace societies, all of which united in 1828 to form the American Peace Society. In preparing the way for its organization, WILLIAM LADD, on whom the mantle of the venerable Worcester fell, acted by the advice and full sanction of such leaders in public opinion as Worcester and Channing, Lyman Beecher and William Jenks, Edward Payson, Ebenezer Porter and President Appleton, Lucius Bolles and James D. Knowles, all names still held in the highest esteem and veneration by the denominations to which they belonged.

Scarce any enterprise of benevolence or reform was ever more fully endorsed. Ecclesiastical bodies, representing nearly all the religious denominations in our country, have repeatedly passed resolutions strongly in its

favor, "commending it to the Christian community as eminently entitled to their cordial co-operation and support;" and, in 1853, we received the following testimonial to its claims:—"The cause of peace we regard as an eminently philanthropic and Christian enterprise of great importance, and every way worthy of sympathy and support. It has already accomplished much good with a very small outlay of money. It would doubtless accomplish vastly more, if it possessed adequate means; and we think it deserves, as it certainly needs, a large increase of funds. The American Peace Society, charged with the care of this cause in our own country, and whose management has deservedly secured very general approbation, we cordially commend to the liberal patronage of the benevolent in all religious denominations, more especially to men of wealth, on whom this enterprise, more than almost any other, must chiefly depend for support." This commendation was signed by twenty-five men prominent in nine different denominations.*

VIEWS OF WAR.

Warriors themselves often look upon the custom with abhorrence and horror. Even Napoleon denounced it as "the business of barbarians," and excluded chaplains from his armies, because he thought "the worse the man, the better the soldier," and used to say, "the readiest way to govern soldiers is by their vices; and when they have none, they must be taught to contract them." Even Wellington declared that "men who have nice notions about religion, have no business to be soldiers."

Lord Clarendon says, "we cannot make a more likely representation of hell, than that of a kingdom in war. Upon a strict inquisition into the elements of the Christian religion, it may be that *no war will be found justifiable.*"

"Will nations," asks Jefferson, "never devise a more rational umpire of their differences than force? Are there no better means than the sword of coercing injustice? Let us hope that the law of nature will in time convince nations that war is an instrument entirely inefficient towards redressing wrong, and multiplies instead of indemnifying losses." Says Franklin, "all wars are follies, very expensive and very mischievous ones. *There never has been, nor ever will be, any such thing as a good war, or a bad peace.* When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their difficulties by arbitration?"

"I abominate war," says Lord Brougham, "as unchristian. I hold it to

* We copy their names in the order in which they were subscribed, those since deceased in italics, sadly reminding us how fast such men are passing away, and leaving their work to other hands:—*Edward Hitchcock, D. D., LL. D.*, President of Amherst College; *F. Wayland, D. D., LL. D.*, President of Brown University; Samuel Boyd Tobey, M. D., Providence, R. I.; *Thomas A. Merrill, D. D.*, Middlebury, Vt.; Leonard Bacon, D. D., New Haven, Ct.; James Walker, D. D., President of Harvard University; *William Jenks, D. D., Daniel Sharp, D. D.*, Baron Stow, D. D., *Hon. Samuel Greele, John Tappan, Esq.*, of Boston; R. S. Storrs, D. D., Braintree, Mass.; *Hon. Samuel Fessenden, LL. D.*, Portland, Me.; *Eliphalet Nott, D. D., LL. D.*, President of Union College; L. P. Hickok, D. D., Vice President of Union College; *Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, LL. D.*, President of American Bible Society; *Henry Dwight, Esq.*, President of American Home Missionary Society; *Alonzo Potter, D. D., LL. D.*, Bishop of Pennsylvania; Howard Malcom, D. D., President of Lewisburg University, Pa.; *Isaac Collins, Esq.*, Albert Barnes, Philadelphia; William H. Allen, M. D., LL. D., President of Girard College; Thomas Cock, M. D., Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Gardiner Spring, D. D., of New York.

be the greatest of human crimes. I deem it to include all others, — violence, blood, rapine, fraud, everything which can deform the character, alter the nature, and debase the name of man."

"What infernal being," asks Erasmus, "fills the bosom of man with such rage for war? Do you detest robbery and pillage? These are among the *duties* of war. Do you shudder at murder? To commit it with despatch, and by wholesale, constitutes the celebrated art of war. Do you regard debauchery, rapes, incest, and crimes of a dyo still deeper than these, as foul disgraces to human nature? War leads to all these in their worst forms. Especially is religion overwhelmed in the storms of war. The absurd circumstance of all is, that you see in wars among Christian nations, the cross glittering and waving on high in both the contending armies at once. What a shocking sight! Crosses dashing against crosses, and Christ on this side firing bullets at Christ on the other! Cross against cross, Christ against Christ, and prayers at the same time from both armies to the same God of Peace!"

"Is not this a mad world?" asks Burton. "Are not these madmen who leave such fearful battles as memorials of their madness to all succeeding generations? What fury put so brutish a thing as war first into the minds of men? And yet warriors are the brave spirits, the gallant ones of this world, the alone admired, the alone triumphant, with statues and crowns, pyramids and obelisks to their eternal fame!"

"War," says Robert Hall, "is the fruitful parent of crimes. *It reverses, with respect to its objects, all the rules of morality. It is nothing less than a temporary repeal of the principles of virtue.* It is a system out of which almost all the virtues are excluded, and in which nearly all the vices are included."

"There is something," says Cecil, "worse than the plunder of the ruffian, than the outrage of the ravisher, than the stab of the murderer. There is a shocking moral appendage naturally growing out of national conflicts. Instead of listening to the counsels of divine mercy, and concurring in the design of a kingdom of heaven set up on earth in 'righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,' the spirit of warlike discord tends to entomb every such idea. It tends rather to set up something like a *kingdom of hell*, a reign of violence where destruction is the grand enterprise; where the means of death and desolation are cultivated as a science; where invention is racked to produce ruin, and the performance of it is ennobled by public applause. Moloch seems once more enthroned; while ambition, revenge and oppression erect their banners amidst groans and tears, amidst cities desolated, or smoking in their ashes."

"War," says Channing, "is the concentration of all crimes. Under its standard gather violence, malignity, rage, fraud, perfidy, rapacity and lust. It is a theatre got up at infinite expense for the exhibition of crime upon a grand scale. A more fearful hell than the field of battle cannot well be conceived in any region of the universe."

Well does Ward, the veteran missionary, exclaim, "either our religion is a fable, or there are unanswerable arguments against war and the profession of arms." So Judson, the apostle of Burmah, says, "I hail the establishment of peace societies as one of the most auspicious signs of the present eventful era." Archdeacon Jeffries declares, "America has the honor of inventing two of the most valuable institutions that ever blessed mankind, — the Peace Society, and the Temperance Society; and, if every American viewed them as I do, *he would join them immediately.*"

Is not John Angel James right, then, in saying, "it is high time for the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus to study the genius of their reli-

gion? *A hatred of war is an ESSENTIAL feature of practical Christianity; and it is a shame upon what is called the Christian world, that it has not long since born universal and indignant testimony against that enormous evil which still rages not merely among savages, but among scholars, philosophers, Christians and divines. Real Christians should come out from the world on this subject, and touch not the unclean thing. Let them act upon their own principles, and become not only the friends but the advocates of Peace. Let ministers from the pulpit, writers from the press, and private Christians in their intercourse with each other and the world, inculcate a fixed and irreconcilable abhorrence of war. LET THE CHURCH OF GOD BE A SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF UNIVERSAL PEACE."*

THREE EXCUSES FOR WAR.

Some excuse war, or the war-system, as necessary for the enforcement of law, and the support of civil government. But the sword, when thus used, is not war, but justice; not the sword of the warrior, but that of the magistrate; a legitimate and necessary process for insuring the rights of individuals, and the welfare of society. In all this we see neither the spirit nor the principle of war. Such legal processes of justice the friends of peace sanction and sustain, but insist that this enforcement of law, so far from being any part of the war-system, is a proper, indispensable measure of peace. Government must of course punish the violators of law, whether few or many, one man or a million; and in doing this, it must employ at discretion all the force at its command deemed necessary for a due execution of its laws. All this, on however gigantic a scale attempted, would be in principle no more war than are the arrest and condign punishment of a thief or a pirate. It is not the spirit or principles of peace, but only those of war, that oppose or imperil government, and introduce the reign of violence, terror and lawless crime. War necessary to government! Must nations butcher one another in order to govern *themselves*? Should the whole war-system come to an end, would not every government still retain its right to controul and punish its own subjects? Could it not, if it chose, continue to hang the murderer, to imprison the thief, and employ an armed police for the suppression of mobs and other popular outbreaks, and its whole military force to check insurrection, and crush rebellion?

We are told that 'war is sometimes a dire necessity.' How and why necessary? Could not nations, if they chose, settle their disputes in all cases by some other means? There are many ways of doing this—by negotiation, by reference to umpires, by mediation of some friendly power; methods clearly feasible, and far better than the sword for all justifiable purposes. To some of these, indeed, must all belligerents come in the end, as the only possible way of adjusting their difficulties. War necessary for nations? No more than duels are for individuals. War settle their disputes? Never between civilized nations; for they invariably sheathe the sword before they dream of a settlement, and then despatch, not men of blood to fight, but men of peace, plenipotentiaries, to negotiate. Why not do this *before* fighting? We had a controversy with England abut our north-eastern boundary; and, had we gone to war, would that have settled the dispute? No; it would only have aggravated its difficulties. There is no logic in bullets and bombshells; the butchery of millions on the disputed territory could never have thrown a single ray of new light upon the points in controversy; and, after wasting myriads of treasure, and shedding rivers of blood, we should have been obliged to employ, for the final adjustment,

the very same pacific means that might have been used even more successfully before the war than after it.

'But suppose a nation will come to no reasonable terms whatever, but insist on fighting you?' Will you find anywhere a nation so barbarous and brutal as this? If you should, better far let them alone than fight them. War is a suicidal process, and generally serves only to aggravate the evils it seeks to redress or cure. If your neighbor owes you a hundred dollars, would you spend a thousand in efforts to compel payment, and meanwhile give him leave, if he can, to blow out your brains, to burn your dwelling, and butcher your family?

The most logical plea for war, however, represents it as a judicial process, a tribunal of justice between nations, a method of determining their rights, redressing their wrongs, and inflicting condign punishment upon the guilty. Lieber calls it "a mode of obtaining rights;" Vattel defines it to be "that state in which we prosecute our rights by force;" and Lord Bacon describes it as "one of the highest trials of right, when princes and states put themselves upon the justice of God for the deciding of their controversies by such success as it shall please him to give to either side."

This plea is quite plausible; but will facts justify it? In every judicial trial, we see first, a law common to the parties; next a judge and jury, as impartial umpires between them; then the accuser publicly meeting the accused face to face with his charges; next the witnesses testifying in open court, and subject to the most searching examination by each party; then the whole case fully argued on both sides, and closed by the charge of the judge, and the verdict of the jury, each delivered under all the solemnities of an oath; and finally, the sentence of the court, to be executed according to law only by a special warrant from the highest executive authority.

Now, what shadow of resemblance to all this can you find in war? There is no law to define right; no judge to interpret that law, or jury to apply it; no tribunal to try the cause; no rules prescribing the mode of trial, and requiring notice of the complaint, and opportunity for vindication; no charges duly preferred; no testimony given under oath, and fairly examined; no delay or chance for the correction of errors; no privilege of appeal to a higher tribunal; no right to claim a new hearing; no hope of reprieve or pardon; no trustworthy officer to execute the precise sentence of the law; no restriction of the penalty to the exact demerits of the criminal; no precautions to guard the innocent against suffering with the guilty. Each party makes a law for itself, erects its own tribunal of blood, and then proceeds to act as accuser and witness, as counsel, judge and executioner. It is a burlesque on all ideas of justice. What! justice by the process of twenty, fifty or a hundred thousand professional cut-throats, the very bloodhounds of society, meeting on a field of battle to shoot, and stab, and hew, and trample each other down! It is an outrage on common sense to call this a judicial process, an effective, trustworthy mode of redressing national grievances. As well might we call a fight between two madmen, or a dozen jackals, a process of justice.

WAR NOT INCURABLE.

SOME persons deny the possibility of abolishing war, and tell us we might as well think to chain up the lightning, or hold down an earthquake. Such scepticism is neither new, nor peculiar to this cause. "How apt," says

Dr. Rush, "are mankind to brand as visionary every proposition for innovation. There never was an improvement in any art or science, nor a proposal for meliorating the condition of man in any age or country; that has not been considered as an Utopian scheme." The present methods of treating the small-pox, fevers, and other diseases, were at first viewed, not only with distrust, but absolute horror; and every one knows, that efforts in the cause of temperance, and for the abolition of the slave-trade, were for a time regarded as utterly visionary and hopeless. The use of the magnet in navigation, the application of steam to mechanical purposes, and a multitude of inventions and improvements now familiar as household words, were once treated with utter incredulity and contempt. Our own Congress refused Fulton the use of the Representatives' Hall to explain one part of his scheme for applying steam to navigation. 'What!' said members of the French cabinet to Fulton, soliciting their patronage, 'do you presume to think you can ever propel a boat by steam at the rate of four miles an hour?' 'Yes, indeed,' replied the enthusiast; 'and if you'll furnish me the means, I will eventually reach even six miles an hour.' The wise men of France turned their backs on the poor inventor; and before the lapse of one generation, thousands of steam vessels, moving at the rate, not of six but fifteen or twenty miles an hour, are everywhere proclaiming the enthusiast to have been far wiser than the sceptic, and infinitely more useful to mankind.

Now, is it not possible at least to diminish the frequency of war, and to mitigate its evils when it does come? Clearly both these can be done; and either of them would be no small gain. Already has war lost some of its worst original features; and this process of melioration might be carried so far as to leave at length a mere skeleton of its present evils. The sages of our revolution were so intent on this object, that the journals of Congress (1784) were at times "full of such programmes as now emanate only from peace societies." Such men as Franklin and Jefferson labored hard especially to have privateering abolished, and the rights of individuals, their persons and their property, respected as much on sea as on land. Here is only one among a hundred meliorations that might be introduced into the code of war; but this alone would remove more than half its remaining pecuniary evils, and leave the commerce and general industry of the world to go on comparatively undisturbed by its ravages.

But we seek the entire abolition of the war-system by putting in its place far better means of justice and peace between nations. We cannot indeed hope for this at once, nor ever without the gospel, but assuredly may expect to see its pacific principles, when rightly applied, banishing this fearful sin and scourge from every Christian country. We see no impossibility whatever in the case — nothing in the war-passions of mankind, nothing in the habits of society, or the structure of government, nothing in the nature or the long continuance of this custom, nothing in all the influences that have for so many ages been accumulating the world over for its support and perpetuity — nothing in all these, or anything else, to forbid the hope of its entire, perpetual extinction. War is not a physical, but a moral necessity, only such as there is for duelling, intemperance or any other form of folly or sin. It comes solely from the wrong choice of men, and might be prevented by a general change of that choice. It never rushes upon them like a tornado or the cholera, like the eruptions of a volcano, or like lightning from the cloud. A war without men to will it, and carry it on, would be a contradiction in terms; and, if so entirely dependent on their will, can they not, if they choose, discard forever this brutal mode of settling their disputes?

Glance at kindred reforms. Long was knight-errantry the admiration of all Christendom ; but where is it now ? Vanished from the earth, its very name a term of reproach, and its memory living mainly in those works of genius which ridiculed its follies from the world. Nearly the same might be said of the crusades, and all wars of religion, the prosecution of which was once regarded as the highest service a Christian could render the God of Peace ! So of trials by ordeal and judicial combat, in which the accused was required to fight his accuser in single encounter, or plunge his arm into boiling water, or lift a red-hot iron with his naked hand, or walk barefooted over burning ploughshares, or pass through other trials equally severe and perilous. It were easy to multiply examples ; but we need not allude to intemperance, and persecution, and witchcraft, and other evils already abolished, or put in a train which promises their ultimate abolition. If such customs as these have already been wholly, or but partially done away, is there no possibility of putting an end to war ?

Review, also, the meliorations of this very custom. Bad as it still is, it has already lost more than half its primitive horrors, and undergone changes greater than would now suffice to abolish it entirely. Its former atrocities are well-nigh incredible. Belligerents employed whatever means would best subserve their purposes of conquest, plunder or revenge. They poisoned wells, and butchered men, women and children, without distinction. They spared none. Prisoners they massacred in cold blood, or tortured with the most exquisite cruelty ; and, when unable to reduce a fortified place, they would sometimes collect before it a multitude of these victims, and putting them all to the sword, leave their carcasses unburied, that the stench might compel the garrison to surrender ! Such atrocities were practised by the most polished nations of antiquity. In Rome prisoners were either sold as slaves, or put to death at pleasure. Kings and nobles, women and children of high birth, chained to the victor's car, were dragged in triumph through the streets, and then doomed to a cruel death, or left to end their days in a severe and hopeless bondage ; while others less distinguished, were compelled, as gladiators, to butcher one another by hundreds for the amusement of Roman citizens. Such barbarities are indignantly discarded from the present war-system of Christendom ; and if thus ten steps have already been taken — they confessedly have — towards abolishing this custom, is there no possibility of taking the six more that alone are requisite to complete its abolition.

Nor is this all ; certain kinds of war have actually been abolished. Private or fencible wars, once waged between the petty chieftains of Europe, and frequently occasioning even more mischief than flows now from the collision of empires, continued for centuries to make the very heart of Christendom a scene of confusion and terror. There was no safety, no repose. Every baron claimed the right, just as nations now do, of warring against his neighbor at pleasure. His castle was his fortress, and every one of his vassals a soldier, bound to take the field at the bidding of his lord. War was their business ; and all Europe they kept in ceaseless commotion or alarm. The evil seemed intolerable ; and finally, emperors and popes, magistrates and priests, rulers and citizens, all combined against it, and succeeded, after the lapse of four or five centuries, in exterminating a species of war as dreadful as any that ever scourged our world. Would not similar efforts bring international wars to an end ?

How many causes are now at work to bring about such a result. All the means, indeed, of general improvement, all the good influences of the age, are so many handmaids to peace, and harbingers of its universal spread and triumph. The progress of freedom, and popular education ; the growing

influence of the people, always the chief sufferers from war, over every form of government; the vastly augmented power of public opinion, fast becoming in the main more and more pacific; the spirit of free inquiry, and the wide diffusion of knowledge through presses, pulpits and schools; the disposition to force old usages, institutions and opinions through the severest ordeals; the various improvements which philanthropy, genius and even avarice itself are everywhere making in the character and condition of mankind, all demanding peace; the actual disuse of war, and the marked desire of rulers themselves to supersede it by the adoption of pacific expedients that promise ere long to reconstruct the international policy of the civilized world; the pacific tendencies of literature, science, and all the arts that minister to individual comfort, or national prosperity; the more frequent, more extended intercourse of Christians and learned men in different parts of the earth; the wide extension of commerce, and the consequent interlinking over the globe of interests which war must destroy; the rapid spread of the gospel in pagan lands, the fuller development of its spirit in Christendom, and the more direct, more efficacious application of its principles to every species of sin and misery; all the enterprises of associated benevolence and reform, but especially the combined efforts made to disseminate the principles of peace, to pour the full light of heaven on the guilt and evils of war, and thus unite the friends of God and man everywhere against this master-scurge of our race — such are some of the influences now at work for the world's perpetual peace.

Nor are these causes at work in vain. "Already is the process begun, by which Jehovah is going to fulfil the amazing predictions of his word. Even now is the fire kindled at the forges where swords are yet to be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks. The teachers are already abroad who shall persuade the nations to learn war no more. If we would hasten that day, we have only to throw ourselves into the current, and we may row with the tide. There may be, here and there, a counter-current; but the main stream is flowing steadily on, and the order of Providence is rolling forward the sure result."

Well may the friends of peace thank God, and take courage. With the attributes of his character, the promises of his word, and the indications of his providence so fully on their side, and all the great interests of humanity and religion through the world pleading aloud for the success of their cause, it must in time move onward through all obstacles to a sure and glorious triumph, until angels shall sing anew their song of "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men."

SUBSTITUTES FOR WAR:

OR HOW TO SUPERSEDE IT BY BETTER MEANS.

We see not how it is possible for a Christian to doubt that war can and will in time be done away. The gospel certainly has power to do this, and needs for the purpose only a right application to the case. There is no passion it cannot subdue, no vice it cannot reform, no evil custom it cannot abolish, and a libel would it be on God himself to suppose this chosen instrument for a world's spiritual renovation inadequate to the task of exterminating war from every land blest with its light. Repeatedly has he said that, under its influence, 'men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall no longer lift up sword

against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' Thus has God promised the world's eventual pacification as explicitly as he has the world's conversion, or even the salvation of any believer in Jesus; and we must either discard the whole Bible, or believe the absolute certainty that war will yet be banished from the whole earth.

We are not required to show precisely how all this is to be done, but it would be easy to specify a variety of expedients that might take the place of war. There is, in truth, no real need of this custom among Christian nations. They could, if they would, settle all their difficulties without war, as well as the members of a church can theirs without duels. Substitutes far better than the sword for all purposes of either protection or redress, might be made to supersede entirely its alleged necessity. Once, individuals had no other means than brute force for the redress of their wrongs, or the adjustment of their difficulties; but if that old practice of private wars gave place ages ago to codes and courts of law between individuals, is it not equally possible for nations, if they choose, to provide similar methods for the settlement of their disputes without the effusion of blood?

TEMPORARY SUBSTITUTES FOR WAR.

Substitutes for war may all be resolved into the simple principle of nations settling their difficulties very much as individuals do theirs. The latter, when any dispute arises, either agree between themselves, or submit it to umpires mutually chosen, or carry it into a court of law for decision. In like manner we would have nations first employ negotiation, next resort to arbitration or mediation, or, still better, establish among themselves some permanent system akin to our codes and courts of law for individuals.

The first of these would be *Negotiation*. So long as nations keep cool and kind enough to adjust their own difficulties, this method is decidedly the best of all; and if public sentiment should always hold them back from conflict till mutual forbearance, explanation and concession had exhausted their utmost power, this expedient alone would in most cases prevent an appeal to arms.

Our next resort would be to *Arbitration*. Better for the parties to agree among themselves, if they can; but, if they cannot, nations should always settle their disputes by some mode of reference. Nor is there any objection in their case that would not apply to individuals; for it is just as feasible and safe, as equitable and honorable, for the former as for the latter.

Another preventive of war is *Mediation*. When rulers become so exasperated against each other as to withdraw from official intercourse, and the code of national honor requires them to keep aloof, or meet only on the field of battle, a third power, friendly to both, occasionally interposes with the offer of its services as mediator. Such services the parties are now bound in courtesy to accept; and this simple expedient, a new development of the pacific tendencies of the age, promises to obviate not a few cases of misunderstanding, and do much to keep nations in peace.

Still another occasional substitute for war is *Non-intercourse*. If a neighbor habitually maltreats us, and will neither make reparation, nor come to any reasonable terms, we sometimes find it best simply to let him alone, and have nothing whatever to do with him, until he proves himself worthy of our renewed confidence and intercourse. This principle is equally applicable to nations. If a government neglects its treaty-engagements, or violates its obligations in other respects, and persists in its refusal to make due reparation, it would be far better to withdraw from all intercourse with

a ration so unreasonable, and wait for the crowns of the world, and a returning sense of justice and self-respect to set them right, than to embroil innocent millions in war. Such a contest would soon hide or change the real, original issue, while non-intercourse would keep that issue steadily before the world, and thus concentrate public opinion in a burning focus upon the offender's conscience. To this principle as a substitute for war in extreme cases, Jefferson gave the seal of his approbation and example.

STIPULATED ARBITRATION.

The foregoing expedients are precarious palliatives rather than sure remedies. We seek permanent, reliable substitutes. The first of these is **STIPULATED ARBITRATION**. We would have nations incorporate in every treaty a clause, binding themselves to adjust whatever difficulties may arise between them by reference to umpires mutually chosen, and agree either to abide by their decision, or to claim, if dissatisfied, only a new hearing, or a different reference.

We cannot well conceive anything fairer or safer than this. The principle, as old as human society, lies at the bottom of all our courts. Every trial in them is a reference. No litigant is allowed to decide his own case, but must submit to the judgment of his peers. Nor has he any direct voice in the selection of his arbiters; society chooses them for him; and before a judge and jury thus appointed, he is compelled to go, and abide their decision. Such is the ordinary course of justice, the legal mode of reference; and ought not governments, in the adjustment of their difficulties, to act on principles as equitable and elevated as those which they prescribe to their own subjects?

In favor of such a measure as this we might quote almost any amount of opinions and testimonies. Once adopted in good faith by any two nations, it would be pretty sure to prevent all war between them; and their example would probably be followed in time by the other governments of Christendom, and thus unite them all at last in a League of Perpetual Peace.

A CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

This measure is designed to secure for nations in their intercourse with each other essentially the same means of ascertaining and enforcing their mutual rights and duties that civil government does for individuals. It would be their great common lawgiver, judge and guardian. It would be to the Brotherhood of Nations their supreme earthly government in their relations among themselves. It would comprise a Legislature and a Court or Tribunal — the former to make laws, and the latter to apply them.

We will not go into details. We would have first a convention of delegates from different countries, with power, not to enact an authoritative Code of International Law, but merely to agree upon its principles, and recommend them to their respective governments for adoption; and next an International Tribunal to interpret that code, and adjudicate whatever cases nations might refer to its decision. Its jurisdiction should extend only to matters connected with the intercourse of nations; and its decisions should be final, and preclude all right of appealing to any further means of adjustment, except a new hearing, an amicable consultation, or reference to special umpires mutually chosen. Its decrees should be merely advisory, should bind no party without their consent, and depend for success entirely

on the high repute of the tribunal, on the obvious equity of its decisions, and the strong tide of public opinion in their favor. It should act as a board of referees, whose arbitrament the parties would still be at liberty to accept or reject. Nor should its sanctions ever include or involve a resort to the sword. Its decisions should be enforced only by peaceful means. Penalties there might be; but they should all be pacific, and consist in the recoil of public opinion, in the withdrawal of friendly intercourse, or the curtailment of commercial and other privileges.

Such is a brief outline of this great measure. Its successful operation would secure a vast variety of results highly important to the world. Its first and chief, indeed, would be to preserve peace among nations without the sword; but this would be only one of its legitimate results. It would perform for the governments associated no small part of the services that our own Congress does for the different members of our Republic, and would thus have three distinct departments of duty—to *complete the law of nations, to adjust all disputes between them without an appeal to the sword, and direct their intercourse in ways best adapted to promote their highest common welfare.*

Few are aware how unsettled and imperfect is the present law of nations. We have in truth no such law, and what passes under the name is of recent origin and insufficient authority. It is only a compilation of precedents, opinions and arguments. It is the work, not of legislators, but only of scholars; no law-making power was ever concerned in enacting any of its statutes; and all its authority has resulted from the deference spontaneously paid to the genius, erudition and wisdom of its compilers. It is not law, but argument; not decrees, but rules; not a code, but a treatise; and the nations are at liberty, except from the force of custom and public opinion, to adopt or reject it as they please. A uniform, authoritative code of international law is still a desideratum, and to supply this deficiency would be one of the first and highest duties of the institution we propose.

How many and how vastly important the subjects that would come before such a Congress! Articles contraband of war; protection of neutral commerce; security of private property in war; rights and rules of blockade; right of search and impressment; protection of non-combatants; property in navigable rivers; the armed interposition of one nation in the domestic affairs of another; right of interference with a nation at war; passage of belligerents through a neutral territory; surrender of fugitives from justice or oppression; various meliorations of war; measures for the entire extinction of the custom; the settlement of national boundaries; the regulation of cartels, and flags of truce; the rules and rates of salvage; the improvement and expansion of commerce; the adoption of some common standard of weights and measures; the interpretation of treaties by definite and established rules; the naturalization of foreigners, and the transfer of their allegiance; the determination of what shall be deemed the inalienable rights of man, such as life, liberty of conscience, and the use of his own powers; the reconciliation of laws that come into conflict in the intercourse of nations, such as those respecting contracts, evidence, and the law of domicile; measures in common for the relief of suffering nations, and for the suppression or punishment of such practices as torture, infanticide, human sacrifices, the slave-trade, and other outrages upon humanity.

Take for illustration the question of blockade. The law of nations is very loose on this subject; the practice of belligerents has taken a still wider license; and the exigencies of the case call aloud for some means to prevent the repetition of such outrages. Some writers have questioned the propriety under any circumstances of blockade against neutrals; but it ought certainly

to be restrained from that immense sweep of mischief to which it has so often aspired in modern times. All the ports of a country, most of those skirting an entire continent, have, by a mere stroke of the pen, been closed against all neutral vessels. England once declared the whole coast of France to be under blockade, and Napoleon in return did the same to all England, without a fleet in either case sufficient to enforce scarce a tenth part of the blockade. It was a blockade chiefly on paper, a pretence for licensing a wholesale piracy. So an English admiral, in the last war between Great Britain and ourselves, declared our whole coast, two thousand miles in extent, under blockade, without a twentieth part of the ships requisite to enforce it. The evils of such a practice must be immense.

There is clearly an urgent necessity for something like a Congress of nations. The deficiencies of their present code can never be supplied, the evils now incident to their intercourse never be remedied, and their highest welfare or their perfect safety secured, without some tribunal of the kind as their acknowledged lawgiver and judge. No treatises on the law of nations, no decisions of admiralty courts, no treaty stipulations, no rectitude, capacity or vigilance of rulers, no degree of intelligence or honesty among the people, no force of custom or public opinion, can ever meet all the exigencies of the case, and thus supersede the necessity of an international tribunal for the various and vastly important purposes already suggested. Can such a chasm in the wants of the world never be filled?

If you say public opinion is not yet ripe for such a measure, we reply that it ought to be so, and might be. It certainly is already ripe enough to start the train of efforts requisite for ultimately securing it. Do you say we now have means for the preservation of peace? Some, indeed, we have; but they do not always prevent war. The war-system still continues in full vigor; and we wish, as our only reliable security, to introduce a substitute that shall supersede it entirely and forever. Do you think Christendom unwilling to give up her war-system? If her rulers are, her people are not. All Europe, crushed beneath her war-burdens, is now panting for release from its evils, and would hail with joy any effectual antidote or remedy.

Tell us not such a tribunal would be dangerous. Dangerous! to whom or what? Would it trample on the weak? It would have no power to do so; and its first care would be to guard them against encroachment and abuse. Would it endanger liberty and popular governments? Called into existence by their voice, it would become of course a servant to their wishes, and a guardian of their rights and interests. Would it interfere with the domestic concerns of states? It would itself be the surest check against such interference. Would it become a conclave of political intrigue, and serve only to embroil the nations? History refutes the charge; and the supposition is just as absurd as it would be to expect that ambassadors, appointed to negotiate peace, would only foment new wars. Would it become a tool in the hands of some future Alexander or Napoleon to subjugate all Christendom? Such monsters are the offspring only of war; and the peaceful policy inseparable from a congress of nations, would put an end forever to the whole brood. By what process, then, could such a tribunal be thus perverted? With no fleets or armies at its command, with no offices of emolument or honor to bestow, with no right to touch any subject not submitted to it by its constituents, how could it become an engine of conquest, tyranny and blood?

Would such a Congress, after all, be powerless? The experiment has already been made in a variety of ancient and modern cases; and the general result justifies the belief, that such a tribunal as we propose would

eventually put an end to war in Christendom. The Amphictyonic Council of Greece, composed of delegates from each of its states, and empowered to examine and decide all their disputes, did much to preserve peace between them for a long series of ages; and, though unable, in times so barbarous and warlike, to keep the sword continually in its scabbard, still it must have saved rivers of blood. The Achæan League did the same, and was often solicited even by foreign nations to act as the arbiter of their disputes. We might also quote nearly every government in Europe as a virtual illustration of this principle; for Austria, France, Great Britain, all the leading states of Christendom, kept for the most part in domestic peace for centuries, are each a cluster of small tribes or baronies, so long associated under one head as to have lost in some cases their original distinction as independent principalities. Austria and Great Britain are striking examples; and the fact that the three kingdoms of the latter, and the numerous principalities of the former, are preserved in amity among themselves by the general government common to them all, goes far to prove the efficacy of our principle. Even the occasional congresses or conferences, so frequently held in Europe during the last two centuries as to average one every four years, have seldom failed either to preserve or restore peace. If experiments so partial, and under circumstances comparatively so unfavorable, have still accomplished so much even for pagan or half-christianized nations, what may we not expect from a tribunal perfect as the highest wisdom of modern times can make it, cheerfully recognized by the whole civilized world, and enforced by a strong, omnipresent public opinion?

Such a Congress, moreover, would remove the grand incentives to war. It would repress or neutralize the war-spirit. It would make the warrior's business odious, and render it the chief glory of rulers, not to wage war, but to preserve peace. It would sweep away the grand nurseries of war. It would eventually convert standing armies into handfuls of policemen, and leave war-ships to rot, arsenals to moulder, and fortifications to crumble into ruins. Here are the chief combustibles of war; and when these are all removed, it will be well-nigh impossible to kindle its fires on any emergency.

Nay, might not this grand expedient suffice for the worst emergency? It would make nations cease to think of settling their disputes by arms. They could never draw the sword at the outset; and the long delay occasioned by an appeal to the Congress, and by subsequent preparations for conflict, would give ample time for passion to cool, and reason to regain such an ascendancy as she seldom, if ever, had in any declaration of war by men. If the parties disliked the first decision, they might claim repeated hearings; and every new trial would create new obstructions in the way of appealing to the sword.

But why suppose such a tribunal powerless for the preservation of peace? Because it would wear no crown, wield no sword, hold no purse? Such logic mistakes the age. Opinion is now the mistress of the world. Her voice could light or quench the fires of a thousand battle-fields. It changed the government of France in a day, and reformed the parliament of England without bloodshed. It made us free. It once marshalled all Europe in the crusades. It called up the demon-spirits of the French Revolution, and sent hurricane after hurricane of war howling in wrath over the fairest portions of Christendom. All this it has done; and, when embodied in the grand Areopagus of the world, would it then be powerless?

MEANS IN PEACE.—Proper and adequate means are just as necessary in the cause of Peace as in anything else. What are these means? They are all included in a right application of the gospel to the case. Who shall use these means? Chiefly Christians must; and had they from the first done their whole duty on this subject, war would long ago have vanished from every Christian land.

‘But we see no need of any special efforts for this purpose.’ No need! If war has been for so many ages pouring over the whole earth a deluge of evils; if it is still the chief scourge and terror of our race; if it is at this moment taxing Christendom nearly one thousand million dollars every year for its support even in peace; if it is continually liable, like a pent-up volcano, to pour forth a burning torrent of woes upon the world; is there not the most palpable, most imperative necessity for such efforts? — ‘But the gospel will cure this great evil, and nothing else can.’ True; but how? Without a right application to the case? No medicine ever cures without being thus applied. Is the gospel an exception to this law of common sense? Will it cure any evil to which it is not properly applied? It is not thus applied to war now, nor has been for ages, in any country; and until it is, the custom will continue of course. — ‘But make men *real* Christians, and they will cease from war.’ Will they — *have* they? Do real Christians never engage in war, nor ever uphold the custom? Are there no real Christians among all the warriors now in Christendom? Were there none among the myriads that have fought from time immemorial in her wars? — ‘Grant that *something* needs to be done in this cause; let existing agencies, such as the church, the ministry and the press, do it.’ Very well, if they *will* do it; but they have *not* done it as yet; and until they do, shall nothing be attempted or even allowed in this great Christian reform? Shall not the pioneers in Peace, like those in Missions and Temperance, do what they can to rouse the community to their duty on this subject? — ‘But we must wait for the millennium; peace will come then, but never before.’ Yes, peace *will* come then; but how? Only by using aright, as Christians are *not* using now, the means God has appointed for the purpose. How are we to reach a millennium of repentance and faith? Only by filling the earth with penitent believers in Christ. In like manner we can hope for a millennium of peace only by converting men to the principles of peace taught in the gospel. Peace, equally with repentance and faith, must come *before* the millennium as one of its harbingers, or along *with* the millennium as one of its inseparable concordants.

WHAT MIGHT BE DONE WITH THE MONEY WASTED IN WAR. — Give me the money that has been spent in war, and I will purchase every foot of land upon the globe. I will clothe every man, woman and child in an attire that kings and queens would be proud of; I will build a school-house upon every hill-side, and in every valley over the whole habitable earth; I will supply that school-house with a competent teacher; I will build an academy in every town, and endow it; a college in every State, and fill it with able professors; I will crown every hill with a church consecrated to the promulgation of the gospel of peace; I will support in its pulpit an able teacher of righteousness, so that on every Sabbath morning the chime on one hill should answer to the chime on another, round the earth’s broad circumference; and the voice of prayer, and the song of praise, should ascend like an universal holocaust to heaven. — *Dr. Stebbins.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE EXTRA.

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RICHARD COBDEN'S MISSION.

THE FRIEND OF PEACE THE TRULY INTERNATIONAL MAN.

BY LORD HOBART.

It is long since there left the world any one who deserved so well of it as RICHARD COBDEN. To say this is indeed, in one sense, to say but little; for the acts of those who have had it in their power to influence the destinies of mankind, mankind has in general small reason to be grateful. But of Cobden's career there are results which none can gainsay. Vast, signal, and comprehensive, they disarm alike both competition and criticism. The two great triumphs of his life were the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Commercial Treaty with France. Of these, the first gave food to starving millions, redressed a gigantic and intolerable abuse of political power, saved an empire from revolutionary convulsion, and imparted new and irresistible impulse to material progress throughout the world; the second carried still further the work which the first had begun, insured sooner or later its full consummation, and fixed, amid the waves of conflicting passions and jarring interests, deep in the tenacious ground of commercial sympathy, a rock for the foot of Peace.

But, though Cobden's public life is admired by most Englishmen, its real scope and nature are understood by very few. The prophet was not without honor, but he was almost entirely without comprehension, in his own country. Being asked on one occasion to take part in some project of interest or pleasure, he declined on the ground that he had a "mission." What, then, was this mission? What was his distinctive character as a public man? The prevalent notion entertained respecting him among well-educated Englishmen is, that he was the apostle of Free Trade, with a strong and rather dangerous tendency towards democracy and cheap government, and a disposition to peace at any price on account of the costliness of war. It was reserved for foreigners to appreciate the greatest Englishman of his time, and for a foreigner to describe him justly. He repealed the Corn Laws; he fought and triumphed for Free Trade; he advocated Peace; he deprecated national extravagance, and broke a lance, when occasion occurred, for Political Liberty. But these acts of his were but means to an end, illustrative of and subservient to the great object and idea in the service of which his energies were employed, and his life sacrificed: for the true political definition of Cobden is that which a foreigner has supplied, AN INTERNATIONAL MAN.

It is strange, yet true, that there had been no international men of any note before his time. For what is internationalism? Suppose a community to be without laws or government of any kind. In such a community every man would be the guardian of his own rights and interests, and compelled to bear arms, offensive and defensive, to maintain them. Bloodshed and every kind of misery, the hideous brood of anarchy, would abound. This state of affairs, even among savages, would be intolerable; and it would not be long before some one would propose the natural and obvious remedy, political institutions. Suppose further, that the proposal was met with contempt on account of its alleged impracticability. Suppose that it appeared, or was asserted, that there was such an utter dissimilarity of views and feelings, such an intense individuality, in the different members of the community, that the attempt to unite them under any form of government or any regular system of law was hopeless. Suppose, nevertheless, the author of the proposal to persevere, and contend that the alleged objection to it had no foundation in reality, but was the offspring of mere prejudice and error; that if men were, as affirmed, thus self-centred, dissimilar and antagonistic, they ought not to be so; that, if the evil was real, the remedy rested with themselves; that if they were sensible men, they would mitigate for the common good the intensity of their individualism, and if they were Christians, political intercourse with each other should be a pleasure and not a pain. Imagine him to urge, that for the sake of a mere sentiment, puerile, barbarous and eminently pagan, they were deliberately impoverishing themselves, and leading a life proper to wild beasts rather than to men; that for the sake of a prejudice against each other, the result of deep-rooted habit, they were content to live in a condition of constant anxiety and suffering, diversified with occasional outbreaks of violence and bloodshed; and that while they bitterly complained of the cost, physical and mental, of such a state of existence, they were ready to endure it rather than abandon the individuality, self-concentration and self-dependence, handed down to them by their ancestors, with all its train of selfishness, jealousy, reciprocal animosity, and mutual misunderstanding, and which by some strange hallucination, they were accustomed to look upon as a good rather than an evil. Suppose all this, and you have supposed a case which actually exists; for the community of nations is a community precisely such as has been described. Internationalism, in its ultimate scope and full development, is the doctrine supposed here to be taught and rejected; and the teacher of that doctrine is the international man. Is it not strange that Cobden should have been the first to teach it, still more strange that he should have been treated by the influential classes in his own country as a man, well-meaning, no doubt, and eminently successful in his line, yet hovering on the verge of lunacy?

Time out of mind the individuals of which the community of nations is composed have been willing to live as no other community could live — without

*a polity and without laws.** Of the terrible evils which result, one is war; an evil so vast and conspicuous, that it shocks and sickens humane men; and nothing is more common than to hear discussions on the question whether or not war is lawful. But if war is unlawful, then, in the case just supposed of a community consisting of individual persons, it is unlawful for each of them to protect his own rights in the absence of any government to protect them; a doctrine which no one possessed of common sense will be found to maintain. The natural and necessary result of international anarchy is war, just as the natural and necessary result, of national anarchy is personal violence. But war is not, because international anarchy is not, an inevitable condition of human affairs. War is, because international anarchy is, excuseable enough as between barbarous communities. But among civilized and enlightened nations war is, because anarchy is, a scandal and a shame. It is this evil, *this anarchy of nations, which has wrought more misery and prevented more happiness than perhaps any other of the self-inflicted torments of humanity.* It is an evil which is as grave in its negative as in its positive aspect; which has cursed the world, not only by drenching it with blood, and letting loose upon it the foulest and fiercest passions, but by placing between the human mind and the intellectual and moral improvement resulting from the political and social intercourse of human beings, an impassable barrier. But, instead of being treated as a calamity of this hideous complexion, it is habitually looked upon with complacency and self-gratulation. In the opinion of the generality of men, this absence of political intercourse between nations is a happy dispensation of Providence, which it would be impious in human creatures to disturb. The class of persons in this country who sing "Rule Britannia," experience in doing so a thrill of conscious virtue, and a comfortable sense of duty done which confirms them in the practice. The Frenchman, with his *gloire* and his *grande nation*, feels elevated in the moral scale when he sings their praise. That which the world has wept in tears of blood, and but for which it would have worn an aspect, compared with that which it now wears, of perfect felicity, is treated as a subject for honest rejoicing to good citizens, for British jollification or French fanfarronade! If these men were heathens, there would be more to be said for them; though one might have thought that improved means of education and advancing intelligence would have taught even to paganism, that the self-isolation of nations, the self-imposed and obstinately-maintained severance of man from man because

* We are glad to find a writer of such manifest ability as Lord Hobart, saying in a note here, "International Law, which there are no established tribunals to administer, and no means which can be relied on to enforce, is *not law in the ordinary sense of the word.*" A position clearly patent to every careful thinker, yet overlooked by nearly everybody. The impression is well-nigh universal, that we have a real Law of Nations, whereas that which passes under the name has no more authority or force than a treatise on Moral Philosophy, like that of Paley, Wayland or Dymond, in determining and enforcing the mutual obligations of men. Its use is valuable, but quite insufficient and unreliable.

ED. ADV.

they happen to be of a different race, or to have a different political history, was not an evil to be danced and sung about, but a calamity to be deplored. Being Christians, it is difficult to understand their error. Christianity cut the knot which intellectual advancement would sooner or later have untied, and, if it taught anything, taught this, that simply because they belong to a different race, or are geographically divided from them, men have no right to treat other men as socially and politically distinct from themselves; that the mutual estrangement, social and political, of members of the great human family, is an evil of the same nature as the mutual estrangement of children born of the same parent; and that the exclusive regard of men for those with whom they are classed by the accidents of origin or of soil, is a moral delinquency of the gravest kind. Be it remembered by those who meet, as they imagine, triumphantly considerations such as these with the words "Utopian" and "visionary" (words by which every innovation in any important degree conducive to the general welfare has in its turn been stigmatized), that what is here contended for is not the possibility of immediate or proximate remedy, but simply the proposition that the acquiescence in an approval of a state of things so contrary to good sense, to right feeling, and to the most vital interests of the world, is unworthy of intelligent and well-intentioned human beings.

The virtuous self-satisfaction which has just been noticed as attending upon the assertion and display of nationalism, and which opposes so fatal a bar to international concord and union, is based upon confused notions of patriotism, which is of two kinds—*patriotism the virtue* and *patriotism the vice*. Patriotism the virtue is that feeling which, where it exists in a high degree, inclines a man to prefer to his own interests the interests of the country to which he belongs, and which, in however small a degree it exists, leads him to consider himself, not as an isolated being with no concern but his own welfare, but as a member of a society whose welfare is his own. Patriotism the virtue makes the general well-being, as distinct from that of the individual, its study and its care. If either the existence or the well-founded claims of his own country as a member of the community of nations is threatened, it devotes itself, at whatever sacrifice, to their defence, just as it would devote itself to ward off any internal calamity of equal magnitude. It admits that, so long as nations remain politically isolated from each other, so long as they are unable by common agreement to terminate the anarchy which afflicts them, force is the sole and legitimate protector (?) of the rights of each; and that to compel a people against its will to submit to a foreign dominion, is an injustice which must be resisted to the last. But the very essence of patriotism the virtue is self-sacrifice for the general good. It implies no approval or toleration of the anarchy of nations, or any idea that the interests of the particular country in which the patriot happens to live are paramount to those of the rest of the world. It is ready to sacrifice itself for the community to which it belongs; but it claims no right to decide as to the limits of that community. The boast of nationality is no part of the business of such patriotism. Indeed, the mental disposition in which it is generated is such as would rather incline a man, so far as is possible, to enlarge the bounds of his country, not by military conquest, but by peaceful amalgamation; for the temper and habit of mind which characterize the true patriot as the citizen of a state, would find a fuller development and gratification when he became a citizen of the world.

Patriotism the vice is the moral opposite of the former. It is that feeling among citizens which imparts to the nation, considered as one of the component parts of a great community, that very selfishness which is repudiated by patriotism the virtue. It is that feeling which causes a nation hab-

usually to prefer its own to the general interest. The essence of virtuous patriotism is self-sacrifice; the essence of vicious patriotism is self-regard. One is the desire felt by a citizen for his country's advantage, even at the cost of his own; the other is the desire for his country's advantage because that country is his, at the cost of other nations. Patriotism the vice looks upon the life of nations as one long struggle for success at the expense of each other, and holds that a state should deprecate, and, if it has the power, prevent any increase in the wealth and prosperity of other states, lest the "balance of power" should be disturbed, and appears to consider the fact that the world was not made exclusively for the benefit of one nation, as a disposition of affairs to which nothing short of absolute compulsion should induce it to bow.

It is, then, by confounding these two kinds of patriotism that men are led to tolerate and approve the anarchy of nations. With true patriotism that anarchy has nothing in common, but, on the contrary, is essentially at issue. If illustration be required of this, it is to be found in the fact that the most devoted and disinterested patriot of our time, the Liberator of Italy, is also one of the very few distinguished men who have felt and avowed international aspirations. At the close of a campaign unusually arduous and triumphant, he said, 'Is war never to cease from the earth? Are nations to remain forever disunited, with no thought but their own aggrandizement, and occupied in preparing themselves at an enormous cost to spring on the shortest notice at each other's throats? Is there no chance of a hearing for common sense and humanity, so that men, whether they are Italian, French, English, Austrian, Russian, or Prussian, shall at length, after centuries of unwisdom, admit themselves to be members of a common family whose interests shall be considered as a whole, and an end, once for all, be put to the long reign of anarchy and blood?' 'How foolish! how inconsistent!' exclaimed the whole chorus of Philistines and Rule-Britannia politicians. The folly and inconsistency were their own. The patriotism of Garibaldi is of that true kind which is altogether distinct from nationalism. He fought to deliver his country, not from Austrians, but from Austrian despotism, as he would fight against any evil, internal or external, which afflicted her. Real patriotism is that which is free from any taint of egotism, sees in loss or injury to the country of other men loss or injury to its own, and would blush to accept benefits for a nation at the cost of the world at large.

It was the peculiar merit of Cobden that he apprehended the truth here indicated, and made it the lodestar of his political career. But inasmuch as the time was not ripe for that full development of internationalism which consists in some form of political union, he saw that the work cut out for him in life was to prepare the way for it by habituating, so far as might be possible, the public mind to the idea, by removing obstacles to its progress, and by advocating and pushing forward every measure of legislation or policy which could tend to its realization. Foremost among such measures was the *Liberation of Commerce*; and the first and most formidable monster to be assailed by the champions of commercial liberty was the infamous English Corn Law. The attack upon a law which starved one country, and impoverished the rest for the benefit of a few landlords, was a task after Cobden's own heart; and he was supported and encouraged during the tremendous conflict by the feeling, little known to most of his coadjutors, that he was fighting, not for his own country only, but for all others; and that victory in the fight would be the first step towards the attainment of the grandest object of which a politician had ever dreamed — to break down the barriers of a narrow nationalism, and blend into one great community

the nations of the world. For he knew that free trade in corn was but the prelude to the freedom, at no very distant time, of commerce generally. He knew, also, that freedom of commerce generally meant a community of interests which would grapple nations to each other with hooks of steel, and an increase of personal intercourse between their citizens, the sovereign remedy for that self-complacent nationalism which is the greatest obstacle to political association.

It is certain that, of all expedients calculated to promote the object in view, there is none so efficacious as this last. A new railway, an improved steamboat service on a dividing sea, or the abolition of adventitious official impediments to travellers, may be of more avail than all the speeches and writings of the most devoted philanthropist. For it must be obvious that there is a conceivable degree of social intercourse between nations of which some kind or degree of political association is the natural and necessary result. If, for instance, the communication between Englishmen and Frenchmen, instead of being limited, as it now is, to the yearly arrival of a hundred or two of the latter, sea-sick and miserable, in a grim and squalid locality, presided over by a hideously-mutilated statue, and which they imagine to be London, and to the yearly influx into Paris of a stream of British tourists, contemptuous, ill-mannered, and unintelligent, that communication was in every respect as constant and easy as the intercourse between adjacent counties of England, it is impossible that the two countries could remain long disunited. Manners, language, currency, laws, would gradually assimilate; and the result, sooner or later, would be political union. Every step in this direction is a step of which the importance cannot be overrated. In proportion as the intercourse of the citizens of one state with those of another became more familiar, nationalism would decline; war, though it would at times be inevitable so long as nations are under perfectly distinct governments, would be more and more reluctantly entered upon; until at length the work would find its completion in political association, and all war, except civil war, be thenceforth at an end.

The blow which shattered the English Corn Law, shook to its foundation the whole ingenious system by which, under the pleasant name of "protection to native industry," men had contrived to counteract a singularly beneficent provision of nature, having for its object their own material and social welfare; and the advantage thus gained was promptly followed up by the great soldier of peace and good-will. The war of tariff is responsible for the war of bullets and cold steel. Men think twice before they cut the throats of those who are perpetually engaged in filling their coffers. If the trade of this country with Russia had been as great as her trade with the United States, what chance would the "war-at-any-price party" have had in the dispute about the Russian War? If her trade with the United States had been as small as her trade with Russia, what would have been the probability that peace would have been preserved during half a century between the jealous and irascible parent, and the undutiful and now gigantic son?

Protection, moreover, not only generates war by removing the inducement to peace which is afforded by identity of interest; it fosters and encourages that deeper and wider evil of which war is one of the many calamitous results—the sharp division of mankind into distinct societies resolutely set against any approach to political communion. Protection, besides keeping nations poor, keeps them apart in sullen rivalry, and hostility worse, because more wide-spread and enduring than that of the battle-field. The very fact that nations are habituated to consider it a duty to enrich themselves at the expense of other countries, tends to exclude from their minds the idea of association, and to encourage that of self-seclusion; nor is the case altered by

the circumstance that, instead of enriching, they are impoverishing themselves. Men will never look upon each other as members of one family, or yearn after that political association for want of which they suffer so bitterly, so long as they are taught to consider the gain of other countries to be the loss of their own, and are deprived of that inducement to communication with each other which commercial unity both directly and indirectly provides. The Commercial Treaty with France, forced as it were upon both countries by the strong will and earnest faith of one extraordinary man, was therefore a magnificent stroke of work in the cause which he had at heart. It was, moreover, a success, in its very nature prolific of further successes, and already an arrangement similar in principle has been made between this country and Austria. Foreign nations among themselves have begun to imitate the example, and thus one of the most obstinately defended strongholds of international exclusiveness and discord is in a fair way of being levelled with the ground.

Next to commercial monopoly, the most fatal enemy to internationalism was the Pseudo-patriotic Sentiment which Cobden attacked with uncompromising vigor and pertinacity. That one Englishman was equal to three Frenchmen, and that in addressing himself to the task of proving it, he was doing that which was pleasing rather than otherwise to the supernal powers, was the form which for a long time was taken by this sentiment in the illiterate British mind. With the secession of the French Revolutionary War into the background, this impression has become less actively prevalent; but there is still a lurking conviction in the minds of a large number of persons in this country, that to fight Frenchmen, and probably also Russians and Americans, is in itself a highly moral and laudable act. War is generally felt to be a calamity; but a calamity qualified by the consideration, first, that there is a natural antagonism between Britons and foreigners, which is, as it were, part of the scheme of creation; and, secondly, that it is more in accordance with the eternal fitness of things that British interests, British fleets and armies, and British ideas should prevail, than those of any other nation. Thus it is very commonly, though most untruly, asserted by very well-meaning and in other respects reasonable men, in defence of the war waged for twenty years by this country without a shadow of justification with France; that but for that war, the power and influence of Great Britain among European States would have been very much less than they now are: from which argument it is to be inferred that, in the opinion of those who use it, any amount of injustice, slaughter and suffering would kick the beam if the interests of their own country were in the other scale. Until ideas such as these are totally and irrevocably eradicated, there is little hope for internationalism.

Another and most mischievous institution of the same class was the *Civis Romanus*, the natural spawn of nationalism. This personage, and the intolerable national arrogance on which he depends for existence, was the object of Cobden's most determined hostility. In China he took the form of an adventurous skipper, mistaken, apparently not without some reason, by Chinese officials for a pirate; in Greece, that of a Spanish Jew, whose miserable squabble with the Government was settled by the conclusive, if not logical argument of a British fleet; in Brazil, he was alternately a drunken midshipman, incarcerated for inebriety, and the owner or insurer of a British ship which the winds and waves, regardless of Roman citizenship, had cast upon an outlandish coast, and which was pounced upon by the nomad and semi-savage wreckers of the place, for whose misdeeds the Brazilian government, finding itself powerless to punish them, was magnanimously chastised, and threatened with further chastisement for not having done so, by the

government of a country twenty times as powerful as its own ! Against this calamitous individual, the great Internationalist waged incessant war ; nor were his efforts entirely unattended with success, if we are to judge by the fact that this particular enemy has of late considerably moderated his pretensions.

Closely allied to nationalism, fighting by their side the battle of selfishness and barbarism against civilization and humanity, and as such assailed by Cobden with singular power, though with but too little success, was the policy of *Bloated Armaments*. That policy has been the fashion in this country ever since the war with Russia, which, finding its support in hobgoblin arguments and panic the most anile, appears to have bequeathed them as a lasting legacy to the nation. Scarcely had that useless and disastrous conflict ended, and the pocket of the British tax-payer begun to feel the better for the change, when the bugbear of French invasion, for about the hundredth time, cast its shadow over the land. It was promptly turned to account by that large class of persons who, actuated some by national vanity, called by themselves patriotic pride, others by less excusable motives, are the steady advocates of plethoric budgets ; and the consequence is, that the national expenditure is at the present moment greater than it was before the Russian War, by some fifteen millions (\$60,000,000), almost the whole of which goes to the account of the army, navy, and coast defences. The triumph of the old women has been complete. The preparation for war has been in the inverse ratio to the probability of it ; for if there is one feature more indelibly stamped on contemporary history than another, it is the deep anxiety shown by the present ruler of France, throughout his long and prosperous reign, to be on amicable terms with this country.

But it was not on the ground of expediency alone that Cobden fought the battle of retrenchment. He fought it, while deeply feeling its importance in a national, chiefly from an international point of view. The curse of great standing armies is laid, not upon this or that nation only, but upon the whole civilized world ; and it is the interest of humanity in general that demands its removal. The argument which is most directly responsible for the vast preparations for war which nations in their ardent attachment to peace have thought fit to make, is the argument that other nations are doing the same thing. Nation A arms itself to the teeth, and groans under a crushing burden of taxation, solely because nation B has done the same. Nation B, whose large armaments have very probably been raised for the repression of liberty among its own subjects, perceiving this step on the part of A, accuses it of hostile designs, and increases its own armaments accordingly, which leads to a further increase in the same direction on the part of A. This elaborate contrivance for maintaining peace, and the political dialectics of which it is the result, are extremely curious. If any one suggests, as Cobden suggested, that there is something inexpressibly foolish and puerile in all this ; that, if reason has not deserted the world, some agreement ought to be come to for reciprocal disarmament ; or that, in the event of this being found impracticable, then, if there be a nation free, and therefore requiring no standing armies to prevent its being so, a nation superior to all others in commercial wealth, and therefore able, in case of emergency to develop a strength which would far more than counterbalance any insufficiency of preparation, that nation ought to be the first to quit the path of folly, and set the example of a return to conduct in some degree rational and dignified : — if any one ventures to make this suggestion, he is forthwith consigned to the limbo of political enthusiasts, and no longer looked upon as a sane man in this country.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE:

SOME OF THE MEASURES FOR ITS ATTAINMENT.

THERE is a growing demand through Christendom for something that shall either supersede her war-system, or largely diminish its evils. This system, a libel on her common sense as well as her Christianity, is obviously becoming a burden too grievous to be permanently borne. Clearly, a crisis is coming, and must be met; but how can it be? A very difficult question that bewilders the people, perplexes statesmen, and saddens the patriot and the philanthropist. Not only the fearful waste of life and property in actual war, but the enormous, ever-increasing cost of military preparations in a time of peace, is hanging as an intolerable incubus upon nations, and overwhelming not a few of them with debts that can never be paid. Their standing warriors have already reached four or five millions, their war debts exceed twelve thousand million dollars, and some of their most essential armaments are now costing from five to ten times as much as they did fifty or even ten years ago. Such a state of things cannot continue, and something must be done to meet this great question of the age and the world.

Let us look at some of the expedients proposed for this purpose. One is a mutual, proportionate Disarmament; another is the adoption of Arbitration instead of war; and a third, embracing both these and much more, recommends a Congress and Court of Nations. All these tend more or less to supersede the blind, brutal arbitrament of the sword, and seek to introduce among nations a rational, peaceful system of justice and security somewhat analogous to that which every civilized people have already adopted for the settlement by laws and courts of disputes between individuals and all minor communities. In principle, such a system of legal, peaceful justice is equally applicable to nations; and though it may take long to secure its general adoption, the best, if not the strongest influences of the age are steadily tending to 'a consummation so devoutly to be wished.'

ARBITRATION.

The propriety of this expedient as a substitute for war, is universally acknowledged. All writers on international law sanction and urge it. Grotius says, "War should never be declared until all other means of redress have been faithfully tried." Vattel declares that "the law of nature requires nations to attempt the mildest methods of terminating their differences. Nature gives us no right to use force except where mild and pacific methods are ineffectual. When sovereigns cannot agree, they sometimes trust the decision of their disputes to arbitrators; a method very reasonable, and very conformable to the law of nature."

"We daily make," says Franklin, "great improvements in natural philosophy; there is one I wish to see in moral — the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to adjust their difficulties by arbitration?" "Will nations," asks Jefferson, "never devise a more rational umpire of their differences than force?"

This substitute for war is coming more and more into repute and actual use. Several of our own State Legislatures, all before whom it was properly brought, have passed resolutions strongly in its favor. In our Congress it was unanimously recommended in 1853 as "proper and desirable for the government of these United States, whenever practicable, to secure in its treaties with other nations, a provision for referring to the decision of umpires, all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation." Our government has already begun to introduce this principle into its treaties with other governments, and if all governments would do the same, the practice would be in a fair way to become general, and might in time go far to supersede the sword as the arbiter of their disputes.

A memorable endorsement of this expedient we find in the action of the Paris Congress, which in 1856 closed the Crimean war. On motion of Lord Clarendon, the British representative, the plenipotentiaries with entire unanimity, recommended that, should any difference hereafter arise between governments, they should, before having recourse to war, invite the friendly mediation of some other power. His lordship expressed the opinion, "that this happy innovation might receive a more general application, and thus become a barrier against conflicts which frequently break forth, only because it is not always possible to enter into explanation and come to an understanding." The plenipotentiaries of all the courts concurred unanimously in this view, and "did not hesitate to express, in the names of their governments, the wish that States, between which any serious misunderstanding may arise, should have recourse to friendly mediation before appealing to arms."

A CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

There have been many international congresses for special, temporary purposes, but we mean in this case a permanent institution or arrangement designed to provide for nations essentially the same means of insuring their mutual safety, justice and general welfare, that civil government does for individuals and small communities. It is a union of nations under a peculiar government or agreement voluntarily imposed upon each other for the common security and weal. It includes two leading ideas — Legislative Powers, or authority to enact, or recommend to their respective governments to enact, a code of International Law, and a Court or Tribunal empowered to interpret and apply that law among the nations associated. Its unique mission would be to settle and complete the law of nations, to adjust their differences with-

out war, and direct their intercourse in ways best fitted to promote the highest welfare of the whole.

A scheme so grandly beneficent, and so far above the range of ordinary thinking, we cannot expect to see fully realized in our day; but we may hope to witness ere long results of vast importance from efforts to carry into effect a portion of the measures it includes. The Peace Society, in a late petition, has urged our own government to take steps for calling a Convention or Congress of the leading Christian nations, first for securing an authoritative Law of Nations, next for providing an International Tribunal of Arbitration, composed of distinguished men from different countries; and finally to devise some plan for a mutual Cessation of Armaments.

INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT.

Scarcely any subject now before the public, can be more important or more immediately urgent than this. Disarmament, either entire, or partial and proportionate, is the great question pressing at this hour upon the whole civilized world, and must ere long be met by every one of its governments as a question vital to them all. They cannot continue indefinitely their insane suicidal rivalry in preparations for war. Some of them it is already swamping in debts, and must in time plunge them all in irretrievable bankruptcy and ruin.

We are glad to see leading minds in Europe grappling in earnest this great question, and even some of its rulers looking its absurdities and perils full in the face. In view of these, Louis Napoleon in 1863 invited its governments to a general Congress, and from all except England, received a cordial response in its favor. "What," said he, "more legitimate and sensible than to invite the powers of Europe to a Congress in which self-interest and resistance would disappear before a supreme arbitration? What more conformable to the ideas of the epoch, to the will of the greater number, than to speak to the consciences and reason of the statesmen of every country, and say to them, 'Have not the prejudices and rancors which divide us, lasted long enough? Shall the jealous rivalries of the great powers unceasingly impede the progress of civilization? Are we still to maintain mutual distrust by exaggerated armaments? Must our most precious resources be indefinitely exhausted in a vain display of our resources? Must we eternally maintain a condition of things which is neither peace with its security, nor war with its happy chances?'"

The ruinous absurdity of this rivalry in armaments is well put by Hon. Amasa Walker: "What new and terrible instruments are being invented! What was the artillery at Waterloo, or the siege guns at the Malakoff, compared with those at Gettysburg and Vicksburg? These improvements all show that the expense of military preparations is to be vastly greater in the future than in the past. The splendid ships with which Nelson fought at Trafalgar, cost only one hundred thousand pounds sterling, while a single

British iron-clad now costs a million. So of all the other paraphernalia of war; the expense is increased a thousand per cent. The rapid march, too, of invention is rendering useless a great part of all our armaments; and while all nations are striving to build more and heavier ships and fortifications, none of these nations are safer than they would have been if they had severally made no preparation at all. Should every one the next ten years increase its armaments twenty-five per cent., would any of them be more secure than before? Would not each be relatively as poorly prepared for war as before this addition? Should nations go on in this way, and add in every decade an equal amount of guns, ships, and war material, would they not be just as much exposed to injury or assault as ever? If so, is not the whole system of mutual armaments a palpable absurdity? The case is clear. If one nation arms, another must. If England builds five iron-clads, France must build five to match, while both, so far as offence or defence is concerned, will be just where they were before they built any."

EMILE DE GIRARDIN ON DISARMAMENT.

This distinguished writer, perhaps at the head of European journalists, has lately published the following views on this subject:—

What is war? 'It is a necessary evil.' Necessary to whom and for what? We defy any one to say; we defy any one to find any reason to prove the necessity of this evil, except mere vague phrases and common-places; we defy them to produce an argument that shall be specious, or even plausible in a small degree. An attempt will be made to distinguish between offensive war, which it is the custom to condemn, and defensive war, which it is the custom to vindicate. This distinction is not well founded; for, alone and by itself, defensive war does not exist; it would be an effect without a cause. Without offensive war, there could be no defensive war. To annihilate the first, then, would be to annihilate the second.

War can be described only as a state of barbarism, where, martial force being predominant, the first necessity is for each to become and to assume to be the strongest, territorially and numerically. War no longer harmonizes with our state of civilization, where force more and more tends to dematerialize and transform itself, and where that which is true of individuals enfranchising and enriching themselves by labor, tends also to become true of nations.

Formerly, a nation could succeed in aggrandizing itself only by lowering and subjugating another. This form of aggrandizement by spoliation called itself conquest. Now, a nation grows in power and numbers by lessening the causes of human mortality, augmenting the average duration of life, extracting from her soil all the elements of riches it contains, exercising all the faculties and aptitudes with which she has been endowed, adopting all the most approved methods of communication applicable to man, to ideas, and to things; in short, by multiplying exchanges through her outlets. This mode of aggrandizement by production is called civilization.

The proof that a nation's power is not exclusively in proportion to the extent of its territory, or even to the amount of its population, is, that France (Algeria not included) occupies an area of only 26,739 square leagues, and numbers only 37,886,000 inhabitants, while Russia occupies an area of 260,340 square leagues, and numbers 76,721,000 inhabitants. England, together with Scotland and Ireland, has only 29,070,000 inhabitants and only 15,371 square leagues. But would it be better to be Russian than French, or French than English? The territorial policy, that which subordinated man to the soil, has had its day; its death-knell has already struck. The time is now come for another policy, which more and more tends to subordinate the

soil to man. The territorial policy is still feudal policy, with this difference, that the latter has considerably changed its proportions. It is true that each hill no longer holds on its crest a dungeon pierced with loop-holes, armed with fortifications, crowned with battlements; each baron has no longer the power of life and death, and of taxation. But Europe, though furrowed with railways, is yet broken up into large and small states, their frontiers all bristling with strongholds, on which drawbridges lift up and down as in the Middle Ages; each of these states having its custom-house barriers, having its duties differing from the other, which are so many obstacles to reciprocity of exchange; having moneys which do not correspond, having weights and measures which contradict one another, having, moreover, a legislation, civil, criminal, and penal, so different as to make one doubt the existence of justice; for, if justice is not uniform, what is justice?

Feudal serfdom, serfdom of the soil, which was formerly the rule, is now the exception; but national serfdom, military serfdom, is still the rule. If the death-knell of the territorial policy has struck, if it is now nothing else than a flagrant anachronism, if war has no longer a reason for its existence, if, in accord with all the great thinkers, all the European sovereigns are unanimous in condemning it, what is it that deters them from proceeding to a European disarmament? Are these sovereigns so numerous that they cannot come to an understanding with each other, especially now that there is no opposing interest to divide them, now that the interest of all and each in the unity of Europe is absolutely the same without distinction between large and small states, between such as are insular, peninsular, or exclusively continental? How many of them are there that have preponderant and decisive influence? Six at the most—three emperors, two kings, and one queen; the emperor of Austria, the emperor of the French, the emperor of Russia, the king of Italy, the king of Prussia, and the queen of Great Britain. Have they reflected on the subject? To charge us with utopianism is to charge themselves with madness.

If it is impossible to bring to an understanding six sovereigns, representing the same interests, and holding in favor of peace the same language, what is the use to nations of having monarchs, and what is the use to monarchs of having ambassadors? It is enough to propound the question. To dwell upon it would be at least superfluous. We can understand, but without adopting, the objection that consists in representing as imprudent all isolated disarmament that is accomplished without a previous understanding; but we search in vain for one solitary objection against simultaneous disarmament. The disarmament must be European.

Let us suppose, in the absence of any argument to the contrary, that the principle is admitted, what would be the mode of carrying it into effect? That is what we must now proceed to examine.

Here is one mode: Let it be agreed that the simultaneous disarmament should take place on the following basis:—1. As regards the land forces, the effective of each of the six armies shall be proportioned to the European population of each of the six great powers. 2. This effective, from the given time, shall not exceed the hundredth part of the male population. 3. As regards naval forces, the number of guns shall be proportioned to the number of tons possessed by each nation. 4. The number of guns, from the time fixed, shall be one gun for so many hundred tons, without ever exceeding the number, which is equivalent to saying that the military marine of each state shall be in proportion to its mercantile marine.

Here is a second plan, more simple and not less efficacious than the first: Let it be agreed that, from the time fixed, military and maritime serfdom shall be forever abolished in Europe; that there shall be no more compulsory

military or maritime service, under any name or form whatever ; that there shall be no other mode of recruiting than voluntary enrolment ; that the army shall recruit itself as other professions are recruited, that is freely, without conscription by lot, whether with or without the power of pecuniary exoneration ; that the military marine shall be an open career, like the mercantile marine, which has no need, in order to sustain itself, to have recourse either to a maritime conscription, or to a press of sailors.

Here is a third method, the latter being still transitional : Let there be a common agreement between the six powers to assimilate the risk of war to the risk of fire, and to organize at a proportional cost, under the name of a federal army, or any other name, a special army, having for its object to extinguish war at whatever point it should break out.

Here is a fourth method, still more radical : By common consent between the six great powers, let Europe be neutralized, that is to say, let it be acknowledged that all the states composing it have all the same right to exist without distinction of relative force or weakness, by the simple fact that they do exist. Consequently, to decide that the most sure, simple, and economical means to protect them from all attempts and risk of aggression, the one from the other, is that each one shall have no longer any other public force than a powerful land and sea police. There can be no fire without combustibles. There can be no war without an army. Of what use are armies ? They serve to create the risk of war, and to perpetuate it. Without them it could not exist.

Between these four methods, there is not even an embarrassment of choice. The last is evidently the most logical and the best. Why, then, cannot the six great powers, who hold in their hands the peace of Europe, do a thing that is so reasonable ? Why should they not adopt it ? Where would be, and whence would arise, the difficulty ? What power would lose by it ? Not one. But we are mistaken ; there *is* one which would be a loser. Which ? The power of routine.

In truth, the more we study the question of European armaments, the simpler we find it. It is quite different from questions of the European balance of power and revived nationalities. The more these questions are studied the more complicated they are found. European disarmament would have this advantage, that it would not only simplify these foreign questions, the question between state and state, but it would also simplify home questions, those between the people and the governments.

The great saving that would result from European disarmament would, in the first place, admit the abolition of all taxes on articles of consumption, consequently of all customs and tolls. Now, if governments had no longer need to require of the people levies, either of men or of taxes, beyond a premium of assurance, general and special, proportional to the value and the risk of the objects declared, what people would think of overturning their government ? What would they gain by it ? Taxation is the standard by which every people judge their government. No more conscription of men, no more taxes on consumption, there would be no more popular discontent, and revolution would be no longer possible. If, then, there is one idea that is essentially monarchic, essentially anti-revolutionary, it is that of European disarmament. If nations are largely interested in it, governments are not less so. Why not close the era of war and of revolution, which are more nearly related than is generally believed ? Why not open an era of peace and of civilization ?

War is murder, war is theft. It is murder and theft taught and commanded to the people by their governments. It is murder and theft glorified, emblazoned, dignified, crowned. It is murder and theft, without the

punishment and the shame, but with impunity and glory. It is murder and theft withdrawn from the scaffold for the triumphal arch. It is a mere legal anomaly; for it is society ordaining what it forbids, and forbidding what it ordains; rewarding what it punishes, and punishing what it rewards; glorifying what it stigmatizes, and stigmatizing what it glorifies, the fact being the same, the name only being different.

Has it ever been seriously considered what Europe would be in this nineteenth century, with its railroads, steam navigation, electric telegraphs, if there were restored to it by a peace insured against the risk of war, by permanent peace, that of which it is deprived by an armed peace, an intermittent peace? Has it ever been seriously considered what would be the actual state of society, if the power of destruction were altogether changed into the power of production, if it were to expend in teaching men the right use of the reason that is in them, all the money and time now expended in teaching them the use of the musket which they are obliged to bear? Has it ever been seriously considered what progress would be made, what problems would be resolved by science, applied first to *viriculture*, the culture of men, and, secondly, to civilization, the culture of humanity, if, instead of erecting triumphal arches to war, men would erect triumphal arches to peace; if henceforth there were accorded exclusively to beneficent victories, obtained by men over natural evils, the glory and rewards, the dignities and the emoluments, the titles and the honors too long lavished on sanguinary victories obtained by man over man? Has it ever been seriously considered to what height of well-being and morality the peoples might attain by labor and savings, if all wages were exempt from taxation, and if it were sufficient that the taxes to provide for the expenses were borne by hereditary wealth, if taxes were only a spur to stimulate or punish idleness? Has it ever been seriously considered whether it would not be easier to prevent than to relieve misery, to suppress theft and murder, rather than to suppress thieves and murderers? Has it ever been seriously considered if, for the government of man, there is no more powerful bridle than intimidation by punishment? Has it ever been seriously considered whether man, tamed by grief and terror, as one tames a horse or an ox, does not become embruted, while at the same time he embrutes the instrument of his subjection, and whether the tamer or the tamed deserves the name of a man, of a thinking being? In short, has it ever been seriously considered if, the arts having made such great progress, the art of living in society should be the only one that makes none, if the human race has alone done all it can do for human happiness? Let governments reflect, and they will recognize that the gordian knot of policy is in taxation, and the gordian knot of taxation is in disarmament.

Ye great States, set thus an example to the smaller ones; disarm; be logical! Logic carries with it its own sanction. It is like statistics. It cannot be violated with impunity. The policy that does not proceed in accordance with logic is impotent. It leads to the overthrow of dynasties, and it does not lead to the enfranchisement of peoples; for it only abolishes monarchy to establish a dictatorship. It travels towards revolutions; but it does not lead to the solution of difficulties. Either we must not encourage and assist railways, which put constantly in daily communication Englishmen, Germans, Belgians, Spaniards, French, Russians, and Swiss, which annihilate distances, and extinguish animosities, which bind to one another all the capitals of Europe as so many members of one body; or we must renounce the inconsequence of rifled guns, iron-clad ships, frontiers and coasts defended by new fortifications which will serve only to sacrifice the lives of a large number of those besieging them. To draw back on the way of progress is more dangerous than not to enter it at all. Either we must persist.

faithfully in the old policy, the policy of rivalry, or we must resolutely advance in the new policy, the policy of reciprocity. To try to plant one foot on the one and one on the other, is only a certain way to fall and be crushed between the two. We must proceed from barbarism to civilization, as we proceed from infancy to manhood, and not go back from civilization to barbarism any more than we can go back from manhood to infancy. In the same way that the great fiefs have disappeared from the midst of each state, where they only perpetuated dissensions and war, where they multiplied scarcity and famine, as a necessary consequence of the same law of gradual unity, partial confederations are required to disappear from the midst of Europe. The idea of an Italian confederation, and again the idea of two confederations of Germany, North and South, the one turning on Prussia as its pivot, and the other on Bavaria, has already been recognized as a false, a complicated idea, for these two confederations will not be long in disappearing under their demonstrated impotence to do anything usefully. The true idea, the simple idea, is that of an European confederation. All partial confederations imply war; all integral confederations, that is, all confederations taking in a whole continent, imply peace; for, between one continent and another, war is not probable, we may say, is not possible.

At the same time that a European confederation would thus drive territorial feudalism from its last entrenchment, it would put an end to maritime feudalism by the disarmament and neutralization of all straits. No more closed seas, no more seas barred by one nation against another! All seas open, all seas neutral, all seas free!

The great sovereign, or the great minister, who shall first understand, and shall bring Europe to understand, how much of power and grandeur there is in European disarmament, how much true glory in the idea that no soldier shall henceforth shed one drop of human blood, will acquire, by such an initiative, a moral predominance as much above the territorial domination successfully dreamt of by Hannibal, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Charles V., Napoleon the First, as the justice of this nineteenth century is above the trial by the ordeal of the eleventh. Let no temporary miscarriage be an objection. Great undertakings require more than one effort. Has Italy reached her unification at one stroke? Did Prussia attain at one bound to where she is, and where she cannot stop even if she wished?

WASTE OF WAR. — *Havoc of Life.* — M. Sarrab, writing lately in the *Economiste Belge*, says that from 1791 to 1814 France, besides the 250,000 men then in her army, raised and consumed 4,556,000, of which Napoleon's conscriptions amounted to 2,476,000; in all, 4,806,000. If we add the 300,000 loyalists sacrificed in civil war, the sum total must exceed 5,000,000. In the last ten years Napoleon was very sparing of French soldiers, and used in his wars largely Italian, Belgian, Dutch and other contingents. If we suppose an equal number lost on the other side, the entire loss of Europe during her twenty-three years of war must have been 2,000 a day; in all, more than 16,000,000! Such is the waste of life from war.

LOSS OF TREASURE. — The same writer gives in detail the war-loans of England during twenty-three years, at a discount varying from 24.37 to 52.75 per cent., an average of nearly 40 per cent., until her war-debt reached in 1815 £804,612,000, or \$4,000,000,000. What the rest of Europe spent and lost in the same period, it would be impossible to calculate; but the result in 1840 was an accumulation of nearly \$10,000,000,000 debts. What a wholesale impoverisher is war!


AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

SOURCES OF INCOME.—Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up an annual collection for the cause.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE—Devoted to the Peace Question in its manifold bearings, and containing discussions of principles, and measures connected with the peace movement, statistics, anecdotes and illustrations from history, biographical sketches of distinguished friends, reviews of books on the subject, and general facts respecting the progress of the cause through the world.  Monthly, or a double number once in two months, making a volume in two years, for \$1.00, or ten cents a number. To auxiliary societies, or clubs of not less than ten, 30 per cent. discount.

GRATUITOUS CIRCULATION OF THE ADVOCATE.

FUNDS have been raised for sending it gratuitously for a time, — 1. To a large number of our 4,000 or 5,000 periodicals, in the hope that they will help spread the information it contains; — 2. To a select number of our 40,000 preachers of the gospel, to all, indeed, who take up a collection for the Society; — 3. To prominent laymen, and to the Library or Reading Room of our higher Seminaries, to be preserved for permanent use.

☞ We presume that those to whom it is sent, will willingly pay the postage; but, if not, they can return it. We trust that not a few will become subscribers, contributors, or co-workers in other ways. Such information as it contains we would fain put in every family.

PUBLICATIONS ON PEACE.

In the cause of peace, more perhaps than in any other enterprise of benevolence or reform, the press has been employed as the chief instrument in bringing the subject before the public in its various bearings. Besides its periodical, the *Advocate of Peace*, and more than eighty stereotyped tracts, it has published the following volumes:

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706 (very few),.....	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196 (few),.....	1 00
Boles' Essay on a Congress of Nations,	40
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,.....	1 50
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252	40
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212 (few),	40
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108,.....	30
The Right Way, pp. 303. Issued by Am. Tract Society, N. Y.,.....	40
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,....	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, D. D. 12mo., 310, ...	50
Jonathan Dymond on War, 8vo., pp. 168,.....	40

ADDRESSES BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

1. By Walter Channing, M. D., delivered in 1844.
2. By Hon. William Jay, delivered in 1845 and 1855.
3. By Hon. Charles Sumner, on the War-System, delivered in 1849.
4. By Rufus W. Clarke, D. D., delivered in 1851.
5. By F. W. Huntington, D. D., delivered in 1852.
6. By William H. Allen, M. D., LL. D., delivered in 1854.
7. By Rufus P. Stebbins, D. D., delivered in 1857.
8. By Hon. Gerrit Smith, delivered in 1858.
9. By G. B. Cheever, D. D., Eulogy on Judge Jay, delivered in 1859.
10. By Samuel J. May, D. D., delivered in 1860.
11. By Howard Malcom, D. D., LL. D., delivered in 1862.
12. By Hon. Amasa Walker, delivered in 1863.

Of the above, we have only a few of 1, 2, (except that in 1855,) 4, and 9; of 3 we have many, a large second edition, 80 pp.; and quite a number of the others.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS.

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FORM OF BEQUEST. — I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer at the time being shall be a sufficient discharge.

☞ Be sure you give the Society its exact name, and have the will drawn in the way, and attested by the full number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or the will may be broken.

LESSONS FROM OUR LATE REBELLION.

AN

ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

MAY 19, 1867,

BY

ANDREW P. PEABODY, D. D., LL. D.,

PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN MORALS IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

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AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS. — In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

SOURCES OF INCOME. — Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up an annual collection for the cause.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE — Devoted to the Peace Question in its manifold bearings, and containing discussions of principles, and measures connected with the peace movement, statistics, anecdotes and illustrations from history, biographical sketches of distinguished friends, reviews of books on the subject, and general facts respecting the progress of the cause through the world.  Monthly, or a double number once in two months, making a volume in two years, for \$1.00, or ten cents a number. To auxiliary societies, or clubs of not less than ten, 30 per cent. discount.

ADDRESS.

I HAVE no doubt that, in the minds of many who will not hear me, and of some whom curiosity may have drawn hither this evening, I occupy a very ridiculous position. Here is a society half a century old, which has issued innumerable publications, has sought to exert a world-wide influence, has been flattered by the professed sympathy of statesmen and publicists all over Christendom, nay, by the accepted honorary membership of the Emperor of Russia; and yet during this period have occurred the greatest and most destructive wars of modern history, and in the very home and birth-land of the Society we have just passed through the fiercest and most sanguinary civil conflict that has yet found record in the annals of the human race. What can be more absurd than to hold anniversary meetings of a society under whose eye the evil which it sought to remove has only assumed more gigantic and portentous magnitude, — to galvanize into an annual semblance of life a corpse which men delay to bury out of their sight only because it is too dry to become offensive?

I would answer by claiming for our Society an important part in the effective service of humanity. Twice within the memory of many who hear me, the scourge of war has been averted from our country when it seemed inevitable, — once during the sharp controversy with France about indemnity for the spoiliations of our commerce after the beginning of the present century; and again in the dispute with Great Britain about our North-Eastern boundary. On both these occasions

political parties vied with each other in belligerent patriotism; even grave statesmen took leave of their discretion in fierce and sanguinary utterances, which some of them afterward recalled and recanted with shame; and the popular clamor demanded hostile measures without delay. At both these crises our Society was in full activity; its officers and agents had the ear of not a few men of controlling influence; its press was unremittingly active, and no less timely, in its issues; and though only one eye in the universe can trace unerringly effects to their causes, yet it seemed to those who most carefully observed the course of events, that the American Peace Society was second to none among the agencies which held in the threatened eruption of the war-fever till its cause could be removed.

The influence of our Society has, also, been felt in European affairs. Our publications have done much toward the establishment, throughout Christendom, of arbitration as the preferred alternative to an appeal to arms; and there have been several instances in which international controversies that half a century ago would have been, as a matter of course, submitted to the decision of the battle-field, have been settled through the ministry of disinterested umpires. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that in time to come all international quarrels growing out of an honest difference in the construction of rights or treaties, in the determination of boundaries, and in matters of pecuniary obligation, will be settled by arbitration or by amicable negotiation; while we cannot but fear that the time is far distant — though we may help to bring it nearer — when ambition, the lust of power and territory, the vices of rulers, and the defiant guilt of nations will cease to offer their hecatombs of human victims.

As to our own recent civil war, on the part of the North it had none of the moral characteristics of a war. It was rather a vast police-movement for the suppression and punishment of multitudinous crime, justified by the same law of self-preservation which would arm the ministers of the State

against a body of brigands. It was a sad necessity. It was the inevitable result of antecedent public crimes and wrongs. It was a verification of the immutable law of God, that those who sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind. But it was a war in its forms, and in all its horrors and sufferings; it must bear that name in history; and it is true to its name in its train of disastrous consequences for the vanquished, and of chronic burdens, straitnesses, embarrassments, and griefs for the victors.

As more appropriate than anything else I can offer you, I ask your consideration of some of the lessons to be drawn from this great rebellion.

1. Our late war illustrates that significant text of St. James: — "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts?" I believe that a war may be inevitable; and when it is so, those who are forced into it are blameless, — those who give themselves to it in the disinterested defence of the right deserve the fullest meed of glory which a grateful nation can award them. But in its remoter causes war can never be innocent. Conversely, public wrong and guilt always tend to a violent and sanguinary issue; and war will last until its causes cease, — till justice is enthroned in the hearts of nations, in the great heart of humanity, — till He reigns whose right it is to reign, and "the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven" shall be his. It is the essence of all sin to issue in proportionate physical evil. God's law, if not honored in its observance, is vindicated in its violation. If men will not write it on their hearts and incarnate it in their lives, it writes itself in their woe and agony, their tears and blood. No foul fiend that takes prolonged possession of a man or a nation can be expelled without rending and lacerating its tenement. Slavery was the demon that possessed our land, and it had brought in with itself other spirits, worse, if worse could be. There was a time when it was not too firmly lodged to have yielded place to the peaceful efforts

of philanthropy. But by a series of guilty compromises we made it the very soul of our body politic; our national life became identified with its life; our growth all went to its nourishment; our extension widened its domain: our free soil became its hunting-ground; our self-respecting citizens were compelled, under heavy penalties, to serve as its satellites and its jailors. The very Word of God was desecrated for its vile uses; and the Redeemer's holy name and the organism of his Church profaned for its defence. The only alternative was its perpetuity, or its forcible destruction; the madness of treason was overruled for its extirpation by Him who works his pleasure through the wrath of man; and the emancipating armies were God's sword for its excision.

We have no fear of the resurrection of slavery. Christian civilization is too far advanced for its revival. But there are other national sins — besetting sins of ours — which directly tend to a like issue, either in international or in civil war. Overweening national pride, the greed of power, the furor of territorial aggrandizement, the ambition of great and unprincipled men in high places, the prompt and angry resentment of imagined, or unauthorized, or unintended wrongs, the porcupine self-consciousness by which a people invites and provokes injury from without, the lack of good faith in our relations with foreign governments, — these, and similar causes, so long as they exist, place us in imminent danger of being embroiled with other nations; while in sectional animosity, in partial legislation, in the failure of a conciliatory policy at the present crisis, or in the revival hereafter of the buried, but unquenched embers of our late internecine strife, lie the seeds of future civil conflicts, which may again lay waste our harvest-fields, send desolation through our homes, and fill the land with Rachels mourning for their children.

Our prime duty, then, as the friends of peace, is not so much to proclaim the unlawfulness of war, as to preclude its causes. We must awake to our duty as citizens, and no longer leave the affairs of our republic to irresponsible wire-

pullers. We must look to it that our places of high official trust and influence be filled by intelligent, honest, conscientious, God-fearing men, — by such men as we would be willing to intrust with our own property and reputation. Our political elections, prepared for and conducted as they now are, threaten greater peril to our peace than could ensue from any conceivable amount of false theorizing as to the abstract rightfulness and the potential beneficent agency of war. There are certain men who make political capital from every angry breath that sweeps over the nation, — who fan, for their own selfish ends, every transient flame that is kindled by the rudeness of a minister or the discourtesy of a naval commander, by an aggression on our Canadian frontier, or an usurpation or malefeasance in Mexico. They know that in the seething caldron of public disturbance its lowermost contents may be thrown to the surface, and that in this reversion of the natural and rightful order is their only chance of eminence. Or their cupidity scents plunder in the fray, and they are willing to scuttle the vessel if they can only levy ample salvage on the cargo.

There is a yet more dangerous class of public men, — dangerous from their very honesty, sincerity, and earnestness, — those who deem abuse and denunciation the best weapons for the defence of the right, who know no form of advocacy but perpetual invective, who think to put down their opponents by teasing and irritating them beyond endurance, who, in fine, employ Satan to cast out Satan. Such men foment strife and discord, widen breaches which a meeker wisdom might close, and lead to the replacing of words which are as drawn swords by the weapons of physical warfare. To influences of this class may be ascribed the precipitation of our last war with Great Britain, which, if delayed for a few days, would have been superseded by the withdrawal of the chief pretext for declaring it. The Mexican war, on the other hand, was due almost wholly to the selfishness and cupidity of the more vulgar grade of office-holders and demagogues, carrion-birds that live by slaughter.

I speak of the official elevation of bad or unfit men under the head of national guilt, because they either represent the nation's true character, or else they obtain place and preferment by the nation's supine indifference to fundamental duty, than which there can hardly be greater guilt; for the man or the people that refuses to fulfil a trust divinely delegated, becomes criminally responsible for whatever wrong or evil may grow out of its abuse. The first great lesson, then, from the things which we have suffered is that we discharge with God-fearing fidelity our functions as citizens, that we make the bestowal of our suffrage a matter of conscience, that we lend our aid to the elevation of such men only as will prolong for our country a merited and equitable peace.

2. Another lesson of our late war is the uselessness of standing armies. We had almost no army at the outbreak of the rebellion, — nay, we might better have had none at all; for the officers of the army did immeasurably more service to the cause of treason than to that of the Union, while its soldiers bore an infinitesimally small proportion to those subsequently enlisted and drafted. Never was a country so entirely unprepared for war. Long peace and conscious security at the North had led to the general abandonment even of the formality of enrolment and training, and the scanty volunteer forces had been organized without the remotest reference to active service, — often approaching more nearly the character of convivial clubs than that of military companies. A large portion of the arms and ammunition belonging to the country had, likewise, been antecedently stolen by the traitors.

In this condition of things we were overtaken by the assault on Fort Sumter, and, before we could rally from the shock, by the march of what then seemed an immense rebel army northward. Yet need gave vigor. The cause created its champions. It was soon found that not only could the bone and muscle, the life and soul of the country be converted instantly into efficient force, but that arms could be supplied

as fast as men; so that we had well-equipped troops in the field almost as soon as if the scattered corps of a great army had been concentrated for that purpose from distant garrisons. They went to meet enemies who were born fighters,—inured from infancy to the use of arms,—who had been specially trained and furnished for this conflict by many months of the most diligent covert preparation. In the first great encounter, our troops were almost victorious, the tide of battle setting strongly in their favor for several hours, and turned against them by one of those unaccountable panics which sometimes sweep like a death-dealing blast over a people, a city, or an army. The subsequent warfare was, undoubtedly, the most difficult series of campaigns in all military history, when we consider the unprecedentedly large command often confided to a single general, the not infrequent conflict of authorities, the immense frontier to be kept in occupation, and the almost impassable barriers of marsh and mire and jungle which constantly impeded movement near the chief military centres. Yet our raw troops endured every form of hardship and suffering with less proportional loss than was ever known in an army before; nor has even a small body of men in actual service ever been kept more fully supplied with arms, ammunition, and the necessaries and comforts of life than were our hundreds of thousands from the beginning to the end of the conflict. This is the first lesson of the kind that the world has had; and it can hardly fail to attract due attention in other countries, while it must necessarily lead to the gradual diminution of our remaining troops, till they shall be reduced to the standard of a mere police-force.

One who has not been in Europe can hardly estimate the vampyre-drain made on the vitals of a nation by a standing army. Every soldier subtracts the labor of two men from what should be the available industrial force of the nation, by his transfer from the ranks of producers to those of non-productive consumers. He creates no value; he is sustained by the values which another man creates. Then, too, on the

peace-establishment, because life is idle, it is of necessity worse than idle. Gambling and licentiousness are almost inseparable from the uniform; and the mischief wrought on the general character of a community by the presence of large bodies of men with neither family ties nor adequate employment exceeds all calculation. Worst of all, in most of the countries of Continental Europe the army is kept full by a system of conscription, or by the regular service, at a suitable age, of all able-bodied young men who cannot or will not furnish substitutes. Consequently, every such young man has a reprieve from regular industry and a sequestration from all salutary domestic influences, at the very age when the character is in the process of formation; while many are taken from young families which require their guardianship, and which are left by the withdrawal of it, not only to want, but to the most adverse moral exposure. Nor do the habits and proclivities of post and garrison life cease when the term of service expires. They cling visibly to the mass of the common people in every country of Europe, and are witnessed in indolence and shiftlessness, in the distaste for continuous labor, in an incapacity for that close application without which there is no industrial progress, and in the imposing upon women of all the heavy burdens and onerous tasks.

I must be permitted to dwell for a moment on this last-named feature of European life, so abhorrent from our notions of fitness. The traveller in Europe is made to feel most painfully the toil and misery entailed upon the feebler sex by the imagined necessities of the State. In some quarters, from twelve to twenty women may often be seen performing the severest field-work, under the supervision of a single male overseer; in others, women bear on their heads or backs the entire harvest of the land from the field to the barn, and are so bent by the habitual carriage of heavy weights that they never assume an erect posture, and seem as if they were suffering under that imprecation of the Psalmist, "Bow down their backs always;" in others, they are yoked with cattle to

the plough, or with dogs to the market-cart. Without their exhausting labor, while the strongest men are in garrison and camp, the fields would remain untilled, or their products un-gathered, so that for these women life is worn wearily away in the mere struggle to sustain it. Where this is the condition of society, the common arts of life — those that lighten and cheapen labor, those that adorn and gladden home, those that add comfort and refinement to the ordinary lot of toil and care, those that multiply the forms of utility and beauty which are the legitimate growth of Christian civilization — remain undeveloped ; and life is as hard, rude, and mean, as it was five centuries ago.

Yet more, standing armies are among the foremost causes of war. A friend of mine, who many years ago settled as a lawyer in a region of our western country where private warfare was of every-day occurrence, related to me a most instructive chapter of his own experience. Himself eminently a man of peace, he was told, when preparing for his first attendance at the county court, that he could not safely go unarmed. He accordingly furnished himself with a bowie-knife and a brace of pistols, and took good care that they should not remain wholly hidden beneath his raiment. He found himself perpetually on the brink of a quarrel. Every man with whom he was brought into contact tried to provoke him to fight. Only by the most resolute self-control, and by shutting eyes and ears to repeated insults evidently aimed at him, was he enabled to stay through the term without some passage of arms. At the close of the term, he locked up his pistols and bowie-knife in his trunk, ever after attended court unarmed, and never saw the slightest necessity for the use of offensive weapons. He was not prepared to fight, he kept the peace, and no one cared to disturb his peace.

A standing army is to a government what the knife and pistols were to my friend. A government with a large army is in a fighting attitude, — invites provocation from other simi-

larly prepared powers,—is expected to resent insult even when unintended, to avenge whatever may be construed as wrong, and often to lend itself as a party to quarrels in which it has no direct interest. Its national honor is deemed to be put at hazard, unless it assumes a defiant attitude with every serious misunderstanding between itself and another State. Then, too, as the man who has arms covets the opportunity of testing them, so is a government under strong inducement to try the availableness of its army. The army itself, also, craves employment. Peace makes promotion too slow for the officers, and they demand to be led toward generalships and marshalships, even though they be brushed repeatedly on their ascending way by the wings of the death-angel. The discipline of the army, too, is relaxed by idleness, and needs, at not infrequent intervals, to be restored by actual service, so that a government is sometimes very willing to engage in a war, in order to prevent the demoralization of its troops by an over-long peace. In fine, a nation that has a standing army will not fail to use it on numerous occasions on which it would not create an army.

Standing armies are, therefore, chargeable with a very large proportion of the war-debt which weighs so heavily upon the European nations, no less than with the enormous current cost of their own support. It is these items which in some countries has swollen taxation almost beyond endurance, besides flooding the channels of trade with an inflated and depreciated currency, which dilutes all prices, depresses every branch of home-industry, and invites in the home-markets the successful competition of countries in a sounder financial condition. This state of things is the only barrier to the union and progress of Italy at the present moment. A peace-establishment insanely and ruinously large, and the debts contracted in recent wars, make the rate of taxation in the Italian kingdom so oppressive as to check the development of industrial enterprise, to discourage manufactures, and to reduce the small proprietors in general to the most meagre and squalid

minimum of subsistence, so that the hired laborers, and especially the mendicants, fare better than the poorer owners of the soil. This is the chief cause that prevents the incorporation of the States of the Church with the kingdom of Italy. About one third of the territory of these States belonging to the Papal Government and to the various ecclesiastical establishments which it sustains, taxation on the remaining portion of the territory is comparatively light, the rate being but about two sevenths of that in the Italian kingdom, so that the taxpayers of the Papal States are almost unanimously opposed to the movement by which, but for this obstacle, the whole of Italy would already have been united under the sceptre of Victor Emanuel.

The first and most essential step toward the establishment of universal peace is the reduction of standing armies to the mere police-exigencies of the respective kingdoms. Theorists may deny the lawfulness of national, as of individual self-defence; but it is not to be expected that rulers and statesmen will abjure this right. Hence the worth of the lesson derived from our recent experience. We have proved to the world that an unprepared people can meet an exigency of self-defence, — that a righteous cause can create forces at need, — that a nation compelled to defend itself can at once convert the treasured resources of peace into the sinews of war. May we not then hope that the disarmament of the nations which are impoverishing themselves to sustain their places as belligerent powers, will be regarded no longer as a chimera of Utopian dreamers, but as the dictate of enlightened self-interest? Treaties among the great powers of Europe for proportionate disarmament, we may hope, will before long be looked upon with favor; and nations, once disarmed, will be slow to give and to take insults from one another, to contract wars of ambition or aggression, or to resort to arms for the adjustment of the slightly deranged balance of power. Only a just cause and a strong cause will induce the appeal to the sword; and a vast movement will have been made by the

civilized world toward the era foretold in the sure word of prophecy, when the nations "shall learn war no more."

3. Meanwhile our people will have drawn from our late rebellion a lesson which did not remain to be taught on the other side of the Atlantic, — that of the chronic burdens which war imposes on the victorious party. Before the war we had the best government in the world, at a charge which individual tax-payers hardly recognized as an impost. Indeed, cost and worth being reciprocal terms and ideas, our general government cost us so little that we were almost unaware of its value. Genial, provident, and strong in its protection, it sustained itself by duties so apportioned that no department of industry or commerce felt the weight as onerous, and some departments craved a larger impost with a view to increased gain. Now we are, no doubt, the most heavily taxed nation on the earth. Hardly can we touch a morsel of bread that has not paid tribute half a dozen times over; hardly put on a coat on which the various assessments have not amounted to more than it would once have cost. More heavily laden are we than England was after her great Continental wars, when a taxed coffin and a taxed grave afforded her citizen his first and only refuge from the tax-gatherer. We are just beginning to feel the pressure. The stimulus of the war-demand and of a depreciating currency has thus far sustained productive industry; but it is now diminishing under a greater load of exactions on the raw material and on every successive stage of its manufacture than any branch of business can bear and live. This cause alone must essentially check the proportionate increase of skilled labor, and thus the progress of our national wealth and prosperity. We shall bear the burden, I doubt not, and ultimately rise superior to it, but not for many weary years. We should bear it with reverend submission; for the cost of this terrible war is a sin-offering for our great public wrong and crime. We may well bear it hopefully; for with our vast territory, our exhaustless natural resources, and the perpetual insetting of the current of

the world's population upon our shores, it seems hardly possible that we should not, after a brief stationary or retrograde period, make constant approach toward liquidation.

But this experience of straitnesses and burdens gives a vivid, and to many an entirely new idea of the issue of a successful war, and it may well make us shrink, in all time to come, from the beginnings and the remoter causes of international or intestine strife. It disenchants us of our old associations with Victory, showing us black Care and Penury and Hunger as her chariot-companions, and making us feel that the most righteous and glorious of wars is none the less God's scourge and man's misery.

4. Our late war teaches us, also, that the age of military glory has gone by. Civilization marks its progress in no way more surely than by the successive criterions of greatness. In the very earliest ages, mere physical force was the sole title to eminence. Thus the Hebrew Psalmist says, "A man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees," and the author of the Books of Kings ranks the great men of David's court in the order of their bodily strength. As war became an art and a science, brute force gave place in men's esteem to military skill and prowess, and especially to dexterity and power in the management of armies. Subsequently, hereditary rank, wealth, and superior mental culture successively contested with military glory the right to pre-eminence, and somewhat divided the suffrages of civilized humanity. But until of late, though other paths have led to distinction, the heroes of successful war have held the first place in the hearts of men, have been most honored in bronze and marble, in history and song, have borne the names oftenest rehearsed in panegyric, and foremost in the grateful remembrance of their fellow-citizens. Moral greatness is now on the ascendant, and this alone admits no rivalry. The hero of the battle-field, though ignoble, poor, and ignorant, can maintain a proud front before the nobly born, the opulent, and the learned; he falls at once into obscurity beside the saint,

the philanthropist, the martyr. Our age, with many less hopeful characteristics, has this which distinguishes it from all preceding times, —that it accounts its best men its greatest.

The obscuration of military fame first became a patent fact in the Crimean war. The last crop of military heroes was that ripened by the wars that succeeded the first French Revolution. Their names are emblazoned on monuments, triumphal arches, statues, all over Europe, have a proud place in history, and are household words for every child. But, if I mistake not, there is no great national monument of any kind erected in honor of any single hero of the Crimean war. There are, indeed, monuments to the fallen soldiers of individual regiments, and pillars inscribed with clusters of else unknown names. But though that war had its full proportion of valiant deeds, heroic exploits, master-strokes of strategy, no one name has been made illustrious by it, and we hardly remember who its leaders were. Florence Nightingale bore off all its laurels, and will go down to posterity as its heroine. The mercy that saved life achieved a signal triumph over the prowess that destroyed life. The angel-ministries that shed rays of love and hope upon the lurid gleam of the war-fires, — the voices of Christian consolation that soothed the dying, and made the last of earth the dawn of a happy immortality to many a departing soul, — the frail, gentle, delicately nurtured women, who in the name and spirit of their Saviour went about doing good amidst havoc, desolation, and untold agony, — the names written in heaven, — these are the only names inscribed in letters of living light in this chapter of human history.

Our late war has a similar record. It has not left a single military commander who can promise himself enduring and unclouded fame. It has broken down and ruined many aspirants for unwithering laurels. It has made us admire the single-hearted patriotism of some whose military genius was unequal to the crisis. It has developed rare abilities in others who yet lack qualities essential to exalted heroism. It

furnishes not a single leader's name, which will be associated in the country's second birth with the names of the great men who achieved her independence, and gave her a place among the nations.

Yet our war has its heroes of imperishable renown. Foremost among them is our martyred President, at heart a man of peace, abhorrent of fratricidal blood, holding forth the olive branch persistingly to those who despised and scorned his overtures, — through the whole sad drama, his generous soul yearning to welcome back to their allegiance the truant States and their recreant citizens. Then there were those hundreds of noble youth who entered the conflict with no thought of fame, with no love for the "garments rolled in blood," but with a dear love of country, with a sacred zeal for liberty, with tender pity for the enslaved, with a true martyr-spirit, — men whose humane sympathies were extended alike to friend and foe, who bore no malice, but who offered up their lives in pure and self-forgetting patriotism. These have their enduring monuments in our churches, in our places of public concourse, in our hearts, in the undying gratitude of their ransomed nation, — and never was a nation redeemed by sacrifices so costly and so precious. The complement of our heroes is filled by the untiring, self-devoting labors of the agents of our Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and above all, by those sisters of charity, whose courage, fortitude, energy, self-denial, have a fame which can only brighten with the lapse of years, and which will show its register in the Divine "book of remembrance" when God shall "make up his jewels."

Such are some of the lessons bequeathed to us by our recent history. They shed light on our labors for the cause of peace. The present is an eminently propitious time for our activity. We may convert the sad experience so fresh in all hearts into determined principle. We may make it profoundly felt that war, the prolific source of every form of evil, can have its source only in evil. We may infuse into the

general mind that love of the true and the right, which alone can be the basis of an enduring peace, and may demonstrate that the only enduring peace is a peace of righteousness.

The cause is of God, and must prevail. But it is his will that it shall prevail through human agency. No angel from his presence, but man with his own hand, is to beat the swords into ploughshares, the spears into pruning-hooks. We are associated for the hastening of that day. Be it ours, by our collective counsel and effort, and, still more, by our individual example and influence, by our action as citizens, by public appeal, in social intercourse, in the training of our households, in fervent prayer to the God of peace, to bear our part in re-writing prophecy in history, and making the whole earth as the holy mountain in which none shall hurt or destroy.

REPRESENTATIVE REFORM was another subject which lay near to Cobden's heart; but this too he valued not only for itself, but for its connection with internationalism. Nationalistic egotism is a malady proper to despotic and oligarchic institutions. The moral code which makes selfishness and jealousy, if not dislike, of foreigners a part of the whole duty of nations, is peculiar to the class which in most states monopolizes political power; the great majority of citizens are guiltless of its existence. John Bullism is not a democratic vice. The British Lion has a roar which is terrible chiefly among the upper classes, and aggravates his voice when he mixes in society less refined. The wars of civilization have been for the most part wars not of nations, but of governments; for war is not only a game which kings would not play at if their subjects were wise, but a game at which they would very seldom play if their subjects were free.

Into the causes of this phenomenon it is not necessary to inquire. It is probably due partly to the fact that large standing armies are a necessity of life to despotic institutions, and that large standing armies are employed, partly to the natural and jealous exclusivism of governing classes, and partly to the affinity and sympathy of all liberal ideas. What is certain is, that for the complete realization of internationalism in its ultimate result, political association, it is requisite that nations in general should possess a very large measure of real political liberty; and that, according to the degree in which they possess it, they will be capable of appreciating the advantages of such association, and of comprehending and avoiding the evils incidental to its absence. Complete political liberty once established in the world, some form of international federation would be the natural result. Nationalism, the offspring of class interests and monopolized power, would gradually disappear; armaments, maintained for the repression of freedom, would no longer afford incessant provocation and occasion for war, and men would begin to ask themselves, in wonder, on what possible ground of reason or self-interest they had been for centuries the enemies and rivals of their fellow-men. — *Lord Hobart.*

ANNUAL REPORT.

THE cause of Peace has lost during the past year some of its best friends. In Boston alone it mourns three of its most distinguished supporters — Hon. STEPHEN FAIRBANKS, REUBEN D. MUZZY, M. D. LL. D., and WILLIAM JENKS, D. D., all names greatly endeared to the Christian community. Mr. Fairbanks, as a member of the Massachusetts Senate in 1840, prepared, as chairman of a joint committee on the subject, an elaborate report, subsequently adopted by the Legislature, on a Congress of Nations. Dr. Muzzy, so widely known not only as a man of science, but as an able and ardent champion of all the beneficent reforms of the age, was a fast friend of our cause from its origin, and contributed uniformly and liberally to its promotion. Dr. Jenks, from the time of his connection with Bowdoin College as a Professor, entered, along with such men in Maine as President Appleton and Dr. Payson, into a hearty, life-long support of this enterprise as imperatively demanded by the genius of our religion, and the wants of the world. These venerable men, the two last at the age of nearly ninety, have left on this subject, as well as on many others, an example worthy of all imitation. We might mention other names less distinguished, but perhaps not less worthy, Rev. L. C. ROUSE, Grinnell, Iowa, one of our Directors, for a time one of our Lecturers at the West, and always an earnest co-worker; Rev. CHARLES MACREADING, late of Illinois, long a zealous advocate of our cause, and a while in our service as agent; STURGESS PENFIELD, Pittsford, Vt., a stanch and steadfast friend, and Dea. BAXTER ELLIS, of West Brookfield, Mass., an habitual contributor to its funds during his life, and at his decease leaving a legacy for its permanent support.

NEED OF THE CAUSE. — The international events of the past year show how urgently our cause is still needed. These events are too fresh in the public memory to call for recapitulation. The gigantic war in the heart of Europe between nearly a hundred millions of men professing the same religion of peace; the insurrections or attempts at revolution in Ireland, Spain and Crete; the chronic, internecine embroilments and commotions in Mexico and Central America; the wars in South America between Chili and Spain, between Brazil and Paraguay, all in a single year, must convince every thoughtful mind that there has seldom been a louder call than now for efforts to abate the huge and world-wide evil which we are endeavoring to do away. The necessity for this great Christian reform would seem too patent and glaring to be denied or overlooked by anybody.

ENCOURAGING INDICATIONS. — Amid all these mournful and humiliating facts we still find some encouraging signs of progress in our cause. One is the strong, settled *aversion of the people to war*. They dread it more and more, oppose it in its rise as far as they can, and are dragged into it mainly

by fraud or force. All this was eminently true of the recent war between Prussia, Austria and Italy. This popular aversion to war, especially where the press is free, and its issues widely diffused, not only prevents, in far more cases than is suspected, actual appeals to the sword, but is gradually undermining the war-system itself, and compelling rulers to adopt other and better means for the settlement of their disputes.

This influence of the people in favor of peace is becoming more and more effective by the increase of their power over governments. This increase is steadily extending, and sure to modify, if not to control in time their international policy. This influence in both England and France was very marked and finally decisive, during our late rebellion, against the strong wish of rulers to recognize our rebel confederacy as a government *de facto*. The elective franchise is extending in England; it already exists in France and several other countries in Europe; it is in a fair way indeed to become general; and the voice of an intelligent people, when allowed to be fully heard in governments, will be pretty sure to utter strong, if not immediately successful protests against the wholesale sacrifice of their property and lives for the settlement of disputes that after all can be adjusted only by peaceful means.

We see, moreover, a growing disposition of governments to adopt in practice the principles or expedients for which we have always contended. Some four years ago Louis Napoleon made an earnest effort to secure the adoption of one of our most important measures for the prevention of war, a Congress of Nations. He addressed every government in Europe, and from them all, except England, — a strange and disreputable exception, — received cordial responses in its favor. Had his grand proposal been carried into effect at the time in good faith, it might and probably would have averted the several wars that have since occurred, and saved the vast amount of treasure, blood and happiness sacrificed in them.

So with the other substitutes or preventives of war which we have so long been urging nations to adopt — Non-intervention, Mediation, Arbitration, Mutual Disarmament. Such expedients, if used in season, would undoubtedly suffice to prevent most of the wars likely to arise between civilized nations. They are beginning to adopt these preventives of war, as in the war between Spain and Chili, in our own dispute still pending with England about the Alabama, in the recent Luxemburg question, and others continually liable to occur. Had the same disposition been shown, and a similar course pursued by the British and continental governments during the first French Revolution of 1789, Europe would doubtless have been spared the twenty-three years of general war that sacrificed so many millions of her people, and so many myriads of her property. Her rulers are coming to adopt in practice our views quite as fast as we could expect; and should the present rate of improvement continue, four-fifths of the wars that would have arisen in the

last century, are likely to be prevented. Peace reformers, indeed, can expect little credit for all this; and yet it is mainly due to the influences they have been diffusing through Christendom for half a century.

Akin to these proofs of progress is the *growing interest taken on the subject by leading minds in Europe*. We see it in Louis Napoleon's proposal of an European Congress to avert anticipated wars, and insure permanent peace; in a large convention early last year of the best-informed, progressive men in Germany to devise some peaceful way of settling controversies between a government and its own subjects, some process of revolution without bloodshed; and still more in the efforts of not a few of the ablest writers and most influential journals on the Continent, as well as in England, to secure the great objects for which we have been so long laboring. We might refer on the Continent to such journals as *La Liberté*, Paris, edited by Emile de Girardin, perhaps the ablest of all the European journalists, several in Germany, and still more in Belgium and Holland, such as *Economiste Belge*, *Courier du Commerce*, *Bulletin du Dimanche*, *Journal d'Anvers*.

Take some specimens from these journals. "There are in Europe," says the *Economiste*, "certain gentlemen who have the power to let loose on the world the scourge of war, dooming to death hundreds of thousands of men, and destroying property by millions. In lieu of war, let us suppose these gentlemen had at command some other scourge, like cholera or the plague, it is clear men would soon search for some means to snatch from their hands the power of inflicting so dreadful an evil upon mankind, and a universal league would be organized against these promoters of cholera or the plague. But war is a scourge more destructive than any epidemic disease; and why not organize a universal league against war? Why do not the friends of Peace, instead of merely deploring the malevolent power of Bismarck, unite to destroy or neutralize this nefarious power? Public opinion throughout all Europe, and among all classes of society, energetically wishes for Peace; wherefore do we not avail ourselves of this salutary disposition of men's minds to organize a great agitation against war?"

It may be objected that societies and congresses of Peace have not hitherto led to any practical result. Well, let us admit that; but war, let us remember, is as ancient as the world, and those who have in their hands the power to let it loose, have at their disposal a most formidable organization. They have armies, fleets, functionaries; they have taxes and loans. The societies and congresses of Peace, on the other hand, are new things; and up to the present time, they have had for their promoters and adherents only a comparatively small number of economists and friends of humanity. At the time, also, when they were first started, the general interests did not plead so powerfully as they do to-day in favor of the maintenance of peace; while the warlike passions, violently excited by the French revolution, yet

remained fresh and strong in the hearts of the masses. Has not the situation changed? Has not the necessity for peace grown greatly, both in extent and intensity? Does not the ruin which the mere expectation of war has already wrought in the industrial and commercial world, prove that the nuisance of war, instead of diminishing, is becoming more aggravated continually? Have we not the right, therefore, to count on the co-operation of those interests becoming more and more numerous, which that nuisance injures? Is it not when fire actually breaks out that we understand best the utility of insurances? And what is the object which the friends of Peace propose but the establishment of a universal insurance against war?"

"It is important," says *Courier du Commerce*, "that we should lift up our voice and pronounce with more energy than ever against the war conspirators. Let meetings be organized; let a serious movement be set on foot by the partisans of the cause of Peace; in one word, let the decision of public opinion be in such a manner as to leave no doubt of its unanimity. War is an anachronism. So men think, and so they say; but we must make it an impossibility. The community of nations have only to will it, and it *shall* be so. Let us try to profit by the favorable disposition of public opinion; and, while the armies recruited by the conscription accomplish their sinister work, let us occupy ourselves in gathering and organizing the voluntary army of peace."

"While millions of men," says another of these continental journals in view of the late German war, "burn with a desire to cut each other's throats; while armies excessively numerous, and furnished with instruments of destruction perfected to the highest point, meet for mutual extermination, one cannot but groan to think of the terrible consequences which must result from the sanguinary events of which Europe is at present the theatre. At the same time one wish occupies all hearts, all wills are united in the desire that a speedy end should be put to the horrors of the present situation. To find the means of abolishing the absurd and monstrous practice called *making war*—such is the problem which every one wishes to see solved; such is the enigma, the happy solution of which would relieve the world of one of the greatest scourges that can afflict humanity. There are earnest men who make it their duty to study this question. One of our best journals, *La Paix*, has not ceased to enlighten public opinion on this question; and to discover the means of rendering war impossible, is the noblest and most useful conquest that can excite the ambition of humanity." *

* Since preparing the report, we learn that the people of France and Germany, the working men in particular, have been, in view of the war threatened between the two countries, interchanging addresses and protests against a resort to the sword in this case.

Along with such utterances and efforts on the continent of Europe, we find among Anglo-Saxons on both sides of the Atlantic incidental proofs of increasing interest on this subject outside of peace societies. A recent very able article, by Lord Hobart in an influential English journal on "the Mission of Richard Cobden" as "an International Man," his grand aim and crowning glory the prevention of war, and the union of all nations in a peaceful brotherhood of common, co-operative interests, shows the drift of not a few among the best and strongest minds in England. Social Science Associations are discussing its various aspects and bearings in ways little considered in past ages; the *North American Review*, at the head of our own periodical literature, has published the last year able and elaborate articles on the general question; and authors of large works, like Amasa Walker's on *Political Economy*, are spreading in our higher seminaries of learning, and throughout the community, a vast amount of facts, statistics and arguments that cannot fail to work like leaven in revolutionizing public sentiment.

There are many other indications going to prove, in spite of the adverse events witnessed the past year, that there is, after all, a steady and sure advance on the Peace Reform — the influence, extending and deepening every month, of the people on governments especially respecting this question; the anxiety of governments to avoid a resort to the sword in settling disputes either among themselves, or with their own subjects; and particularly the increased cost of war and military preparations, threatening to plunge most of them in irretrievable bankruptcy and ruin. It is perfectly clear that the war-system of Christendom cannot continue at the present or prospective rate of expensiveness; it must in time beggar and crush them all.

In our own country, also, we are beginning to see, as the friends of Peace have all along expected, a better feeling on this subject. There is less apathy, less misconception, less contempt or bitterness, and much more disposition to hear and read on the question. During the rebellion we supposed, of course, that our cause would remain at anchor, if not put in quarantine; but out of this terrible baptism of fire and blood it has come forth with prospects much better than we feared. Compelled to run the gauntlet between rebels and loyalists, a target alike for them both, it has passed, nevertheless, through all its trials without contradicting any of its principles, or finding reason to change its general policy, or any of its important measures. The rebellion has served only to confirm us more and more in the correctness of our principles, in the wisdom of our measures, and the transcendent importance of our cause to our country, to humanity and the world.

These views, however, we do not expect to see shared at once by any considerable portion of our countrymen. The cause of Peace, far more than any other, calls for the graces of faith, patience and hope. We must work

and wait ; but in due time we shall reap, if we faint not, nor grow weary in using the means to which alone God has promised success, ultimately sure, signal and glorious. None of our present co-workers can reasonably expect to witness the fulness of such a consummation ; but come it must, and will, for God has promised it as surely as he has the world's evangelization, or even the salvation of penitent believers in Christ.

For this full triumph of peace, only one thing, under God, is needed—the use of means, a right application of the gospel to the case. It is God's catholicon for all the moral maladies of our world, war among the rest ; but this remedy, like every other, must be rightly applied before it can cure. It never has been thus applied to the custom of war ; and until it is, this master-scurge of our race will of course continue its vast evils all over Christendom itself. God never promises ends without proper and adequate means ; and until we use aright those which he has appointed for the purpose, we shall look in vain for general and permanent peace ; but whenever we do, we may confidently expect that no more wars or rebellions will curse any part of Christendom.

We are doing all we can to insure in our own country a right, effective use of these means. Our success has of course been only partial, yet much greater than is generally supposed. On this point we might, if we had time, give many proofs. The cause, though very inadequately sustained, and confronted with greater difficulties than in almost any other, has not failed and never will fail unless Christianity itself shall die out of our world. It is a great work, the most comprehensive and difficult social reform ever undertaken. We never dreamt of accomplishing it all ourselves. It is a task that will require the combined zeal and energies of every Christian community for long ages. Our own mission as charged with the care of this cause is to keep the subject aright before the public, and by our lectures, publications and other measures, train the community to do the work. Only they *can* do it ; and hence everything under God turns on the question, whether they can be induced to do it. We believe they can be, must be, one day will be ; and certainly we shall never cease from our efforts to press them into this great work, so worthy of patriots and philanthropists, of Christians and of angels.

In the prosecution of this work we shall need a fifty-fold increase of means. The Christian community, even the plighted friends of peace themselves have hardly begun as yet to conceive how much is to be done. We must or should have lecturers at work in every State, depositories of our publications in every considerable city, and colporteurs distributing them in every town, village and neighborhood. The question must be brought home to every man, and kept in constant grapple with the nation's intellect, conscience and heart. We must stimulate editors to publish habitually and largely on the subject, Christian ministers to preach on peace just as they do on faith

or repentance, Christian parents to instil into their children the principles of peace, and teachers in Sabbath and common schools, in academies, colleges and professional seminaries, to combine their efforts in training up such a generation of peace-makers as shall spontaneously keep the peace of all Christendom to the end of time.

All this will of course require a vast increase of contributions and labors. There is now before the public scarce an enterprise of either reform or benevolence that needs more of these than does the cause of peace at least for the present. It will demand for its full success as much as the Tract, the Bible, or the Home Missionary cause. The practical question, the hinge of the whole enterprise, is whether the professed followers of the Prince of Peace, or patriots and philanthropists outside of the Christian Church, will gird themselves in earnest to use the means absolutely indispensable to the success of this cause. If they will, its triumph in due time is sure ; but if not, we must wait, and pray, and work on, as best we can, until they will. Sooner or later they certainly will, or the clear, glorious promises of God on this subject are all a delusion and a mockery. Would to God they would now wake fully to the claims to this cause ; but until they do we must expect wars, rebellions, and the whole train of evils inseparable from the war-system, constantly liable to overwhelm the very nations which the gospel was meant to fill with the blessings of perpetual peace.

We are glad to hear of efforts outside of our Society in behalf of our great object, which is or ought to be, common to all Christians. Among the many small sects in our country, more especially in the West, we find that several of them make the peace question a somewhat prominent speciality. Some of these have during the year called for our publications, and are now putting them in circulation. The organ of one of these, the *Herald of Truth*, comes regularly to our office along with two from the Quakers. The Friends, also, are beginning to bestir themselves on this subject with new zeal. They have all along adhered with persistent fidelity to their testimonies against the custom of war as unchristian ; but while commendably intent on keeping their own members right on the subject, they have of late years done comparatively little for a general diffusion of the principles of peace in the community at large. We are thankful for the former, but still more anxious for the latter. How much might their Penns, Benezetts and Greeletts now do in this cause ! They have already had several conventions on the subject both East and West ; and from this movement we augur much good to our cause. Even from the self-styled Radical Peace-men, though so hard upon ourselves for recognizing the right of civil government to make and execute law, we hope for good, along with some evil, to our cause, and shall ever rejoice in whatever may contribute to the overthrow and extinction of the war-system.

✓ REVIEW OF THE REBELLION. — A friend of peace, anxious to turn the bitter experience of our late rebellion to the best account in the interest of our cause, has offered to give, for the preparation and circulation of a review of it, *Five Hundred Dollars*, provided other friends will raise five hundred more. We hope the challenge will be met, and such a work soon be in a course of preparation. The time is not yet fully come for its circulation ; but we think it will be before it can be properly prepared. Such a work will require great candor, care and sound judgment. It will of course accord with the well-known principles of our Society, and show their consistency with the existence and legitimate operations of civil government, and their necessity in order to prevent like rebellions in future.

AGENCIES. — We have been very desirous of sending forth lecturers more widely than in any year of our history, and have entered into negotiations with several able friends of our cause to enter our service ; but no arrangements have yet been completed, and it is somewhat doubtful whether the war spirit and war modes of reasoning provoked by the late rebellion into a malign activity, would allow as yet so favorable a presentation of its claims as we may confidently expect ere long. The subject, however, must be brought and kept before the people, not only by the press, but by the living voice ; and we hope in time to do this throughout the land, and believe it can be done with success.

✓ PUBLICATIONS. — We have done more than usual in this department. Besides our organ, the Advocate of Peace, we have issued new editions of twenty different tracts, and have stereotyped four new tracts, viz. : —

1. War Taxation. 4 pp., 12mo.
2. The Peace Reform ; a Sketch of its Aims, Means and Measures. 16 pp., 8vo.
3. Richard Cobden's Mission. 8 pp. 8vo.
4. International Peace ; Some of the Measures for its Advancement. 8 pp. 8vo.

FUNDS. — Our income last year has been larger than in any of the past eight years. Our receipts have been \$3,371.51, and our expenditures 3,087.24 ; leaving a balance of 284.27 in the treasury.

SURGEON. — “ I am always glad to hear of a soldier being a Christian ; but I am always sorry to hear of a Christian being a soldier. Whenever I hear of a man who is in the profession of arms being converted, I rejoice ; but when I hear of a converted man taking up the profession of arms, I mourn. If there be anything clear in Scripture, it does seem to me that it is for a Christian to have nothing to do with carnal weapons. How it is that the great mass of Christendom cannot see this, I cannot understand. Surely it must be through the blinding influences of the society in which the Christian Church is cast. The Christian who becomes a soldier *by profession*, forgets that “ they who take the sword shall perish by the sword.” May the day come when war shall be regarded as the most “ atrocious of all crimes.”

ANNIVERSARY PROCEEDINGS.

IN celebrating its thirty-ninth annual exercises, the American Peace Society, somewhat like the course pursued by kindred associations in London, held its public services a week before its regular business meeting. On Sabbath evening, May 19th, Rev. Dr. Peabody, Professor in Harvard University, Rev. Joseph Copp, D. D., Chelsea, presiding, and conducting the devotional services, delivered in the Rowe Street Baptist church, Boston, the annual address before a very good audience, much larger than any since the outburst of our late rebellion, and was listened to apparently with much interest and gratification. The discourse was quite favorably reported the next day in all the leading daily papers of the city, and by some at considerable length. The Directors, at their meeting soon after, passed a vote of "thanks to Dr. Peabody for his very able and eloquent address," requested a copy for the press, and directed its immediate publication.

It was a pleasant circumstance, that Rev. Mr. Stock, a friend of peace from England to the Baptist Annual Convention at Chicago, had preached during the day in the church where the address was delivered; and at its close he proceeded by invitation to state some new and very striking facts to show the interest felt by the masses in England, and by not a few of its higher classes, in our late struggle with the slave-power, their joy at its favorable issue, and their strong desire to cultivate perpetual peace between the two countries. The general impression was more encouraging than of any public meeting held since the rise of our rebellion, and full of good auguries for the future of our cause.

On Monday, May 27th, the usual time, the Society's annual business meeting was held at its rooms, 40 Winter Street. In the absence of the President, Hon. AMASA WALKER presided, and the Recording Secretary being also absent, Prof. ALPHEUS CROSBY was chosen in his place, *pro tem*. Dr. BECKWITH, on behalf of the Board of Directors, read their annual report, which, along with the Treasurer's account, duly audited, was accepted and adopted. As there seemed no wish for any change in the officers, it was voted that the present officers, according to one of the by-laws, "continue in office until successors shall be chosen."

Instead of the resolutions usually presented and discussed at the annual meeting, there was a very spirited interchange of views, in which Mr. Walker, Prof. Crosby, of Salem, Dr. Beckwith, H. H. Leavitt, Boston, N. T. Allen, of West Newton, and others took part. An hour was thus spent with much pleasure and profit in relating facts at home and abroad, and urging arguments and suggestions to show that the cause, even during all the war-clouds that hung so heavy and black over nations the last year, has

nevertheless been steadily advancing, and never had in truth better prospects than it has at this hour. The facts about the recent and still continued movements, particularly in France and Germany against the war so seriously threatened a few weeks ago, and against the war-system itself, as bearing so oppressively on the mass of the people, were brought forward and discussed with much force. The spirit of the meeting, on the whole, was well expressed in the remark of Mr. Walker, "that, a laborer in this cause for thirty years, he had never felt more confidence than now of its ultimate triumph, and was looking forward to speedier and fuller success than he had anticipated for many years past."

PRIZE REVIEW OF THE REBELLION.

From the following extracts it will be seen with what views and aims the offer of *Five Hundred Dollars* has been made :—

"The late rebellion has been, and will continue to be, considered in its rise, progress and results as viewed from the common stand-points; but I deem it very desirable to have it presented more especially in its aspects and bearings on the general question of Peace. It is a vast theme, and involves not only results but fundamental principles of vital importance. I wish to see it used, as I think it can and should be, in such a way as to subserve the cause of Peace — showing how the rebellion sprung from the war-spirit, principles and habits of the people, a legitimate offshoot of the war-system, — how the opposite principles and habits of peace, if diffused among them in season, would have averted this crime and terrible calamity; — in what way alone like evils can in the future be forestalled; — the evils of the rebellion, pecuniary, political, social, moral, religious, during its progress, and in the immediate and the distant future: the ground taken by our Society, recognizing the inherent, necessary right of civil government to put in force its laws against rebellion just as against other crimes; that this position is not only indispensable to the existence of either civil government or human society, but entirely consistent with the true principles of Christian peace; that the right enforcement of law by government as proper and indispensable measure of peace; that the friends of peace have always shown themselves to be in favor of it by endeavoring to secure its application to nations as now to individuals and small communities. I wish, in short, to let the public see, in view of our rebellion, how the war-system occasions such evils, and how the peace-system would prevent them.

Perhaps \$500 would be as large a premium as ought to be offered for the preparation of such a Review; but as it can be of use only by its circulation, I wish to provide for this purpose at least \$500 more."

It seems, then, that our friend asks the aid of others merely or chiefly in giving a wide, general circulation of the proposed work. We think it quite essential, for the full success of the plan, to provide for this in advance; but those who may be inclined to unite with our friend, can of course pledge their aid on whatever condition they may please. Such pledges we should be glad to receive, with the understanding that none will be binding until the \$1,000 shall be secured.

PLEAS FOR WAR. — I shall be asked, if *defensive* war is wrong; but what is defensive war? Can it be defined? Is it not an intangible idea in the minds of most persons? But granting that revenge, retaliation, rendering

evil for evil, were the spirit of Christianity, it would be a very uncertain rule to act upon. Indeed, it could not be acted upon at all: caprice and passion alone would decide the justice or injustice of the war. What nation has ever taken up arms, which has not stoutly contended that she was maintaining her rights? Not one. Shall I be told that the nation which declares war first is in the wrong? Then our revolutionary war was wrong; then the Polish war was wrong. Shall I be told that nations have a right to resist oppression, to rebel if unjust laws are imposed? Who is to decide whether the law is unjust or not;—the party imposing the law or the party obeying it? Not the party imposing the law, or *we* were wrong in our Revolution. So Greece, Poland, South America, every free State upon the earth.

Nor can you give to the subject this right of adjudication; for then you would annihilate all government. If an individual or a community may shoot down the man who comes delegated to enforce a law, because they do not like it, "chaos and old night" would again set up their kingdom on the earth. The Pennsylvania and Massachusetts rebellions would be right; the Baltimore and New York mobs would be right. What, then, is defensive war? Why does this intangible idea float in the minds of so many, that defensive wars are right, when a defensive war cannot be defined? The truth is men see wars right, when they think that they are for their own interest.

It is said that a man may fight for his liberty, and is solemnly, religiously bound to fight for it. How much liberty may he fight for? How much must he be oppressed before he may "render evil for evil"? Let the amount be defined. This cannot be done. No man can tell how deep the chain shall have cut into the flesh before the sufferer may stab his master. It may be a tax of three cents per pound on tea; it may be a stain upon that airy nothing, national honor; or it may be slavery in its worst forms.

DR. STEBBINS.

GEN. SHERMAN ON THE GOVERNMENT QUESTION;

Or, the Use of Soldiers as a Police Force.

It is interesting to see exactly what a warrior of thoughtful, cultivated mind like Sherman, regards as the proper sphere of an army in executing law and upholding government. At St. Louis he was invited to a public dinner, when he spoke thus:—

"What is this army of the United States of which you speak? It is the body of men chosen and paid by the national Government to enforce its laws and carry out its wishes. We take no part in your legislation. We sit not as judges, but as the high sheriff of the nation that goes forth to obey the mandates of that nation that it may be respected wherever its flag represents the authority of its people. We stop not to cavil or doubt. Whatever is the national decree, that is our law, and we bow before it and obey it. You remember what a storm was raised when the first idea of compulsion was promulgated,—to compel a State, a sovereign State, to obey the laws of the whole country. The entire nation was turned upside down because the United States claimed the sovereign right to compel a State to obey a national law. Many were induced, blinded by that idea, to leave their faith. But what is Government but compulsion? You sue in your

local courts and get a judgment. You go to the sheriff and say to him: 'Give me my house or my goods according to the judgment rendered in my favor.' The sheriff in reply says: 'It is true you have a judgment; but I have no power to compel the execution of that judgment.' What government would that be? You would scoff at it. It would be no government at all. So with our national Government. When it makes a decree, the decree must be enforced, or otherwise it will sink into scorn and ignominy. We can enforce the decrees against the strong only by force of the national arms."

Thus reasons an intelligent warrior; and to the use in this way of an army as a police force for the execution of law, at the call and under the direction of the civil magistrate, — and in no other way *was* it employed during our late rebellion, — we do not object, nor are we aware that peacemen have ever objected, if we except the handful of what are called "Radical Peacemen," whose principles fully carried out would undermine and sweep away all government, both human and divine. Civil government, if it be not a mere sham and mockery, must make laws and put them in force. If it does not do both, it is, in truth, no government at all. It *must* enforce its own laws. *How* it shall do this must be left to its own discretion; but clearly it can in the last resort do so only by physical force, and must decide for itself how and to what extent such force shall be employed. In ordinary cases an unarmed civil police will suffice; but a mob or riot, an insurrection or rebellion may require for its suppression, by a due enforcement of law, the whole power of society, supposed to be embodied chiefly in its military force. After all, it is in each case alike only a due, righteous, indispensable enforcement of law against its violators; and we insist that such enforcement is not ordinary warfare, and certainly no part of that war system which we are laboring to do away.

NON-INTERVENTION. — On this subject the friends of peace have produced in England a pretty full and effective change of public opinion; a change worth to that country and the world a thousand times over all that our friends there have expended in our cause. This change is due chiefly to their influence; and now leading men in all parties avow the principle as their own. "But it is not," says the *Leeds Mercury*, edited by a member of Parliament, "on the disposition of solitary statesmen that we place any reliance. If the opinion of the country were against them, the advocates of peace would be winnowed out of all parties, and put aside as an anti-national, unpatriotic section, while the friends of war and intervention would command the sympathy and support which are never so warmly tendered as in times of bloodshed. Happily, however, with all our divisions and strifes, there is no party, — at least no influential party, — in favor of foreign intervention. Conservatives and Liberals are agreed on this one point, if on no other, and both express the universal opinion of the great mass of the people." Now, if the friends of peace have effected a change so important and decisive in public opinion and national policy on one point, may they not hope to secure like changes on other points, and ultimately on all that may be requisite to do away the whole war system?

PEACE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

THE following letter from the Secretary of the London Peace Society, May 7th, to the *London Star*, reports a popular agitation in France against war and the war-system as, unexpected to most readers as it must be encouraging to the friends of peace.

SIR, — It is no doubt through mere oversight that the *Star*, which enjoys the honorable distinction of being regarded as, *par excellence*, the peace paper of this country, has taken so little notice of a remarkable movement now going on in France in the interests of peace. It originated in a desire to do something to avert the threatened breach between France and Prussia. But it is now taking a far wider scope, and aspires to unite and organize public opinion into a league against war. This idea was first proposed by M. Frédéric Passy, who has for many years been laboring with great ability and earnestness in the same direction. His proposal has been hailed with unexpected welcome, and is receiving day by day numerous adhesions.

M. Nettzer, the editor of *Le Temps*, which has been the principal organ of this movement, in an article written in reply to the *Opinion Nationale*, charging *Le Temps* with having in the first instance inspired it, thus refers to it. Speaking of the relations between France and Germany, he says : —

“ There is more than one latent difficulty between France and Germany and war seemed to be at the end of them all, a war which certainly did not want pretexts, but to which, nevertheless, it was difficult to assign any rational object or proportionate end, and of which it was much easier to foresee the horrors than to calculate the duration and results. To disavise it, might seem ridiculous; to invoke it, was to tempt the unknown. It seemed vain and vexatious to say anything about it; and we were resigned to let ourselves glide down the incline of fatality, confining our duty to instructing the public as to facts, and demanding of the Government such information and explanations as it owed to the country, and which it had not yet given. Nobody knew these our sentiments better than those very friends who, more confident and less resigned, have lifted up their voice in our pages in favor of peace. They had to struggle against our incredulity, which could not promise to echo their views, and against our friendship, which desired to save them from a disappointment. The first was M. Ch. Dolphus, and though he was our ancient and dear fellow-laborer, we would only insert his communications in the form of letters, in order to leave with him all the responsibility, and to separate this journal from an attempt which appeared to us as chimerical as it was generous. Then came MM. Gustave d'Eichthal and Martier Paschoud, whom the *Opinion Nationale* knows well enough, and M. Frédéric Passy, whom we had not the honor of being acquainted with before. After that, the representatives of the Association Internationale of workmen; then other working men in great numbers, and then commercial men. Then the provinces began to respond. We have received an address from Nantes. The *Gironde* has inserted an appeal, and we have just learnt that in one of our principal commercial towns, Havre, a peace union had been formed and had already obtained numerous adherents before there was any initiative in Paris. We do not speak of the large number of isolated manifestations that have come to us which we have not thought of making public, but which we can place at the disposal of any who

may be incredulous. We evidently find ourselves in presence of a serious movement which we did not anticipate, and at which we are astonished. We never expected to encounter among so many spirits, in all classes of society, that absolute, deep-rooted detestation of war, which implies the destruction of so many prejudices, and which denotes so superior a condition of the public reason. The *Opinion Nationale* maintains that the warlike current is stronger. We will not contradict that assertion, being absolutely ignorant of the facts on which it is founded. If the *Opinion* speaks only of the journals, it is evidently right; but if it speaks of the public, it ought to produce its proofs. We have said that the number and enthusiasm of these manifestations have astonished us. Need we say that they have yet more delighted us? Whatever may be the issue of the present conflict, we cannot but draw from this movement a happy augury for the future of our country. It is evidently a new spirit that is rising; or rather, it is the pacific and fraternal genius of our Revolution which reappears in its pristine purity, and with all the authority of reflection and experience. May the German nation understand it as it ought to be understood!"

In the same number of *Le Temps* which contains the article from which I have taken the above extract, there is the following letter from M. Leona de Lavergne:—

PARIS, April 30.

Sir,—I was present lately at a grand dinner of French and foreign agriculturists, on the occasion of the cattle show at Poissy. We were more than a hundred, and among us were deputies of the Legislative Body, members of the Institute and of the Central Society of Agriculture, large landowners, the first agriculturists of France, and the principal contributors to the agricultural press. At the close of the dinner, M. Adam Muller, secretary to the Bavarian Agricultural Society, proposed a toast to the union of Germany and France, and to the pacific association of all peoples. M. Muller's noble words were received with repeated rounds of applause. It is, in point of fact, agriculture that most suffers from the enormous sacrifice which all nations make in time of peace for protection against each other. You may, then, include in your great Peace League the *élite* of French agriculturists. For my own part, I completely adhere to the proposition of my honorable friend M. Frederick Passy.

In the *Share de la Loire*, of a few days ago, appeared the following eloquent appeal from M. Charles Lemonnier:—

"I was going, once more, to mend my pen in order to demonstrate the absurdity of a general war, the necessity and sacredness of peace. But to what purpose? Those who desire war have, no doubt, taken their part; it is for us now who wish for peace, to ascertain and to show how many we are; it is for us to agitate, and do our utmost to secure the triumph of right and the true interests of the people.

There is one very simple plan of action: it is that every Frenchman, without waiting to be disposed of *nolens volens*, should make known legally his opinion, though he is not asked for it. As long as there is in France one independent journal, and in that journal one open column, let that column be covered, not to-morrow, but to-day, not this evening, but at this moment, with the signatures of citizens who are resolved, without any appeal to violence, to make known with all explicitness that they wish peace, not war.

I begin myself, my dear Mangin, and I declare that in the present state

of things I do not wish to make war on Prussia, nor on any people in Europe or out of Europe; that I wish for peace; that particularly the possession by Prussia of the Fortress of the Luxemburg does not appear to me a case for war; that while quite ready to repel an invasion or aggression at this hour, I am determined to use in my sphere of action, however limited it may be, all legitimate means to prevent war.

Let our fellow-citizens who share this opinion hasten to give in their adhesion, and let these adhesions multiply until there are in a few days eight millions of signatures, and war is impossible.

CH. LEMONNIER."

2, Rue Tronchet, Paris.

But of all the manifestations in favor of peace which recent events have elicited, perhaps the most significant and important are the addresses that have been, and are being, exchanged between the working men of France and Germany. These productions appear to me admirable in sentiment and spirit, and indicate the rise of an influence in Europe which, in its future development, is destined, I earnestly hope, to impose a most effective check on the quarrelling and fighting propensities of princes and governments. There can be no doubt that the burdens of war of every kind fall most quickly and heavily upon the working classes; and if they are determined not to fight, those in authority will have to find some other means of settling their disputes.

HENRY RICHARD.

FRANKLIN'S ILLUSTRATION OF WAR. — A young angel of distinction being sent down to this world for the first time on some important business had an old courier spirit assigned to him for his guide. They arrived over the sea of Martinique in the midst of the long and obstinate fight between the English and French fleets under Rodney and DeGrasse. When through the clouds of smoke, the young angel saw the fire of the guns; the decks covered with mangled limbs, and bodies of the dead and dying; the ships sinking, burning, or blown into the air; and the quantity of pain, misery and destruction, which the crews yet alive were so eagerly dealing round to one another; he turned indignantly to his guide, and said, 'You undertook to conduct me to the earth; but you have brought me to hell.' 'No,' replies the guide, 'I have made no mistake at all; this is really earth and these are men. Devils never treat one another in this cruel manner; they have more sense, and more of what men vainly call humanity.'

LEIGH HUNT ON WAR. — Two nations, or, most likely, two governments, have a dispute; they reason the point backwards and forwards; they cannot determine it, perhaps do not wish to determine it; so like two carmen in the street, they fight it out; first, however, dressing themselves up to look fine, and pluming themselves on their absurdity, just as if the two carmen were to go and put on their Sunday clothes, and stick a feather in their hats besides, in order to be as dignified and fantastic as possible. Then they go at it, and cover themselves with mud, blood and glory! Can anything be more ridiculous? I firmly believe that war, or the sending thousands of our fellow-creatures to cut one another to bits, often for what they have no concern in, nor understand, will one day be reckoned far more absurd than if people were to settle an argument over the dinner-table with their knives; a logic, indeed which was once fashionable in some places during the good 'old times.' The world has seen the absurdity of that practice; why should it not come to years of discretion with respect to violence upon a larger scale?

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ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, *in account with JOHN FIELD, Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS:—

Balance from last year's account.....	\$ 103.43
Receipts from Peace Fund.....	988.00
Estate of William Ladd.....	200.00
Estate of Henry Dwight.....	280.00
Donations, sales, and other sources.....	1,800.08

\$ 3,371.51

PAYMENTS:—

For rent of office, stationery, postage, &c.....	\$ 75.69
For paper, printing, and other expenses of publication.....	1,734.79
For agency services, and travelling expenses.....	1,101.67
For taxes.....	24.44
For final settlement of the William Craft estate.....	150.75
Balance to next account.....	284.27

We have examined the foregoing account of the Treasurer, and find it correct.

WILLIAM C. BROWN, }
H. H. LEAVITT, } Auditors

Boston, May 27, 1867.

N. B.—Receipts (some included in the above) will be given in the next number.

OCTAVO TRACTS.

Communications may be sent.

Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace.....	8
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace.....	12
Congress of Nations.....	12
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War.....	12

12mo TRACTS.

Pages.	Pages
1. Cause of Peace.....	8
2. Sketch of War.....	12
3. Testimonies against War.....	12
4. War and the Bible.....	4
5. War Curable.....	12
6. Four Aspects of War.....	4
7. Universal Peace, by David Bogue, D. D.....	12
8. Military Discipline.....	12
9. Erasmus on War.....	4
10. Russian Campaign.....	12
11. Union in Peace.....	8
12. Military Preparations.....	4
13. Progress of Peace.....	8
14. Waste of Property in War.....	12
15. Appeal to Cities.....	4
16. War inconsistent with Christianity by H. Malcom, D. D., LL.D....	8
17. War Unlawful, by J. J. Gurney.....	12
18. Chalmers on Peace.....	8
19. Chief Evil of War, by Dr. Chan- ning.....	4
20. Loss of Life by War.....	12
21. Witnesses for Peace.....	4
22. Views of War, by Robert Hall....	4
23. Early Christians on War, by Thos. Clarkson.....	12
24. War Debts of Europe.....	4
25. Results of One War.....	4
26. Neckar on Peace.....	8
27. Peace Practicable.....	4
28. Substitutes for War.....	4
29. Arbitration as a Substitute for War.....	8
30. A Congress of Nations.....	24
31. Extinction of War, by Hon. Josiah Quincy.....	4
32. War Unchristian.....	12
33. Insensibility to the Evils of War, by Dr. Channing.....	12
34. Claims of Peace on all Christians.....	12
35. The only Remedy for War, by Dr. Channing.....	4
36. A Solemn Review of War, by Noah Worcester, D. D.....	12
37. Sieges.....	8
38. A Glimpse of War, by Dr. Chan- ning.....	12
39. Military Hospitals.....	4
40. Safety of Pacific Principles.....	4
41. War-prayers.....	16
42. Claims of Peace on Women.....	12
43. Solemn Appeal, by William Ladd.....	24
44. The Battle-field.....	4
45. Inefficacy of War, by Hon. Wil- liam Jay.....	12
46. Militia Drills.....	4
47. United States Navy, by S. E. Coates.....	8
48. Mistakes about Peace.....	4
49. Peace and Government, by Geo. C. Beckwith, D. D.....	8
50. Criminality of War, by H. Mal- com.....	16
51. War a Destroyer of Souls.....	8
52. War and the Hearth.....	12
53. Plain Sketches of War, by R. P. Stebbins, D. D.....	4
54. Grimke on Peace.....	12
55. War as a Judicial Redress.....	4
56. War and Missions.....	12
57. Causes of War, by Jonathan Dy- mond.....	8
58. Moral Results of War, by J. Dy- mond.....	8
59. War Unlawful for Christians, by J. Dymond.....	24
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61. Rights of Self-defence, by Jona- than Dymond.....	4
62. War a Trial by Battle, by Hon. Charles Sumner.....	4
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64. Claims of Peace on Literary Men.....	12
A Sketch of the Cause of Peace.....	4
A Remedy for War.....	4
Way to Peace.....	4
Success in the Cause of Peace.....	8
Le Monde; or, in Time of Peace pre- pare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.....	24
The System of Means in Peace.....	4
How to Aid the Cause of Peace.....	4
Bequests to the Cause of Peace.....	4
Peace Themes.....	4
Funds Necessary in Peace.....	2
Money a Divine Trust.....	2
Cause of Peace; Why no more accom- plished.....	2
How to Prevent Rebellion.....	4

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CIRCULATION OF THE ADVOCATE.

is sent for sending it gratuitously for a time, — 1. To a number of our 4,000 or 5,000 periodicals, in the hope that they will read the information it contains; — 2. To a select number of our preachers of the gospel, to all, indeed, who take up a collection for the Society; — 3. To prominent laymen, and to the Library or Reading Room of our higher Seminaries, to be preserved for permanent use.

☞ We presume that those to whom it is sent, will willingly pay the postage; but, if not, they can return it. We trust that not a few will become subscribers, contributors, or co-workers in other ways. Such information as it contains we would fain put in every family.

PUBLICATIONS ON PEACE.

In the cause of peace, more perhaps than in any other enterprise of benevolence or reform, the press has been employed as the chief instrument in bringing the subject before the public in its various bearings. Besides its periodical, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and more than eighty stereotyped tracts, it has published the following volumes:

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706 (very few),.....	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196 (few),.....	1 00
Boles' Essay on a Congress of Nations,	40
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,.....	1 50
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252	40
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212 (few),	40
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108,.....	30
The Right Way. pp. 303. Issued by Am. Tract Society, N. Y.,.....	40
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,.....	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, D. D. 12mo., 310, ...	50
Jonathan Dymond on War, 8vo.,.....	40

ADDRESSES BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

1. By Walter Channing, M. D., delivered in 1844.
2. By Hon. William Jay, delivered in 1845 and 1855.
3. By Hon. Charles Sumner, on the War-System, delivered in 1849.
4. By Rufus W. Clarke, D. D., delivered in 1851.
5. By F. W. Huntington, D. D., delivered in 1852.
6. By William H. Allen, M. D., LL. D., delivered in 1854.
7. By Rufus P. Stebbins, D. D., delivered in 1857.
8. By Hon. Gerrit Smith, delivered in 1858.
9. By G. B. Cheever, D. D., Eulogy on Judge Jay, delivered in 1859.
10. By Samuel J. May, D. D. delivered in 1860.
11. By Howard Malcom, D. D., LL. D., delivered in 1862.
12. By Hon. Amasa Walker, delivered in 1863.

Of the above, we have only a few of 1, 2, (except that in 1855,) 4, and 9; of 3 we have many, a large second edition, 80 pp.; and quite a number of the others.

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FORM OF BEQUEST. — I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of _____ dollars, to be paid in _____ months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge.

☞ Be sure you give the Society its exact name, and have the will drawn in the way, and attested by the full number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or the will may be broken.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

JULY AND AUGUST.

CONTENTS.

Progress in the Peace Cause.....	293	War provokes War.....	315
What has the Peace Society done?.....	294	Rebel Loss of Life.....	315
Changes favorable to Peace.....	296	Glorification of Rebellion	317
What Peace Societies have done.....	296	Classification of Southerners.....	318
Elihu Burritt's Speech.....	297	Cost of War Preparations.....	319
Peace Movement on the Continent.....	299	Present War-Debts of Europe.....	319
Recent Signs of Progress.....	303	Decrease of Inhabitants in the	
Actual Prevention of War.....	305	Rebel States.....	320
Comments.....	305	Army of Austria.....	320
Peace Finances	306	Correspondence.....	321
Duty of Ministers at the present		Address of English Baptists on	
time.....	307	Peace to their brethren in Amer-	
The Science of Government.....	309	ica.....	322
Prayer for Rulers.....	310	Death of John Priestman and	
Our Treatment of Indians.....	311	Edmund Fry.....	323
Rebellion and Revolution.....	314	Receipts.....	324

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No. 40 WINTER STREET.

1867.

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AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

SOURCES OF INCOME.—Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up an annual collection for the cause.

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THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1867.

PROGRESS IN THE PEACE CAUSE.

We may have dwelt on this point less than we ought; and yet we have occasionally reported enough to prove that our cause has made much more progress than could have been expected from the amount of means thus far used. We are well aware that a different impression generally prevails; but, whether true or false, few have taken pains to inquire. There has been all along a strange, unaccountable indifference on this whole subject, hardly interest enough to seek, scarcely tolerate adequate information respecting this master-evil of the world in all ages, and still the great folly, crime, and curse of Christendom itself. Finding that a handful of peace reformers, with an average expenditure of six or eight thousand dollars a year on both hemispheres, have not in a single generation prevented all war, and entirely done away the war-system, for the support of which Christendom alone now employs five or six millions of men, and expends twelve or fifteen hundred millions of treasure every year, the wiseacres of conservatism jumped with little thought to the conclusion, that nothing has yet been done, or can be attempted with success, for the abolition of this custom, or for any serious mitigation of its evils.

Now, we hardly know how to deal with such stupidity as this, or strange lack of conscience or sensibility respecting an evil confessedly

so vast, and so sure, as all Christians believe, to be done away in time by the gospel we profess. We have already furnished facts and arguments sufficient, one would think, to enlist them zealously in this greatest of all social reforms; but they seem determined not to look at these in the only way that can ever render them effective. Even the Pulpit is well-nigh dumb, or ready to utter a hundred apologies for war to a single earnest plea for peace. So, too, the religious Press. Its columns have teemed with commendations of War, but with scarce anything on Peace except to censure, or "damn with faint praise."

One of the stale excuses for such treatment of the Peace Cause is the complaint, that it has accomplished nothing. So we have concluded to embody a few facts occurring *within the last twelve months*, and still in progress, to let the public see whether it is not in fact doing much more than could well have been expected from the few thousand dollars annually spent in its prosecution. The Christian Pulpit and Press are commendably wont spontaneously to spread before the public like proofs of progress in kindred enterprises; and is it asking too much to request that they do the same for this cause? If they will, it cannot be long before the popular impression will be as decisive in favor of the feasibility and actual success of Peace as now respecting the cause of Temperance, or that of either Home or Foreign Missions.

WHAT HAS THE PEACE SOCIETY DONE?

There is no worker in the Peace cause who has proved so fortunate as to escape the inquiry, what have you Peace people done, or, what has your society accomplished? This inquiry has been put to some of us so frequently, and by such opposite parties, that we regard it as of some moment to answer the question once for all.

It would be unpardonable arrogance to take credit to ourselves for the creation of the rapidly growing sentiment in favor of the pacific policy that pervades the councils of the civilized world at the present time; yet it would be an equally unpardonable omission did we not remind our querists that the London Peace Society was the earliest British organization for the purpose of promoting amity and good-will among the nations that the nineteenth century has produced. That such a society, with its thousands of lectures and millions of tracts, should have labored among the public in all parts of Britain, and in many parts of the continent, for nearly fifty-one years, without producing large results in favor of a better system than that of blind and cruel war for the adjustment of national disputes, is an impossibility. In the very nature of things, and from the inseparable connection between cause and effect, it is beyond all dispute that these varied and well-sustained efforts have done more towards effecting a change in public opinion on the great question of universal peace, than any other single organization of the age. It is no mean fruit of these labors that war, once so popular, is now

regarded by the general public as an unmitigated evil, and that it should be studiously avoided as the greatest curse of mankind. It is equally satisfactory to know, that complaints have been frequently made of late at "head-quarters" of the increasing difficulty of obtaining recruits to fill up the vacant ranks in the army; and not a few suspicious hints have been dropped from time to time of the probable attempt at something like a conscription.

But if the foregoing changes may take rank among the fruits of the labor chiefly of the Peace Society, what shall be said of Intervention, that proud resort of British statesmen to maintain "the balance of power," and to show fidelity to those hungry allies who, for gain or glory, hung so tenaciously to the skirts of our national garment? Who pleads for intervention now? What journal, or what statesman ventured to urge its claims in the Italian war, or that of the Duchies, or more recently still in the war between Prussia and Austria? Where are the British politicians who once clamored so loudly for treaties, whose manifest injustice dictated that it would be far more wise and humane to break than to keep them? And what has become of the journalism that stood ever ready to work up the whole nation into a warlike rage on behalf of some ally whose principal claim on our affection consisted in having borrowed, but never repaid, some millions of our money? Who pleads, or who dare plead, for intervention on behalf of that empty pretence the Balance of Power? Itself one of the last relics of feudalism, it may now be fairly regarded as being dead and buried with the other "lying vanities" of that darker age.

Nor is the marked readiness to arbitrate where not long since it would have been considered an evidence of something like cowardice not to fight, less a proof than those already mentioned of the growing tendency in favor of peace. This principle lay at the bottom of the laudable proposal of the Emperor of the French, to hold a Congress of the European Powers, some three years ago; it was paramount in the dispute between Great Britain and the Brazilian government respecting the officers of Her Majesty's ship *Forte*, in 1863; and it is once more breaking through the dark clouds of suspicion and distrust, and silently opening the way for a quiet adjustment of the *Alabama* claims between this country and the United States. The high hand of mere might, once so potent and appalling, is paralyzed in the presence of this higher and nobler principle; and every additional proof of its power becomes also another guarantee that, not many years hence, arbitration, and not war, will rule the world.

Now, without taking more credit to ourselves than undisputed facts abundantly justify, we in our turn ask, what organization or other agency has done more to produce these results than the *London Peace Society*? Not to dilate upon its wide-spread labors in our own country, by its thousands of meetings, its addresses to the young in schools, its acknowledged influence upon the pulpit, its myriads of tracts enforcing principles, or meeting the various crises of the passing day, or its appeals to governments both at home and abroad, which appeals were sometimes successful, and never wholly in vain; not to enlarge upon these topics, we ask, with whom originated the first Peace Convention in 1843, which drew more attention to the Peace cause than had ever been directed to it before? By whom were the great Congresses called and conducted at Brussels, Paris, and Frankfort-on-the-Maine, which awoke nearly the whole Continent to the consideration of the claims of universal peace? And to what agency do we owe those influential conferences that were held with so much efficiency at London, Manchester, Edinburgh, and, on a smaller scale, in a number of our large provincial

towns? Is it at all credible that these efforts have been made in vain? Or will any sensible man venture on the proof that as much of a pacific sentiment would have existed in the world, had there been no London Peace Society?

We make these statements for two reasons among others: first, to answer the question at the head of this article, and, secondly, to encourage our own friends to continued and enlarged efforts in this holy cause. Having been privileged to do so much in the past, having, more than any other single agency, succeeded in applying the Peace principle to the very heart of mighty governments, we may well be pardoned when, in humbly determining on yet greater success in the future, we accept as the condition and assurance of that success, the words of Holy Scripture, *Be ye not weary in well-doing, for in due season ye shall reap, IF YE FAINT NOT.* — *London Herald of Peace, Feb. 1867.*

CHANGES FAVORABLE TO PEACE. — Joseph W. Pease, M. P., at the late anniversary of the London Peace Society, alluded to several of these: "The events of the past few years have made all nations glad to meet together for the purposes of peace. Thirteen or fourteen years ago France, England, Russia and Turkey engaged in the Crimean War; and I believe the effect was that those nations retired from the contest thoroughly disgusted with war. The popular spirit which urged it on saw its error before it was over, and this generation will not forget the experience it then gained. It strikes me, also, that during the last few months a decided change has taken place in the tone of our newspapers. You all recollect the way in which they spoke of this society at the time of the formation of the Volunteers! but now their tone has considerably changed, as we see in the *Times*."

WHAT PEACE SOCIETIES HAVE DONE. — Rev. R. E. HOOPELL, a clergyman of the Church of England, said on the same occasion: — "I believe the Peace Society to be in the very fore-front of good societies at the present day. Next to the Bible Society, I regard it as the most valuable. The time for the operations of such a society has come; and the great success which has attended its labors hitherto is *proof* that its time has indeed come. It is said indeed the Peace Society has not yet succeeded in putting down war. It should be remembered that wars have existed in the earth nearly 6,000 years; and it cannot be expected that they will be put down at once.

But I submit that great progress has been made during the last few years. The recent Conference proves that a vast deal has been done, and, I believe, to a great extent, through the labors of this society. It was the Peace Society which took the first step in recommending the substitution of arbitration *before* war in the place of arbitration *after* war; and in the late Conference, which was the first successful instance of an arbitration *before* war, we see what great progress has been made. Then how the whole country is now set upon the principle of non-intervention. At the time of the Crimean war the idea of non-intervention was scouted; but what a wonderful change during the last fifteen years! From one end of the country to the other non-intervention is professed and defended by everybody.

Look, again, at the altered tone of the press, which now, as a rule, denounces war, and points out the folly of settling international disputes by an appeal to the sword. Another encouraging feature is the growing intelligence of nations, and the increasing interest which they have in each other's welfare. There is gradually extending throughout the world a guild of industry, which will tend more and more to bind the nations together in

the bonds of peace. Commerce, industry, intercourse between nations, railways, and electric telegraphs, are without doubt great pacificators. Years hence, people will look back with horror upon the wars which have desecrated the earth, and upon the system of keeping up enormous armies for the purpose of mutual slaughter. He concluded by moving the resolution,

‘That in spite of recent deplorable outbreaks of the war-spirit which have dishonored the civilization and Christianity of our age, there are encouraging symptoms of progress in the direction of peace, as evidenced by the greater reluctance and hesitation shown to rush into war, and by the frequent efforts made by Governments to adjust their differences by other means than an appeal to the sword, of which the late Conference in London is a gratifying illustration.’

PROOFS OF PROGRESS IN THE CAUSE.—ELIHU BURRITT, on the same occasion said:—On several former anniversaries I have endeavored to extract a few gleams of hope from the dark clouds that seemed to spread their raven wings all round the civilized world, to show those tempted to despond that there was here and there a break even then in the clouds, revealing the sunny sky of a better future for mankind; that when the temporary darkness rolls away, we shall see a brighter firmament than Christendom ever beheld before; that the precious seed we have carried forth and sown with toil, and tears even, by the stony pathways and thorny waysides of the nations, has not all perished for lack of earth or lack of moisture, but, like the immortal vitalities of eternal truth, it has taken root, and is germinating to a glorious harvest even under the iron heels of war.

The last time I spoke from this platform, I dwelt especially upon that token for good which every friend of peace ought to recognize in the proposal of the French Emperor to the nations of Europe to meet in general Congress, not only to adjust several European questions then assuming a serious aspect, but to provide some basis of mutual arrangement for a simultaneous and proportionate reduction of those vast war armaments which are now pressing with such crushing weight upon their industry and strength. There is good reason to believe that had that Congress met at the time, and in the spirit proposed, the Danish war would have been anticipated, and the great German war which resulted from it would have been prevented.

Still those two lamentable wars, one following the other in such quick succession, have not destroyed the growing structure of peace, nor even blocked up the pathway of its progress. They have established collaterally one of the great principles that belong to the peace programme; they have proved that the doctrine of non-intervention has become an adopted and practised policy among great nations. It is difficult to conceive how any case can hereafter arise which shall so strongly tempt England to interfere with a foreign quarrel as the Danish question. Still England held fast to her moorings on the great and solid principle of non-intervention. The French Government and people were moved by a like sympathy; but France also held fast to non-intervention. Now, these and other recent experiences give us full and fair reason to believe that non-intervention is becoming a well-recognized and well-established policy among the leading nations of Europe. Here, then, is one of the great measures which we have advocated from the beginning, adopted and acted upon. Even the youngest adherents to the cause of peace will remember what importance that great international patriot, Richard Cobden, attached to this very principle, and how he labored in Parliament and out of it to induce his own and other governments to adopt it.

Then another, the central capital and crowning, measure which we have

advocated from the beginning, has been equally accepted and acted upon by the leading powers of Europe. From the very beginning of their existence, the English and American Peace Societies have urged as a substitute for war recourse to impartial arbitration, or to a Conference or Congress of nations which should bring to bear upon the question in controversy the spirit and principles of equity, the dispassionate opinions of disinterested and unprejudiced minds. The evidence of the last few years, of the last few days, have proved that no war can ever again take place in Christendom, or be seriously threatened without a sincere and persistent effort on the part of the outside powers to prevent it by recourse to arbitration or to a Congress.

Then, a third and very important measure which we have advocated, is progressing very rapidly to its consummation — a well-defined case of international law and equity which shall guide and enable a congress of nations to settle the most agitated question arising between them. We have labored twenty-five years to bring about this result, to enlist the best legal talent and authority in Christendom to take that jumble of discrepant opinion, conflicting precedent, ironically called international law, and to elaborate out of it a well-defined code, clear and strong with common sense and honesty, which shall win the adhesion of the common conscience as the rule of equity among nations. This great measure, as I said, is progressing rapidly to its consummation, which, perhaps, we may realize before the close of the present year. At the last meeting of the Social Science Congress at Manchester, Mr. Dudley Field, an American lawyer of great eminence, brought forward the subject in a masterly argument, and after a full and able discussion a committee of eleven distinguished jurists of different countries was appointed to elaborate such a code and report it at the next meeting of the Social Science Congress. So before this year comes to a close, we may see a work accomplished which shall make war forever impossible in Christendom hereafter. Now, am I too enthusiastic in asking, are not these full and fair signs of promise for the future? Are they not patent, practical proofs of progress which should encourage the most timid and despondent friends of our cause?

But we have a new source of hope in two or three powerful influences recently brought to bear upon the question of peace and war. There are two kinds of forces operating in the natural and the moral world. There is the volcanic force, the earthquake force, the lightning and thunder forces. These are all noisy, impulsive, spasmodic forces; they sometimes blow up a mountain, rive open the earth, and break down a forest. Then there are noiseless, sleepless, gentle forces, like the light, the heat, and the dew. These quiet forces are the breathings of Omnipotence in nature, re-suscitating a dead world, clothing it with beauty, and setting it a-beating with all the young pulses of spring and the golden glory of summer life. A roaring, thundering tornado, may smite a great cathedral with all its boisterous rage, and not displace a stone; but the little sunbeams of summer, more noiseless than even the dew, will permeate and expand that vast structure, adding inches to its morning stature. So in the moral world, all the brute forces that act upon it and in it are noisy, impulsive, spasmodic. War is the most brutish and boisterous of them all. It is a tornado that gathers into itself all the violent ailments and human passions and prejudices as it sweeps over the scene of its fury. It is a tempest full of the lightning and thunder of wild and mad indignation. All the strong and impetuous forces of hate, anger, jealousy, all the worst vices of a nation's mind are drawn into it. Then all the romantic histories and ambitions of military fame, the

unreasoning impulses and vague notions of patriotism, and lower ideas and interests, give a kind of variegated halo of attraction to the gathering storm; and when it has thus accumulated all these boisterous forces into one compact power, 'and threatens to burst upon the nations with all its wrath and rage,' one may well look around in dismay and ask, what and where are the forces to resist it?

But these forces do exist and act, though they may be as gentle and noiseless as the sunbeams of summer. What the sunbeams do to vast structures of iron and stone, these quiet moral forces do to the greatest structures of human society; they expand, warm, lift great nations to the stature of a higher and better mind. How the gentle touch of one woman's hand may turn the helm of a mighty foreign power from the maelstrom of war! Who can say what earthquakes of fury and dread ruin were turned away from Christendom by two simple notes penned by Queen Victoria to the French Emperor and the Prussian King on this Luxembourg question? The influence which she brought to bear was as noiseless and gentle as the footsteps of the summer sunbeams, or the footfall of the evening dew. But it permeated and softened the iron and the stone. The day is coming when just the kind of influence which she put forth will curb and control the iron force of brute power; when the nations will not listen for the voice or the step of God in the earthquake or the whirlwind, but in the still small voice of just such words as she addressed to the two angry potentates of Europe.

Another hopeful sign is the extension of combination among laboring men. There is one aspect of this movement full of hope and promise for the cause of peace. These allied armies of artisans are organizing a strike for humanity which shall benefit all the coming ages. They are organizing a mighty, magnificent strike against war and the whole war-system. They begin to see and feel that war has been a horse-leech battenning at their veins in all ages and countries — that it has preyed upon their blood, filched away their earnings, taxed their bread, and degraded them to be the veriest tools and victims of brute force. They begin to see and feel that their humanity is worth something more to themselves, and something more to the world, than to become food for gunpowder. They begin to see and feel that they belong to, and form one great industrial brotherhood, and that no sort of war can be raised in any country without their feeling its keenest edge. Let the artisans have one great strike against war; and capital, commerce, industry, enterprise, and wealth may well say, 'Grace, grace unto it.' And now, as if to crown all these gracious influences with a glorious consummation, we have the Great Exhibition at Paris. These and other influences all converge towards the condemnation of war; and if ever there was a time for the friends of peace to organize a great movement against the barbarism of war, that day has arrived. Let them take this flood at its tide, and see if it will not lead on to fortune for mankind, and greater fortune than all the money wealth of the world can measure or express.

THE POPULAR MOVEMENT ON THE CONTINENT IN FAVOR OF PEACE. — Of this we gave in our last a few specimens, but have since learned of others still more extensive and important. The statements are well authenticated. "The Peace movement," says the Rev. Henry Richard, the able Secretary of the London Peace Society, "is extending rapidly in France, and bids fair to become a powerful and permanent organization. Though the immediate occasion that called it forth was the Luxembourg dispute, its promoters are by no means disposed to let it drop in prospect of the peaceable adjustment

of that dispute. "Let this matter be settled by the neutralization scheme," says the editor of *Le Temps*, "and the League of Peace, freed from the menacing circumstances which gave it rise, can then set itself freely to prepare the future." Indeed, nearly all who have joined in this remarkable demonstration, far from restricting themselves to the work of deprecating and opposing any warlike issue of this particular quarrel, assail the whole principle and practice of international war. Thus, in a pamphlet entitled "*L'Union de la Paix*," of which several thousands have been circulated, and to the proposal contained in which for the promotion of a peace union we are told by M. Frederic Passy "many thousands of persons have sent their adhesion," we find the writer thus expressing himself: "the warlike tendency of the age is more superficial than profound; for the real people who pay for war, and die in war, have calculated perfectly how many ruined fortunes go to pay for the pensions of generals, how many crutches return to them in exchange for the crosses of the legion of honor, how many mothers' tears it costs to plait the ribbons of chivalry. It is time that the multitude should no longer be made to suffer for the few; it is time that the sabre should be allowed to rust, and the spade be taken in its stead; that mothers should dry their tears, and that when we look into the pure eyes of our children, and kiss their clear foreheads, we should feel that our lips are not caressing the victims or the executioners of the future."

The pages of *Le Temps* are covered day by day by the names of those who send in their adhesions to the "*Ligue de la Paix*." Thus, to take one number as an example, on the 4th of May the editor says: "We have received 183 adhesions from the communes of Rothan (Voges), 32 from the commune of Wildersback, and 32 from the commune of Neuwillers-la-Roche in the same department, among whom we observe the mayor of Rothan, the parish priest of Rothan, the mayor of Wildersback, and the two schoolmasters of Wildersback." Then follows a long list of individual names from all parts of France.

It is gratifying, also, to find, that, though hitherto most unhappily the great majority of newspapers in all countries have made themselves the organs of the narrowest international prejudices, a considerable number of French journals, both in Paris and the Provinces, have adhered to the Peace movement. Thus, the *Temps*, 5th of May, mentions *nine* that have done so.

Still more significant and hopeful are the numerous addresses sent from various classes in France to corresponding classes in Germany, which have already called forth many cordial responses from the latter country. *Le Temps* publishes several such addresses from bodies of freemasons belonging to the two nations. There is, also, an exceedingly interesting address from the "Society of French Students in Theology at Geneva" to the students of Berlin. "We disclaim," say they, "all sympathy with those who would provoke a conflict with the puerile intention of deciding which of two powers has military superiority, and who do not fear to trample under foot the sacred rights of the population. The only international conflicts that are honorable in this age are those of science, industry, and art; the only battle-fields which in modern times do not degrade humanity, are universal exhibitions."

In some instances the first movement in these exchanges was made by the German working men. In *La Co-opération*, a very able paper published at Brussels as the organ of the co-operative societies, there is an address from the working mechanics of Berlin to the working men of Paris,

together with the reply of the French co-operators. To this latter appear the signatures of an immense number of persons, which fill more than four columns of the paper in close type. Among these are several scores of Germans now resident in Paris. At the end of this list the editor adds, "A large number of fresh adhesions and signatures have reached us from all quarters, too late for the present number."

Here is a specimen of these addresses from "the working mechanics of Berlin:" — "We detest all war, and we hold especially war between France and Germany to be equally fatal to the interests of civilization and liberty. We know that the two nations have in their vast and beautiful territories sufficient space to live happily and in peace with each other, and that the provocations of those interested in procuring by force victory over right and liberty can only tend to awaken envy and reciprocal hatred. We are convinced that working men have nothing to do with the laurels of war; for these laurels grow on the battle-field, manured by the bones of working men, watered by the tears of widows and orphans, laden with the maledictions of starving mechanics. We hold the competition of labor to be the only rivalry worthy of our civilization, and the common struggle of all nations in the cause of liberty against the enemies of liberty the only struggle worthy of us. With these sentiments we send to our brothers in Paris our peaceful greetings."

Here is the reply, dated, "Paris, April 23, 1867: —

"Brothers and friends, — You are advocating the cause of truth and justice. We read your address with tears in our eyes and joy in our hearts. Let our German brethren be fully convinced that we all desire peace; we all detest war; we also hold "the common struggle of nations in the cause of liberty the only struggle worthy of us." With you we protest against might over right; we repudiate all idea of conquest and territorial aggrandisement. We desire that the will of nations should be respected like the will of citizens. With you we hold that public opinion should alone govern States, and the spirit of brotherhood alone animate the relations between peoples.

Those who talk of our ambition deceive you. We are your friends. Those who try to sow dissensions among us, are our common enemies; and if the blood of two peoples is to be shed on the field of battle, it will be in spite of you and in spite of us. We raise our voices while yet there is time, that the responsibility of so great a crime may fall entirely on the authors of it."

Mr. Richard says at a later date, "The Peace movement in France spreads and strengthens day by day. Of the addresses, which are still multiplying, one of the most admirable is from a body of French Protestant pastors, lately assembled in conference in Paris to the pastors of the Protestant Churches in Germany. It begins thus: —

"DEAR BRETHREN, — At the moment we are meeting in pastoral conference to take into fraternal consideration the interests of the Protestant Church, we cannot resist the desire to unite our voices with all the other voices that are rising on both sides of the Rhine in favor of peace. We are assured beforehand that our words are only an echo of your sentiments. Like ourselves, you detest war with all its horrors, the massacres and mutilations of men, the bereavement of families, the hateful passions it kindles in the heart. All war is a return to the state of barbarism. Material interests are paralyzed, intellectual labors are suspended, the intercourse of peoples is broken, the conquests of liberty, so slow and laborious, are compromised or even destroyed.

The interest and the duty of nations is not to ruin each other, but mutually to assist and love as brethren who have a common work and common hopes. We, who profess to be the disciples of Jesus Christ, should never be weary of repeating to the men of our time the eternal words of our Master, 'You have one Father, love one another.' What influence, then, has Christianity exercised on the world, if in this age nations calling themselves Christian need only a pretext to rush blindly into fratricidal conflicts?"

These salutations from France are echoed back from Germany with a will. The General Association of Working Men in Berlin thus address the French people: — "Frenchmen, working men, and brethren, — The rumor of an imminent danger of war has been excited by the relations of Luxembourg with Germany; for some time it has disquieted most European nations; but it has given to the two nations most directly interested, the French and Germans, the opportunity already of exchanging many times their wishes for the peaceable solution of this difficulty. We, the working men of Berlin, wish anew to testify our desire for the lasting maintenance of peace, and to proclaim the expression of it to all the French nation. It is in the bosom of industry and of family life, that we wish to find our prosperity, and not in the service of despotism, which aspires to power by blood-stained laurels, and which always ends by abusing national sentiment after having goaded it on to the conquest of territories and peoples.

Frenchmen, let us press forward towards the universal brotherhood of peoples. Let us detest all war with its horrors and terrors. Let us detest it as the legacy of the cruel Middle Ages, adapted only to fetter the industrial and liberal development of modern times, to tarnish and dishonor it. Our fields of battle are the workshops; they are the temples of humanity, where every man can struggle with all his force with peaceable and moral weapons for eternal truth, and justice, and beauty."

Here is another from the German Societies in Switzerland to the French:

"Brothers, friends, — Wherefore war? Is it that the independence of the French people, or that of the German people, is in danger? Wherefore war? Is it to give prosperity to commerce and industry, to make the sciences and arts to flourish? About what is this agitation? About the garrison of Luxembourg and the rectification of frontiers! The French people and the German people have a mission to search for truth, and to struggle for liberty. This is their glory, their only glory. But if they cut each other's throats, on account of a fortification or a river, they betray the cause of humanity. Working men, let us protest against war in the name of fraternity, in the name of civilization. Long live France! Long live Germany!"

Documents like these we might multiply beyond our limits, but will quote only one more "phase of this Franco-German peace movement." A local paper says "a number of French and Germans on the Rhine met at Kehl to prepare in concert an international declaration in favor of peace. That declaration was signed during the sitting by twenty-three French citizens and an equal number of German citizens; and it has been decided that two committees shall be formed, the one at Strasbourg, the other at Kehl, for receiving and combining the adhesions of the two countries." We quote this declaration: — "The undersigned, inhabitants of the two banks of the Rhine, declare that they energetically repudiate all idea of encroachment of one people on the other, and all proclamation of hatred and war between them, from whatever quarter it may come. They think that there

is enough of progress still to be made by every country within itself, enough of new citizens to conquer at home, enough of courage and patriotism to be expended for the common weal on the spot, to render it wise to place national honor and the struggle for superiority of race on other grounds than fields of battle. They invite all those of their fellow-citizens who share these sentiments to join in forming in the two countries the great party of peace, of the only peace which can be honorable and durable, that which shall have for its foundation the mutual respect and brotherly aid which civilized nations owe to each other."

RECENT SIGNS OF PROGRESS. — A month ago, the heavens were thick with clouds which threatened a wide-spread and destructive tempest; but now the stormy rack has been dispersed, and the bow of Peace spans the sky. Indeed, we cannot but think that the last few weeks have revealed more hopeful symptoms than we have witnessed for many a long day. A Conference of the Great Powers have met in London, and have settled by the arbitration of reason and justice the dispute between two of their number, which seemed only a month ago to be big with calamity for the nations. The real significance of this event, however, does not consist in its having averted the actual outbreak of war on this particular occasion, but in its having established a precedent which may be of the utmost value for the future. That human beings whom God has endowed with reason and conscience, and who have the strongest interest in maintaining friendly relations with each other, should seek to find some method of adjusting their differences without clawing and tearing each other like wild beasts, does not seem to require any extraordinary stretch of intelligence and virtue; and yet this has hitherto been deemed a thing all but hopelessly impracticable, as regards at least those large communities of human beings which are called nations. The men who have ventured to recommend this have been derided as visionary enthusiasts. It seemed to be a settled conviction in the minds of statesmen and diplomatists, that to attempt by a European Conference called *before* war to arrange conflicting claims, was altogether absurd. This was the ground taken, and gravely maintained, by Lord Russell in his correspondence with M. Drouyn de L'Huys on the proposal made by the Emperor of the French four years ago, to convene an oecumenical council of sovereigns and states with a view to seek some solution for the questions which threatened war, and to lay the basis of a general pacification. 'It is true,' said the noble lord, 'that such conferences have been called in times past, and have been successful; but that was merely "because the nations were tired of the slaughter, and exhausted by the burdens of war" It is quite out of the question to expect that a Conference called *before* war has broken out, can be of any service in reconciling opposing interests and pretensions.' Here, however, is an instance of this impossible thing having been actually done. Something like a Court of Nations in a rude form has been convened, and two powerful litigants have consented to appeal their cause to its adjudication, and have accepted its decision as binding. This can never again, therefore, be scouted as an impracticable dream. But is it not strange that rulers cannot be persuaded to make an attempt towards establishing something like a permanent international jurisdiction, always ready to do with deliberation and certainty, and before men's passions have been roused by angry discussion, what in this instance has been done hastily, and on the spur of the moment, by a body extemporized for the purpose, after many weeks of recrimination and menace had exasperated the two parties almost beyond hope of reconciliation?

But satisfactory as has been the issue of this council of plenipotentiaries in London, there is another token for good which has lately appeared incomparably more full of hope as respects the future. For, as the *Times* has lately said, "so long as the policy of Europe shall be virtually in the hands of sovereigns instead of their people, so long as the nations are content to be led, like sheep, whither their rulers please, either to the pasture or to the slaughter, so long as false ideas of honor and romantic aspirations of nationality are enough to set the minds of the soberest populations in a blaze, so long as the study and the practice of the arts of destruction are more honored and valued than the cultivation of the arts of peace, we have no solid guarantee that a new Luxembourg may not be found in some petty fortress and a new cause for national susceptibility in some other half-forgotten treaty and half-unknown state." Therefore it is that we have witnessed with the highest satisfaction the spontaneous movement that has taken place among the *people* of France and Germany. We call it spontaneous, because it owes its existence to no external impulse, or to none that was immediately and visibly operative. But is it presumption to surmise that this outburst of pacific sentiment on the Continent of Europe may be, in part at least, the slow germination of seed that was sown broad-cast on that soil some sixteen years ago by the Peace party of England? At that time the Great International Peace Congresses that were held at Brussels, Paris, and Frankfurt, gave wide publicity to principles which had not been before very much proclaimed among Continental nations. And these were followed by Elihu Burritt's olive leaf operations, by which Peace sentiments were freely diffused through the press among the people of almost every nation of Europe. We cannot believe that all these appeals to the reason and conscience and Christian feeling of great European communities were wholly in vain. And it may be that what we are now witnessing may to some extent be the working of the heaven that was then deposited in the popular mind. Be that as it may, the fact stands forth in all its gratifying distinctness, that for the first time in history, so far as we know, the *people* of two great nations of the Continent whose rulers were bickering and bullying each other, have lifted their voices in concert, in earnest deprecation of war. No man, not interested in the maintenance of the war-system, can doubt for an instant that this interposition of the popular will in questions of peace or war introduces a new element into European policy, which cannot fail to exercise a powerful and most beneficial influence on the course of events.

Perhaps the most interesting and important feature in this movement is the part taken by the working classes. We have often been astonished at their apathy in this matter. For it is evident as the day, that whoever profits by war — and unhappily there are some who profit largely by it — nothing but suffering and loss falls to their lot. It is upon them ever, that by far the heaviest part of the burden devolves, whether in the pressure of military service, or in the indirect cost of war, or in the misery consequent on the derangement of commerce and industry. And we most devoutly rejoice that this conviction seems now to have taken possession of them so thoroughly. Nothing can be better, as it appears to us, than the addresses which the French and German working men have exchanged on this occasion. We fancy we discover in them a largeness of view, a fuller recognition of the general brotherhood of humanity, a deeper estimation of the evils, not merely of the particular war with which they have been lately threatened, but of all war, than have marked the addresses, excellent as they have been on the whole, of some of the other classes who have joined in this demonstration. — *Herald of Peace.*

ACTUAL PREVENTION OF WAR. — We might quote several cases where this has been done through the influence of peace-men, or the application of the measures for which they have so long pleaded. A clear, if not striking case, has recently occurred. In May last was held in London a Conference of the leading European Powers to avert a war seriously threatened between France and Prussia; and by prompt adoption of the very expedients which Peace Societies had kept before the public for more than a quarter of a century, they soon settled the dispute apparently to the satisfaction of both parties.

On this case the London Peace Society well say, "We rejoice, not merely because bloodshed has been avoided, but because we have seen one of our own favorite ideas for the first time practically realized. This is the language we have ever held, 'since war can settle nothing, and the combatants, however long they have been fighting, have always to meet in conference *after* the fighting is over to arrange by mutual concert and concession the matter in dispute, would it not be more rational that they should meet for arrangement *before* appealing to that brutal arbitrament, which, while it inflicts such unutterable misery, ever leaves all questions of right still undecided?' In the present instance, this more rational course has been tried, and tried successfully. This peculiarity has been pointedly referred to by one of the great powers, more immediately concerned in the late dispute. In the official communication as to the results of the Conference, which the Marquis de Moustier has just laid before the French Legislative Assembly, we find these remarkable words: — 'The Government thinks it useful especially to point out that for the first time the meeting of a conference, instead of following a war, and confining itself to sanctioning its results, has succeeded in anticipating war and preserving the benefits of peace. This is a precious indication of the new tendencies which prevail in the world, and over which the friends of progress and civilization should rejoice.'

COMMENTS.

We can only conjecture at present how far this movement is likely to become permanently effective; but certainly so extensive and spontaneous an uprising of the people against the war-system must be regarded as a new and very hopeful development of public opinion in behalf of our cause. Europe has never seen the like of it on this subject; and yet it has doubtless come legitimately from the seeds of peace so widely scattered over the Continent during the last fifteen or twenty years by our English co-workers. God grant it may prove the dawn of a new era in our cause there.

There are some aspects of this movement which must strike every one as quite significant. Not only did it spring spontaneously from the people, and spread like a species of moral electricity, but rulers seem to have had nothing to do with it. We hear indeed of no ill-feeling toward government; but it all came directly out of the popular heart, their spontaneous protest against war as a great crime and curse.

We cannot, then, resist the conclusion, that a policy of peace, wisely adopted, would be eminently popular throughout Europe. Have we not in the facts now before us a full pledge of this? We wish the experiment

could be fairly tried. Has not the time come for the trial? If some William Penn or Lord Falkland in England or France, would only venture in earnest on a vigorous, persistent effort to supersede the blind, savage arbitrament of the sword by the adoption of rational, peaceful expedients for the settlement of their disputes, and the regulation of their intercourse, he would win from future ages a glory compared with which "the laurels that a Cæsar reaps are weeds."

In this movement, whatever may be its immediate bearing on our cause, we cannot help seeing some very significant facts—the right and determination of the people to interfere in the great questions of peace or war, questions hitherto left almost entirely to rulers; the power of public opinion, chiefly through presses and popular meetings, to sway, if not to control, the action of governments; the settled and growing aversion of the masses against war and the war-system as hostile to their own interests, and the strong probability that when their views shall come, as they are fast coming, to exert, directly or indirectly, a decisive influence over governments, we shall find adopted in the intercourse of nations a policy far more pacific than has ever yet prevailed. It is thus the cause of peace will be sure to keep pace with the march of general improvement.

We like much the practical turn and drift of this movement. It pushes straight to its object. No side issues, no abstractions hard to be understood, no extreme principles or measures, no impracticable radicalisms. These earnest men, intent first on averting a threatened war, and then on putting the custom itself under the ban of a regenerated public opinion, do not stop to inquire whether it is right in any case to kill in self-defence; whether human life is, or should be, always inviolable; whether such crimes as murder or piracy ought to be punished with death; whether it is right for government to use all the force it may find necessary for the maintenance of its authority over its own subjects, and for the enforcement of its laws against those who violate them, whether the offenders are few or many, one man or a million. On such points as these, none of them essential to their object, they express no opinion, and ask for none as a condition of uniting to gain the specific end they have in view. Here is common sense, a just and wise liberality, without which no great social reform can ever achieve full success.

PEACE FINANCES. — The receipts of the London Peace Society last year were a little more than \$15,000; a large amount for our cause, yet not a tithe of what would be requisite for its proper and adequate prosecution, either there or in this country. Let us hope that its pecuniary means of success may be steadily and very largely increased, as we are sure they would be if its claims were understood as they should be.

DUTY OF MINISTERS AT THE PRESENT TIME.

At the present moment, it is quite obvious, that the aspect of things, both in this country and in Europe, is favorable to the continuance of peace. The recent great events in Prussia; the emancipation of the serfs in Russia; the settlement, in harmony with established peace principles, of the exciting Luxembourg question; the pacific but really great Reform Revolution in England; the pacification of our own recently divided and warring country; the prospect of a better state of things in Mexico; the establishment of unity and a comparatively free government in Italy; the grand Paris Exhibition, which was practically the growth of peace ideas, and was somewhat of the nature of a Peace Congress; the formation in Europe of the International Peace League; the manifestation of a disposition by the laboring people in Europe to resist unnecessary warlike movements, — these are among the accomplished facts and the pregnant signs of the times. It is hardly necessary to say in view of these, that such a moment is especially propitious for the renewed consideration of the great subject of international peace. It is in all respects a favorable time, and especially for Christian ministers to take up the question.

During the recent civil war in this country, preachers of the Gospel, which is emphatically a Gospel of Peace, were compelled, by the exigencies of the situation, to comparative silence. In the storm and thunder of that terrible contest, which was really and in the eye of Providence the winding up of a long-continued and persistent war against an unoffending race, there was but little opportunity for pacific utterances. If they had been made, they would have been unheeded. But it is different now. The storm has passed, the sky is clear; and suffering humanity, from her thousand abodes of wretchedness, made such by the violences of war, call upon those who minister at the altar of peace to preach, to pray, and to labor in the interests of that beneficent and better time when war shall be no longer.

It is not my object at the present time to enter into the question of the *right* of war. Let it, if you choose, be conceded, in accordance with the common opinion, that Grotius and Vattel are right, and that wars are sometimes justifiable; nevertheless will not all candid and thoughtful ministers acknowledge that, in view of their position and in-

fluence, they have something, if not very much, to do in this great matter? The religion which they profess and teach, is confessedly a religion of LOVE. They assert, in accordance with the teachings of their great Text-Book, that "LOVE is the fulfilling of the law;" that "God is Love;" and that pacific dispositions are of the very essence of Christianity. But international peace, the pacification of nations and peoples, is the logical and natural outgrowth of love. The subject of international peace, then, comes legitimately within the sphere of Biblical teachings. The ministers of the Gospel can *pray* for the peace of the nations; and can it be said, that they do their whole religious duty, unless they offer up their supplications in the interests of peace distinctly, earnestly, and frequently? They can preach, also, on the subject to the instruction and great interest of their hearers. Would it be a hard or ungracious task for a minister once a year, taking perhaps for his text a portion of the Sermon on the Mount, to compare the spirit of war with the spirit of the Gospel, and to delineate, for the good of his hearers, the characters of the Cæsars and the Napoleons, and place it in a contrasted view with that of the Son of God, whose mission was without weapons of carnal warfare, and whose pacific example is recognized as an authority?

Farther than this; if there is a society, like the American Peace Society, which, without denying the right of government to maintain its authority, and execute its laws with all the force necessary for the purpose, or taking any other extreme ground, nevertheless profess in every possible way to remove the occasions, to diminish the frequency, and mitigate the atrocities of war, by pointing out and urging pacific methods of adjustment, and by other means, should not their profession, and the Gospel they preach, lead them to sympathize and co-operate with such a society?

Undoubtedly the Peace Society is feeble in its means of action; but it would be unjust to deny, that it has exerted a salutary influence, and been the instrument of good. Its efficiency would be greatly increased, and its good results be widely extended, if the ministers of the land, embracing the present favorable opportunity, would unite in its support, and bring to the consideration and furtherance of its great objects their sympathy and prayers, and the vast influence of their talents, learning, and position. Does not their great Master, the Prince of Peace, ask them to do this?

T. C. U.

THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT.

THE government of men was at first patriarchal, the father retaining his authority over all his descendants, so long as he lived. In this form, authority was co-ordinate with love, experience, and disinterestedness. But as population grew dense, families became commingled, and authority passed into the hands of chiefs and princes. Their interests and their particular families became distinct, if not different from those of the masses, and authority lost its tincture of love.

The confusion of tongues at Babel, and the dispersion of mankind, tended powerfully to destroy the feeling of neighborhood, and the community of interest. Men became foreigners to each other, and their language unintelligible. Kings became necessary. Ambition, sensuality, greed of gain, love of power, passion for conquest, and a sense of irresponsibility followed of course. Hence wars. No schools taught young princes how to be kings. No blessed influence of Christianity prompted the edicts of absolute power. The children of kings supposed they were born to rule; and intercourse with vassals fostered arrogance, and all the evils seen in hereditary slave-drivers. Hence few kings in any age or country have been *good*. Few have spent their youth in sober study of the duties and responsibilities destined to be devolved upon them. Bad kings make uneasy subjects; and these, when their grievances become in their view intolerable, rise in convulsive and revolutionary violence. Uninfluenced themselves, however, by right views, and incapable of the wise use of power, they fail to secure the nation's peace and prosperity, and some few, by accident or craft, come to possess power, which they use mainly for private and perverted ends.

Thus has the world gone on, a world of strife; and now the great lesson of the centuries is, that both people and rulers must *be taught the true science of government*. They both need it, and *must* have it, or suffer from the want of it. Colleges teach so-called Political Economy a few weeks out of a four years' course, while mathematics and two dead languages occupy most of the period assigned to education. Pulpits have taught Freewill, Predestination, Human Depravity, Repentance toward God, and Faith in Jesus Christ, but have said little about the duties and responsibilities of the citizen and the magistrate. The world has lost sight of the science of government, important alike

to ruler and subject; and the teachings of Revelation on this subject slumber in neglect.

What is the result? Every nation surrounds itself with grim and threatening citadels, and prepares fleets to fight upon the sea. College boys declaim battle speeches. Poets and painters present for human admiration the blood-stained warrior. Peaceful men are conscripted, and dragged from the plough and the anvil to perish, or be maimed for life, in contests of the merits of which they know nothing, and in the results of which they have little or no interest.

How long must nations the most enlightened continue to suffer thus from their ignorance or neglect of the science of government? Let every Christian realize the need of inculcating in college, academy, and Sunday-school, as well as at the fireside, the true principles of intercourse between men and nations. Let pulpits exhibit the enormity of war, as they have of slavery, intemperance, and other crimes, and teach that peace which our Lord's birth heralded to men, and the Gospel promises in time as the proper result of its prevalence.

A NEGLECTED SUBJECT OF PRAYER.

THE deplorable fact stands out, not only in history, but in this day's aspect of the world, that the rulers of nations have been, and are, almost universally, wicked men, fearing neither God nor man. These, by their deceit, folly, pride, and passion, plunge unwilling peoples into the countless miseries of war.

Why, then, do not Christians pray that God would "make our officers peace and our exactors righteousness"? Isaiah lx. 17. Why is it not insisted on by ministers, that ours is the "Gospel of Peace"? Rom. x. 15. Why is not the power of the pulpit brought to bear on war, even as it has been on intemperance, slavery, lewdness, and other evils? Why are not the people *taught* that God's great law of love is as binding on nations as on families and individuals? Verily, the pulpit, and over Christendom, is derelict on this momentous topic.

Are you, reader, a minister of God's word? Then keep nothing back. Commune with your own heart, and see whether you honestly proclaim the whole message. How often have you stood forth the

teacher of PEACE ON EARTH? Have you ever once done so? Has the enormous crime of war ever occupied *any part* of any sermon?

Perhaps you are an editor of a periodical. Ah! you cannot be guiltless, if, in the weekly instructions which you send to thousands, you keep silent on the grand duty of peaceableness and human charity. Perhaps, though not an editor, you write for periodicals, or for Sunday-school libraries. Have you written anything to help arrest the greatest of human calamities, the greatest of human crimes, the parent of slavery, murder, robbery, crime, wanton destruction, heavy taxes, and every earthly abomination?

The Lord open all our eyes to all our duty! Our time to do good to the glory of God and our own eternal profit grows short. "God hath called us to Peace." 1 Cor. vii. 15. "I am come to give peace on earth." Luke xii. 51. "Workers together with Him." 2 Cor. vi. 1.

H. M.

OUR TREATMENT OF INDIANS.

Our troubles with Indians have been coeval with our history, and have left a deplorable stigma on our character and policy as a Christian people. In England there has long been an "Aborigines' Protection Society" designed to avert, repair or mitigate the evils to which the natives in or near the colonies which the British Government has scattered in the four quarters of the globe, are exposed. It is confessedly an enterprise akin to our own; but we have hitherto treated it as not coming strictly in our sphere. With our people it has always been a practical question, as it is likely to be for ages to come; and in every view it is exceedingly desirable that some measures should be devised, some agencies and influences set at work, that shall prevent or relieve the evils inflicted upon both parties by their past intercourse.

The case is quite anomalous. The Indians are treated as strictly neither foreigners nor citizens, but somewhat as wards and proteges of our Government. In its general treatment of them, it has professedly gone in the main upon right principles; but, in carrying out its policy towards them, it has employed agents notoriously unprincipled, selfish and cruel. The result is perfectly natural. We have spent vast amounts of money, and sacrificed on our own part thousands of lives, all without insuring a state of reliable peace with these sons of the forest. If we except our adoption of the war principle, a deplorable

exception, our policy towards the Indians has been wise, humane and beneficent; but the agents often, if not generally, employed in its execution, have proved themselves either bad men, or quite unfitted for the service. Instead of faithfully serving either the Indians or our government, they have cheated both, and prostituted their trust into a gigantic swindle to enrich themselves. To these official knaves, more than to all other causes put together, we have been indebted for our troubles with the Indians; and had we from the first treated them as William Penn did, we should have saved scores of thousands of lives, and many hundred millions of money.

This question is becoming more and more important. The mass of our people seem to know little about it; and our government has of late failed signally to conciliate or coerce these sons of the forest. Armed with some of our deadliest weapons, and learning not a few of our bad habits from the reckless, desperate white men that go among them, they are likely to work increasing mischief to us and themselves until we shall learn the right way of dealing with them. This we seem very slow in learning, and the result is that the Indian country between Kansas and California is becoming a vast field of savage warfare, and the conflict is not only sacrificing many lives, but costing "a mint of money." How much we know not, but should not be surprised to find it exceed the estimate now current of 'a million a week.' So much for a war-policy.

The day after writing the above, we received the following from a friend travelling to the west of Missouri, a strong as well as persistent confirmation of our views:—

HOW INDIAN WARS ARE PRODUCED. — The writer of this has been spending a few days in Nebraska, in the western part of which a destructive Indian war is now raging. The cause of this war, as indeed of all others, is quite apparent. It results from aggression on one side, and retaliation on the other. I am persuaded that we can have either peace or war with the Indians, as with other people, just as we choose. It is true they are savages. They do not respect treaties; and when their enemies fall into their hands, they are cruel. But they are children in knowledge, and should be treated as such. What do they know about the moral obligation to do right? What do they know about the guilt of robbery and murder? It is as foolish as it is vain to hold them, as we should a civilized people, accountable for every violation of law.

What, then, shall be done? The first thing is to civilize and Chris-

tianize them ; nor is it less necessary to civilize and Christianize their white neighbors. Unless this shall be done, the weaker party will be exterminated.

One thing struck me with surprise and alarm — the intense hatred against the red man existing all through the country west of the Missouri River. It can hardly be realized by one not on the ground. When an Indian approaches the residence of a white man for any purpose whatever, it is very common to set the dogs on him. If this is not done, and he is allowed to purchase anything, he is very likely overreached and cheated in the bargain. If he escapes being shot down by some reckless villain, he is fortunate. The people here very generally justify the infamous Colonel Chirington who ordered his men to shoot down Indian *women and children in cold blood* ! a transaction that is almost universally condemned farther east.

I passed yesterday near a little creek called the — Hide, named from the following circumstance, which shows the origin of most Indian wars : — A white family were travelling over the plains. A young man connected with it had recklessly declared that he would shoot the first Indian whom he saw ; and noticing a squaw at a little distance off, he drew up his rifle, and deliberately shot her dead without the least provocation. The result was what might have been expected, only perhaps a little more tragical. The Indian party with which the squaw was connected, overtook the family, and demanded that the murderer be given up ; and, as the only alternative was the death of the whole party, it was done. They took him back to the place where the murder occurred, and skinned him alive as deliberately as he had shot the Indian woman. Of course this was savage ; but was it surprising ?

Another case was related to me this morning. A party of Indians had shot an ox or cow belonging to a white man. What Indians did it was not known. No matter, the owner was determined to have restitution and revenge. So, coming down to a party of Indians forty miles away, he made arrangements with another man to run off a number of red men's ponies, amounting in value to several times as much as the dead animal, and divide the profits between themselves. The Indians would of course retaliate. Such is the origin of nearly all our troubles with the Indians. In more than nine cases out of ten the fault is chiefly, if not solely, on our side. Is it at all surprising that we have wars with them ? Would they not have existed in the early settlement of Pennsylvania if they had been treated in the same way ? Would they exist now if treated justly by the whites ?

A TRAVELLER.

P. S. — Congress, late in its extra July session, passed a bill better fitted than any heretofore to secure justice and peace in our intercourse with the Indians. It authorizes the President to appoint commission-

ers who "call together the chiefs and head men of those bands or tribes of Indians who are now hostile towards either the Government or the citizens of the United States. These commissioners are to inquire into the alleged grievances which have induced these Indians to make war, and are to make such treaties with them as will remove their causes for complaint, and give security to travel across the plains now harassed by Indians. They are also authorized to select a district of country large enough to receive all the Indian tribes now living east of the Rocky Mountains, and not peacefully residing on permanent reservations. These reservations are to be so located as not to interfere with travel by the various projected railroad routes, or with the Government roads now traversed by emigrants."

REBELLION AND REVOLUTION. — The stereotyped excuse for these is their alleged necessity in securing the rights of the people against the wrongs of their governments. Their complaints may be in most cases well founded, and ought to be met and redressed; but one objection to its being attempted by violence is, that the remedy commonly becomes worse than the disease, and another still more general is, that the principle involved in such resistance would, if admitted, prove ruinous to the stability, if not to the very existence of *all* government. No government, no matter what its form, can allow this principle, and be sure of living a single year. All governments alike frown, as they all *must* frown, upon it as fatal to their own existence.

Here, then, comes the pressure of the difficulty. As government was designed for the benefit of the people, the whole people, it certainly *ought* to be so constructed, and so administered as to protect their rights, and promote their highest welfare. How shall this be done? By insurrection, rebellion, revolution? These are the means commonly employed in the last resort by the disaffected; but they generally fail, and are always attended with immense evils to all parties. In most cases it is a suicidal process. Is it not possible, then, to devise and set at work safer, surer, far better means for securing the end sought? In barbarous, or imperfectly civilized countries, it may be impossible; but it certainly ought not to be impossible or very difficult in communities reputedly Christian. The Gospel rightly applied to the case, could not fail in time to secure such result without the enormous evils inseparable from rebellion, revolution or cruel war. The principles of Christian peace, wrought fully into the habits and institutions of any people, would gain this end without bloodshed. Such a consummation the Gospel, by its pacific influences, is destined, sooner or later, to accomplish for every land blest with its heavenly light.

We have our eye now on the poor Cretans. They have risen against their Turkish rulers, and ought to be relieved from the wrongs and hardships

they are suffering; but how *can* they be? Here is the rub. The Gospel in its purity will not now reach their case, for they are strangers to its pæcific principles; and if these be not rightly applied, they can be of no avail in any case. Until the Gospel is thus applied in such cases, we see no relief or hope, but must wait for what may come from the bad passions, wrong principles, and wrong usages so generally prevalent in the world.

WAR PROVOKES WAR. — The means commonly taken to prevent war are about as wise as it would be to pour a stream of alcohol or burning fluid on a building on fire in the hope of thus quenching the flames. Milton in his sonnet on the Parliamentary General Fairfax, immortalized a great practical truth: —

What can war but endless war still breed?

Let us be thankful that some leaders of public opinion are beginning to learn this truth. "War," lately said the *London Times*, "generates war, and the existence of vast armies creates a demand for their use. Kings long to try the temper of a sword they are continually sharpening and polishing; and armies, in their weariness of mimic warfare, contract a desire to exchange it for the reality of which they have so often heard. All Europe is, as it were, mined; the slightest accident may apply the torch; and yet it has become so used to the danger, that it has almost learnt to consider this armed peace as the natural state of mankind.

Now, with all respect for the labors of diplomacy, we have no hope of a *really stable pacification until this state of things is thoroughly amended*. The disputes, like this one of Luxembourg, which periodically break out, are not the disease itself, but the symptoms of the disease which lie below. Till nations can be prevailed on not merely to keep the peace for the moment, but so to regulate their affairs as to give security that they mean to keep the peace hereafter, only the first step has been taken in a pæcific direction. France has been the great offender in this matter. She it is who has set the evil example which has invested peace, as at present known to Europe, with most of the evils of war. The Emperor has announced that, this question of Luxembourg being once amicably settled, he will renounce all views of territorial aggrandizement. This assurance will carry weight, and produce a better state of things in Europe, just in proportion as it is accompanied by a *real disarmament*. France has no invasion to fear. All that Europe asks of her is to be let alone; but as long as she remains armed, no nation will feel justified in placing its forces on a really pæcific footing. Let the Emperor Napoleon set this example to other sovereigns; and he will have conferred on his own subjects, and on the rest of mankind, a benefit which he will regard in the latter years of his life with more real satisfaction than all the triumphs of his arms and all the successes of his diplomacy."

THE REBEL LOSS OF LIFE. — The *N. Y. Tribune* in July contained a long and elaborate article on "the Rebel Army," compiled from documents that fell into the hands of our government on the collapse of the rebellion, and giving a condensed, general view of the rebel forces at different periods from their organization in 1861 to their surrender and dispersion in April, 1865. The whole paper is very suggestive, and would well repay a most careful study.

We quote only the writer's main conclusions slightly condensed: "The Confederate army undoubtedly reached its highest point in the early summer of 1863, when the movement into Pennsylvania was commenced. At the close of March, before all preparations had been made, the returns show a nominal force of 484,000, of whom 341,000 were present, and 281,000 present for duty. Probably about 20,000 were added during the next six weeks, so that we may safely say that at the middle of June there were a little more than 500,000 on the muster rolls. The army, especially that under Lee, were in the highest state of efficiency. The Confederacy was at that time like an athlete in the highest condition of training. *Full half of the men of military age were enrolled in the army.* If we take into account those exempt by infirmity, those employed in the various civil departments, and those detailed directly to perform labor in the various military workshops, it is hardly an over-statement to say that *every able-bodied man was enrolled*; and of these seven out of ten were actually present, and six out of ten were present for duty. No people could long sustain such a strain. In the first week of July they suffered losses amounting to full 100,000 men. At the end of the month Lee had only 41,000 for duty out of the 100,000 with which he had set out six weeks before. If the autumn campaign of 1863 in Virginia had been prosecuted by the Union commander with anything approaching vigor, there is no reason to doubt that it would have closed the war; for Meade had an army fully double that of Lee. In the spring of 1864 Lee had only a little more than 50,000, and in August, when the siege of Richmond was fairly opened, he had less than 60,000. From this time the returns show how prevalent became desertions from the Confederate armies. In August, out of a nominal force of 550,000, there were not 200,000 present for duty in all the armies. At the close of February, the date of the latest report in our possession, Lee, out of a nominal force of 160,000 had present but 73,000, and for duty but 59,000. More than half were absent wholly, and little more than a third were present for duty. When he finally abandoned Petersburg and Richmond, it is doubtful whether he had 35,000 men all told.

We judge that, in all, 600,000 different men were in the Confederate ranks during the war. *Of these we do not believe one-half are alive this day.* Once in the ranks, there was no escape, except by death, disablement from wounds, sickness, or desertion. Of the 300,000 of the Confederate soldiers yet alive, no man can say what proportion are wholly or in great part disabled by wounds or disease; but *it is safe to say that in three years the South lost by the war alone full one-third of its able-bodied white male population.* A great part of the accumulated wealth of the people was swept away; not merely changing from one hand to another, and so in the natural course of things certain to be redistributed, but absolutely annihilated. Not merely the created wealth, but the means of creating it were destroyed. We think there is not in all history the record of a war attended by such utter disaster. These facts are quite sufficient to account for the great cry of distress which surges up to us from that unfortunate region. The mills of the gods have ground slowly, but they have yet ground exceeding fine. With the ghastly array before us of the figures which have been set forth in this paper, we have little sympathy with any man who will now lift up hand or voice save to aid and console the suffering people of the South. If they committed a grievous wrong, most grievously have they answered for it."

We think the actual loss of life by the rebels was considerably greater

than is here supposed. At one time there were "a little more than 500,000 on the muster rolls;" and we cannot conceive it possible that only 100,000 more were ever in the rebel armies.

In the loyal troops there were at different times nearly thrice as many as at any given period; and at this rate there must have been in all not less than a million in the rebel armies, and probably full half a million lives lost. We doubt, indeed, whether there were at the close of the conflict so many persons in rebeldom by a full million as there were before, or would have been if the sword had never been drawn. It should be borne in mind that the rebel leaders, so far as yet known, never kept a record of their own losses, but took special, incessant pains to conceal them from their followers; and this fact, along with the notorious desperation of their movements, would go far to justify the larger estimate that we make. Our government has reckoned up on our part more than 300,000 victims, a number doubtless much below the reality; and from all the facts in the case we think it probable that our rebellion cost a million.

After all, do you say the end sought and secured on our part was worth all that it cost? We are not now debating this point; but, granting it to be ever so valuable, is it not vastly important that it should be gained without so fearful waste of treasure, life and moral power? Is it not possible to insure them without such incidental evils? Does not the gospel prescribe a far better way; a way even more sure in the long run, and with few, if any of those terrible drawbacks? Were its principles rightly applied, would it not in time secure the same ends by peaceful means? Is it not more than time for the real believers in the gospel to try its better way!

GLORIFICATION OF REBELLION.—Men will not permanently support a cause confessedly doomed to perpetual neglect, contempt and reprobation. Such *ought* to be the doom of our late rebellion; but its leaders, supporters and sympathizers will try every means in their power to avert such a fate. Nor are they likely to be entirely unsuccessful. The chief men in both state and church at the South will, at least for the present generation, cling with a desperate grasp to the idea, that their rebellion was a noble and glorious struggle for their rights, and will try hard to extend and perpetuate these views of it. On this point there will long be an obstinate moral conflict; nor should we be surprised to find the deeds and heroes of the late rebellion commemorated and canonized very much as those of our own Revolution have been. We already see indications of this in publications at the South. H. R. Pollard, a notorious Richmond editor, offered some time ago a prize of \$100 for a poem on "The deeds, valor, and sacrifices of the Confederate soldiers;" and the premium, it seems, has lately been awarded to a Georgia poet. If such a rebellion can become permanently popular, it may yet spread its foul and fatal spawn over all our future history in an interminable series of like rebellions.

CLASSIFICATION OF SOUTHERNERS. — Gen. Howard, in a lecture some time ago on the duties of Christians to the South, took occasion to designate and classify the people there in regard to their loyalty. — 1. Those who engaged heartily in the rebellion, but now give up slavery, and yield unqualified allegiance to the government. — 2. A large class who pretend to give up the contest in good faith, but are really making every effort in their power to re-establish slavery or its equivalent. — 3. The defiant class who are doing all they can to keep up a spirit of contention and disorder. — 4. The remaining class have always been unconditional Union men. You can recognize them by certain unmistakable tests. They are not seeking public offices; they are working upon their farms, or at their trades, or other callings. They exhibit a wonderful degree of what you would call good common sense, practical sense. Letting the dead past alone, they are trying to conform to the necessities and wholesome lessons of the present. Mostly poor, or what they deem poor, at the close of the war, they are striving to better their fortunes. When they employ the negro, they favor the extension to him of the rights and privileges that belong to him as a man. They do not persecute the Union men who may live near them. They do not ostracize them because of their fearless adhesion to the flag of their country. They encourage the making of their own State a prosperous free State. They favor the building of school-houses, the establishment of churches. They encourage immigration, and therefore they never prate about their hatred of the Yankee. I have met and conversed with many men who come up squarely to all the conditions which a humane and enlightened government could demand; and my impression is that in spite of the more numerous second class, the right conduct of these men is already having its effect in separating and crystallizing the social elements in favor of law, of order, of freedom and of prosperity. Unfortunately this class is not strong enough yet in either of the States lately in insurrection to have an organ in the local press.

The second class combine openly and secretly to keep the negro in practical slavery. If they pay him for his labor, they pay him reluctantly, and do not treat him in other respects as a man entitled to a man's privileges. They break their labor contracts for the purpose of depriving the laborer of his hire. They attempt to govern with the pistol and the whip, hinder education, destroy school-houses, and in several of the States they kill freedmen's agents, and maim others for life. They murder and mutilate the freedmen; nothing can reach them but the vigorous arm of the Government, prepared to vindicate its laws and defend *all* its citizens. The riots of Memphis and New Orleans, not to speak of other localities, picture in all their horrid details this defiant class.

COST OF WAR PREPARATIONS.

M. LEROY, a distinguished French statist, says, "Europe keeps in a time of peace an effective army of about four million men," — in emergencies increased some fifty per cent., — "and inscribes upon its budget a sum of three and half milliards (£140,000,000) to meet the cost of this colossal army. Let us suppose that, as the result of an understanding between the Powers concerned, a disarmament to the extent of one-half, were carried into effect, forthwith two million men, the very pick of the population, are restored to peaceful labor, and a saving of 1,600,000,000 francs (£64,000,000) in the budgets of Europe is realized. With this sum Europe might add annually to her present railway system 10,000 kilometres of railway, might complete her system of road communication of every kind in a single year, and might endow in every county and every parish a primary school.

These great improvements once realized, she might, if she determines to maintain the existing amount of taxation, apply the surplus to a progressive reduction of her debt. The annual interest of this debt being now about two and a third milliards (£95,000,000), and, being capitalized at an average interest of 4 per cent., representing a capital of 57 1-2 milliards (£2,300,000,000), might set her free from liabilities in about 36 years. If, on the other hand, the States in question choose to apply the 1,600,000,000 francs (£64,000,000) thus saved to a reduction of the imposts which now press upon production or consumption, what a relief for the peoples! what a new impulse given to business of all kinds!

We have said that two million men in the prime of life would be restored to the arts of peace. There would be in this happy fact another efficacious cause of prosperity to Europe. In effect, putting the average daily earnings of these two millions of workmen at no more than two francs each (48 cents), and on the hypothesis that the wages represent a fifth part of the value produced, this pacific army under the flag of industry would create a daily value of 20,000,000 francs, and an annual value of seven and a half milliards. Nor is this all; for a considerable amount of capital now employed in the fabrication of articles necessary for the equipment and armament of these two million men might be applied to other branches of national industry, incomparably more useful. Thus the keeping at their firesides of two millions of young people would have the certain effect of lowering the price of manual labor, and so of giving a lively impulse to production in all its forms."

Four millions are a low estimate for the standing soldiery of Europe alone, and for all Christendom five millions. Now, what, at present rates, is the average value of the labor of these five millions? Not less than \$1,500,000,000 a year? It seems incredible; but facts and figures justify the calculation. More wasted by nations reputedly Christians in a single year, upon their war-system than the followers of Christ have spent in the last five centuries for the spread of the gospel among the heathen! Are Christians to sleep forever over such a question as this?

PRESENT WAR-DEBTS OF EUROPE. — Joseph W. Pease, M. P., lately said, "the total debts of all the nations of Europe now amount to more than *eleven thousand millions sterling*," or \$55,000,000,000. There are, also, more than 6,000,000 men trained to arms, costing the nations 500,000,000 pounds per annum. This expenditure keeps creeping up year by year in this country,

(England) because Englishmen have got into their heads a doctrine that the best way of keeping peace is to be prepared for war. This doctrine has produced a system of rivalry between the countries of Europe which has gone on increasing till it may almost be regarded as a *reductio ad absurdum*. From 1835 to 1845, England and France each increased their war expenses by about fifty per cent., and at the present time our own expenses are more than double what they were in 1835.

You may ask what conclusion I would draw from such facts as these. One is that this expenditure arose not entirely from those who sat upon the throne or from the government, but in part from the people themselves; and so long as they continue, when drinking the health of the "Army and Navy," to declare that to keep peace we must be prepared for war, so long will this state of things go on. Another inference is, that we must stop this enormous increase, or it will in the end prove fatal. In the ten years from 1855 to 1865, our total expenditure was £789,000,000, of which only £105,000,000 had been for the civil service, and £48,000,000 for collecting the revenue, considerably more than four times as much for war purposes as for all other operations of government!

DIMINUTION OF INHABITANTS IN THE REBEL STATES. — It would be a curious and very instructive inquiry to ascertain how far the late rebellion reduced the population of the South. As there has been no general census since its rise in 1860, we can only conjecture; but from recent statements respecting the State of Mississippi, we should be justified in supposing that the South had lost in six years about one tenth of its entire population, while in the free States their number has meanwhile been steadily increasing. The next census will doubtless disclose on this point some startling facts, and prove our rebellion to have been even more destructive to life than any of us had conceived.

ARMY OF AUSTRIA. — We gave in a late number an account of Napoleon's effort, against the wishes of his subjects, to reorganize the army of France, and increase it for extreme emergencies to 1,200,000 men. It is now reported that Austria is bent on the same suicidal policy, and proposes to increase her army to 1,300,000. It now seems that Prussia's success with her military system and needle-gun has turned the heads of European sovereigns, and is likely to plunge them into such an amount of war expenses as must ere long overwhelm them with bankruptcy and ruin: —

"The Vienna *Gazette* calculates that as the result of the new military system adopted in Austria, the army will amount to 1,300,000 men, of whom 800,000 will be on the active list, and the residue in the first and second reserves. To furnish the active force will require more than one-seventh of all the available men in the empire, and a large proportion still of the men who could really be obtained for the ranks of the army, and who constitute the laboring classes of the community. While thus providing for an immense and costly standing army, the commercial and industrial interests of the country are in a very depressed condition."

CORRESPONDENCE.

PEACE SOCIETY, 19 NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, July 16th, 1867.

My Dear Friend;

I am afraid I am in your debt for several letters. But my delay in writing has not risen, I assure you, from indifference or neglect, but from reasons which I shall now try to explain to you.

You will have learnt from the *Herald*, that we have been for some time past looking forward with sanguine hope to this year and the great exhibition at Paris, as affording a suitable and long-looked-for opportunity for renewing our great Peace Congresses on the Continent. Had we succeeded in our efforts in this respect, it was my intention to make an earnest appeal to you, and through you, to the Friends of Peace in America, for a strong deputation from your country to come over and help us. And we clung to the hope that, in spite of many difficulties, we should ultimately get our Congress. I delayed writing to you, until I could give you some positive information on the subject.

But I greatly fear that now we must after all relinquish our long and fondly cherished expectation. You know, from what is stated in our Annual Report, that a deputation from our Committee waited on the Emperor of the French, early in the present year, to solicit the authorization which the French law requires, to hold our Congress in Paris. He readily admitted us to a personal audience, and was as gracious as possible in his reception of us; and, though he gave us no positive promise, we left his presence with the fullest impression that he meant to comply with our request. After that I saw M. Rauher, *Ministre d'état*, the most important man in France now, next to the Emperor. It was he that was associated with Mr. Cobden in the negotiation of the Commercial Treaty, and when I told him how long and intimately we had been in co-operation with Mr. Cobden on the Peace question, he assured me that at the propitious moment, he had no doubt we should receive a favorable reply. Several weeks, however, elapsed without any answer. I then wrote to the Emperor's Secretary and to M. Rauher, reminding them of our application. I then received a communication from our own government, with whom it seems the French Government had been in correspondence respecting us, asking me for full information respecting the constitution and rules of the Society, and the nature of the questions we intended to discuss at the Congress. All this of course, I furnished them with. There was another considerable delay, and I wrote to the Marquis de Lavalette, the minister to the Interior, to whose department M. Rauher informed me the question pertained. At last I received a communication from the French Ambassador in London, saying that the government was very sorry, but that they could not grant permission for the holding of a Peace Congress in Paris at present. This was before the settlement of the Luxembourg question. When that had been disposed of, thinking that it might have been the obstacle in the way, I drew up another memorial to the Marquis de Lavalette, the prayer of which I got supported by a number of influential persons in this country, among whom were a dozen members of Parliament including John Bright, Sir Francis Crossley, Mr. Gilpin, &c. This was placed in the hands of the Marquis by a friend of ours in Paris. Again our request was refused, though with many expressions of regret. Well, not to leave any stone unturned, about three weeks ago, I went over to Paris again, and made another attempt but with equal want of success. The fact is this. The

French Government, as you are aware, have introduced a new law for the re-organization of the army into the legislature which has not yet passed. It is exceedingly unpopular, and has led to as many manifestations of disappointment as the state of the law will allow. Now, as our programme for the Congress gave great prominence to the question of armaments, the prospect of such a meetings was very distasteful to the French authorities.

I think I sent you copies of the *Star* newspaper containing some letters of mine giving account of a remarkable Peace movement that had been lately going on on the Continent. They were also republished in the *Herald*. Since then I have been in communication, either personally or by letter, with most of the leading men connected with it. It is very certain that there is a widely-spread sentiment against war, and of the federation of people, pervading the nations of the Continent, and this is strongest of all in France. There is, however, great difficulty in the way of organizing and utilizing this sentiment, arising partly from the state of the law and partly from the character of the people. They are impulsive and enthusiastic; but they have not the habit or the experience that you and we have in forming and conducting voluntary societies. I am in correspondence now with the representatives of three different associations recently started; but I find it next to impossible to bring them to work in concert. One of them represents the extreme republican party, who are determined to give a distinctively political character to their movement. This party talks of a Congress at Geneva in September; but I fear from this very pronounced political views, we cannot join them. The most influential is the *Ligue Internationale*, represented by M. Frederic Passy. I hope we may be able to co-operate with them in some way.

I enclose a copy of an address from a most respectable body of Baptist ministers and churches in this country to the Baptist churches in the United States. Will you kindly take charge of it, and bring it to the knowledge of those whom it concerns? I hope it will produce a response. If it should appear in any paper or periodical, will you kindly send me a copy?

Yours, very truly,

HENRY RICHARD.

ADDRESS OF ENGLISH BAPTISTS ON PEACE TO THEIR BRETHREN IN AMERICA.

The Annual Association of the New Connection of general Baptist Ministers and Churches, in England, assembled at Louth, in Lincolnshire, the 24th day of June, 1867, to the Ministers of the Baptist Churches in the United States of America:—

Beloved and honored Brethren in the Lord, Permit us with respectfulness and earnestness to offer to you the following address:—

We believe the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, is wholly opposed to the principles and practice of War.

We believe that War is the greatest possible offence against the Interests of Mankind, material, moral, social and religious.

We believe that, if Truth and Reason were permitted to take the place of Pride and Passion, Arbitration would in all cases successfully and speedily compose all international disagreements.

We believe that the only effectual means of exorcising the War-Demon from the Nations of the World, is the awakening of public opinion in favor of Peace.

We believe that such a public opinion might be called into being by truly Christian People, and especially by Christian Ministers.

We, therefore, offer our affectionate exhortations to you, Brethren, that your public ministrations, and social as well as private intercessions, may be increasingly pervaded by these sentiments, and that in every way your Christian wisdom can devise, your influence may be exerted to promote "Peace on Earth, and good Will toward Men."

Signed on behalf of the Association,

{ WILLIAM RAWSON STEVENSON, M. A. *Chairman.*
 { THOMAS BARRASS, Peterborough, *Secretary.*

DEATH OF JOHN PRIESTMAN AND EDMUND FRY.

Thus pass away the noble and the true,
 As western sunsets with a golden hue;
 Like orbs of light, they cheered our weary way,
 Then sank in splendor for a brighter day.

Thus Priestman shone, with clear and steady light,
 A guide to thousands through a darkened night;
 Not speech alone, but living deed he gave,
 To lead the lost to life beyond the grave.

And now the crowds who watched his bright career,
 Surround his tomb to shed the honest tear;
 And as they weep, and own the parting pain,
 Exclaim, we ne'er shall see his like again.

And thou, my Edmund, tender, loving, mild,
 Great in thy work, yet humble as a child;
 How shall we mourn thee? How shall words convey
 Our grief, that thou so soon hast closed thy day?

But let the will of Heaven's great King be done,
 Though we lament thy race too early run;
 Too soon for us thy gentle spirit fled,
 And much too soon we rank thee with the dead.

Ye noble pair! go, wing your way above,
 Where all of earthly, ends in heavenly, love.
 Why should we mourn? Why weep that ye ascend
 To where all mourning and all weeping end?

Yet far too keen would be the parting pain,
 But that we part assured to meet again.
 A few swift years, and then we mount on high,
 To greet again a Priestman and a Fry.

WILLIAM STOKES.

RECEIPTS.

N. Y. City, est., Henry Dwight, by Edmund Dwight,	\$280.00	The above not before reported, but in- cluded in last year's account.	
New Bedford, Sam. Rodman,	50.00		
Ascutneyville, Vt., S. S. Arnold,	1.00	Honeyo Falls, N. Y., R.R. Lee,	\$5.00
Bluehill, Me., Isaac Parker,	2.00	A. Lord, Dep.,	100.00
Sherwood, N. Y., P. Talcott,	1.00	Jollytown, Pa., S. H. Headley,	2.00
Nelson, N. Y., James L. Bishop,	5.00	Armada, Mich., C. Redway,	1.00
Byfield, L. Morrison,	2.00	Danielsonville, Ct.,	
Wentworth, N. H., E. Cook,	1.00	J. T. Hutchins,	2.00
Rochester, N. Y., Eben. Ely,	5.00	H. L. Danielson,	2.00
Dobbs' Ferry, N. Y., Henry Brad- ley,	5.00	A. G. Cummack,	2.00
Dedham, Dr. Burgess,	10.00	W. B. Sprague,	1.00— 7.00
So. Merrimack, N. H., Danl. Saw- yer,	2.00	Jewett City, Ct., Arthur Young,	10.00
Exeter, N. H., Woodbridge Odlin,	3.00	Norwich,	
Elgin, Ill., A. Lord,	23.00	W. B. Tompkins,	25.00
Springfield, Ill., A. Hale,	1.00	Gov. Buckingham,	10.00
E. Wilson, N. Y., H. Halsey, to Con. Calvin Colton, Halsey, L. M.,	20.00	I. W. Buckingham,	10.00
Keene, N. H., John Prentiss,	2.00	William Williams,	5.00
Braintree, Dr. Storrs,	5.00	L. W. Cowell,	3.00
Belvedere, O., C. Moore,	1.00	John Denham,	3.00
Meriden, Ct., Edmund Tuttle,	5.00	C. Johnson,	2.00
Castleton, Vt.,	5.00	A. Gager,	2.00
Middlebury, Vt., Col., 2.08		Dr. Farnsworth,	2.00— 62.00
S. W. Boardman,	20.00— 23.08	N. London, Ct.,	
Titusville, Va., W. F. Root,	2.00	T. W. Williams,	5.00
Peterboro' N. Y., Gerrit Smith,	100.00	Friend,	1.00— 6.00
Abington, Ct.,	2.00	Gt. Barrington, A. N. Burt,	2.00
Schenectady, N. Y., President Hakok,	10.00	N. Y. City, W. E. Whiting,	5.00
Pen Yan, N. Y., C. C. Sheppard,	5.00	Stacy B. Collins,	20.00
Milwaukie, Wis., L. Madison,	1.00	R. H. Aikman,	2.00— 27.00
Tarrytown, N. Y., Chas. Bowen,	2.00	Brooklyn, N. Y., L. Tappan,	10.00
Brattleboro', Vt., A. Van Doorn,	5.00	Philadelphia,	
Rockville, Ct., B. B. Beckwith,	2.00	Dr. T. E. Beesley,	10.00
Mt. Carmel, Me.,	1.00	Jno. Murgand,	5.00
Philadelphia, Dr. H. Malcom,	10.00	I. S. Williams,	2.00— 17.00
Redwood, N. Y., Saml. Miller,	2.00	Middletown, Ct.,	
N. London, Ct., Rev. Dr. McEwen,	10.00	W. S. Camp,	3.00
Lawrence, T. B. Coolidge,	5.00	D. R. Benham,	2.00
Pittsford, Vt., Judge Kellogg,	2.00	Others,	2.00— 7.00
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E. Porter,	2.00	N. W. Stanley,	2.00
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Boston, John Field,	50.00	Hartford, Ct., A. Bourne,	2.00
G. C. Beckwith (300 before),	200.00	Brattleboro', Vt.,	
Jacob Bancroft,	5.00— 255.00	A. Van Doorn,	5.00
William Ladd estate,	200.00	N. B. Williston,	5.00
A. Lord, Dep.,	100.00	W. A. Conant,	2.00
Sale of safe, paper, etc.,	67.01	H. Hadley,	1.00— 16.00
		W. Brattleboro',	
		Clark Jacobs,	5.00
		Lafayette Clarke,	2.00— 7.00
		R. I. Peace Soc., Providence, R. I.,	75.00
		From other sources,	46.70
			\$406.70
\$1,235.09	Total,	\$1,641.79.	

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22. Views of War, by Robert Hall....	4	Stebbins, D. D.	4
23. Early Christians on War, by Thos.		54. Grimace on Peace	12
Clarkson	12	55. War as a Judicial Redress.....	4
24. War Debts of Europe	4	56. War and Missions.....	12
25. Results of One War.....	4	57. Causes of War, by Jonathan Dy-	
26. Neckar on Peace.....	8	mond	8
27. Peace Practicable.....	4	58. Moral Results of War, by J. Dy-	
28. Substitutes for War.....	4	mond	8
29. Arbitration as a Substitute for		59. War Unlawful for Christians, by	
War.....	8	J. Dymond,.....	24
30. A Congress of Nations.....	24	60. Efficacy of Pacific Principles, by	
31. Extinction of War, by Hon. Josiah		Jonathan Dymond.....	4
Quincy	4	61. Rights of Self-defence, by Jona-	
32. War Unchristian	12	than Dymond	4
33. Insensibility to the Evils of War,		62. War a Trial by Battle, by Hon.	
by Dr. Channing.....	12	Charles Sumner.....	4
34. Claims of Peace on all Christians.	12	63. True Grandeur of Nations, by	
35. The only Remedy for War, by Dr.		Hon. Charles Sumner.	24
Channing.....	4	64. Claims of Peace on Literary Men.	12
 A Sketch of the Cause of Peace	4	How to Aid the Cause of Peace.....	4
A Remedy for War.....	4	Bequests to the Cause of Peace.....	4
Way to Peace.....	4	Peace Themes.....	4
Success in the Cause of Peace	8	Funds Necessary in Peace.....	2
Le Monde; or, in Time of Peace pre-		Money a Divine Trust	2
pare for War, by Hon. Amasa		Cause of Peace; Why no more accom-	
Walker.....	24	plished	2
The System of Means in Peace	4	How to Prevent Rebellion.....	4

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

CONTENTS.

Press on Peace.....	325	Cost of fighting them.....	341
Peace Movement in Europe.....	326	Our treatment of them.....	341
A Great Want, Rule of Right for Nations.....	328	The Prophet on the Mountain stood.....	342
Peace should have its Place.....	329	The Drum.....	343
Pulpit Delinquent on Peace.....	331	Dr. Peabody's Address.....	343
Christian Watchman on Peace.....	332	How Moral Results are Gained.....	344
Hostility to the Peace Cause strange.....	332	German Battle-fields.....	345
Christian Tests of War.....	333	War-loans Unprofitable.....	346
War and Christianity.....	333	World's Population.....	348
Deterioration of Men from War.....	333	Paris Exhibition.....	348
History of Rebellions wanted.....	334	Duel with Pocket Knives.....	349
Moral Results of our Rebellion.....	335	European Peace Movement; Bir- mingham Address.....	350
Our present War-Proclivities.....	337	Our Example in Military Matters.....	352
Intercourse of Christians with Abo- rigines.....	338	Improved War-Weapons.....	352
Evils of War Intentional.....	340	Napoleon's Gun.....	352
Necessity of War.....	340	Chief Victims of War.....	353
Standing Armies, their Disadvan- tages.....	340	Learned Professions, their numbers.....	353
Arbitrament of War.....	340	War and Forgiveness.....	353
Our Indians.....	341	A Christian Soldier.....	354
Decay of Indians.....	341	Peace Congress at Geneva.....	355
		Peace Operations in England.....	356

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AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

SOURCES OF INCOME.—Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up an annual collection for the cause.

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H E

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1867.

THE PRESS ON PEACE.

A REFORM so difficult and comprehensive as that of peace can hope for success only by enlisting in its support the leading moral agencies and influences at work in society. It seeks to do away an evil wide as the world, and nearly as old and almost as deeply rooted as human depravity itself. It is more than a herculean labor, and will require for its ultimate triumph a vast amount of effort long and steadily continued. It must reverse men's ordinary modes of thought, feeling and conduct on the subject. Their opinions, habits and institutions we must recast in the mould of the gospel. For this purpose we must set at work those agencies and influences which chiefly create or control public opinion on all great questions.

Among these instrumentalities the press, always powerful, is becoming every day more and more influential. It has ever been the chief reliance of our cause. Noah Worcester, the pioneer of this great reform in our country, seldom employed any other public agency; and, following in his footsteps, we have spent in our use of it the largest share of our money and labor. The friends of peace here have issued without interruption a periodical as their organ for more than fifty years; and its circulation has sometimes exceeded ten thousand copies a month. We have stereotyped nearly a hundred tracts, and published a number of volumes, some of which have been circulated by thousands and tens of thousands. The press has always been our chief instrument; and for

every dollar of our income we have often scattered an amount of reading on the subject equal to a thousand tract pages.

But we need, and must have sooner or later, the general spontaneous aid of the Periodical Press. Its power is vast, ubiquitous, and sure to become ultimately triumphant. Let the newspapers alone all combine to plead any cause in real earnest, and how soon would they win to its support and adoption the great mass of the community! Of these papers there are supposed to be in our country more than four thousand, with a circulation of four or five hundred million sheets a year; and with such streams of influence incessantly poured everywhere upon the people, how surely and easily might they educate the entire community in such principles and habits of peace as would hereafter render war and rebellion morally impossible!

Such is the service we ask of the Periodical Press on behalf of Peace. We will not now press or fully hint the arguments we might urge upon editors, especially conductors of the religious press. We content ourselves for the present with merely calling their attention to the subject, and hope their spontaneous reflections will prompt them to use their columns, as they easily might in numberless ways, on behalf of an object so eminently Christian, and hardly second in importance to any one now or ever before the Christian world.

How editors shall do this, we leave every one to decide for himself. We wish they would indite articles of their own; but, if not, they will find on our pages, which we gratuitously send to very many of our leading papers both religious and secular, not a few pertinent, practical articles, longer or shorter, which their intelligent readers, we doubt not, would be glad to peruse. We ask them with this view to look over each number of the *Advocate*, and see if they will not find on its pages a variety of such pieces. We only ask a service that must, we think, prove both useful and pleasant. Just try and see.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE. — In the last *ADVOCATE* we gave a condensed but pretty comprehensive account of this movement, started and sustained chiefly by the more liberal papers in France, Belgium, Holland and Germany. On this curious and striking development of popular interest on the Peace Question, the *N. Y. Tribune* makes the following comments, an example which religious editors would do well to imitate: —

The movement in favor of Peace is making great progress on the continent of Europe, and especially in the French Empire. Three organizations

have recently been formed in France, all with the object of propagating the principles of the Peace movement, and of insuring international co-operation in the great work of ridding the world of the curse of war. The first is the *International League of Peace*, which was inaugurated at a meeting held with the consent of the French Government at the Ecole de Medecine in Paris, May last, and which is now fully and formally constituted under the most honorable and influential auspices. The second is the *International Congress of Peace*, which body aspires to unite the Democratic party throughout Europe in the promotion of international peace. And the third, the *International Union of Peace*, founded at Havre by N. F. Sautallier, the author of a very able and eloquent pamphlet entitled, the *Union of Peace*, aims at the creation of an international code through a committee of juriconsults belonging to all nations, and elected by ballot by members of the Union.

In the lists of the adherents of these associations we find the honored names of Michel Chevalier, Baron Liebig, Joseph Garnier, Garibaldi, Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Jules Favre, Pelletan, John Stuart Mill, Charles Sumner, Sir David Brewster, John Bright, and many other names of men of note. The *International Congress of Peace* will hold its first session at Geneva on the 9th of this month (September); and all the friends of democracy are invited to take part in it, either personally, or by representation. The adherents of the *Union of Peace* are found principally among the commercial and working classes; and it has already established branch societies in many towns in France, in Germany, in Switzerland, in Italy, in Egypt, and in the French Colonies.

A movement like this is pregnant with beneficent influences, and will have the best wishes and earnest co-operation of the friends of humanity everywhere. It has already, as will be seen, a commanding array of intellect and genius on its side. Judging from the list of membership already given, it is not likely to suffer for want of able and energetic leaders and steady supporters. There are eminent writers to expound its principles, eloquent orators to advocate its claims, renowned statesmen to give it the benefit of their experience and wisdom, and illustrious poets to sing its praises; while from the commercial and working classes, it will receive the "sinews" of that peaceful war which has at length been fairly opened against cannon and rifles, against ironclads and monitors.

The old, stale objection to such a movement, viz., that the objects sought are purely visionary, will doubtless be urged again, and the old sneers at enthusiasm are sure to be repeated; but the world, grown wiser from experience, has discarded the comfortable doctrine that what has always been must of necessity always continue to be. Social evils, once submitted to with stubborn apathy as a sort of fated inheritance, have been found to be eradicable, and have been removed accordingly; and systems of oppression and wrong, for which the authority of Holy Writ itself had for ages been pleaded, have fallen before the advance of Truth in these modern days. Human Slavery, once defended as a Divine institution, is tottering to its fall; and horrid war, which men have been taught to look upon as the result of the immutable laws of nature, must eventually disappear before the humanizing influences now at work in society. It may be a long time before this consummation is reached; but men who are neither visionaries nor enthusiasts believe that it must come sooner or later. The sooner the better; so let the Peace movement be helped forward. *Why cannot a Peace League be formed in this country?*

We already have a Peace League, more permanently reliable than any that could be extemporized, in the American Peace Society; but we shall rejoice to see any other organizations akin to those in Europe started among us, and shall be ready to co-operate with them in any way we can. We should, however, stand aloof from *Political Peace*, as the London Peace Society did from the late so-called Peace Congress at Geneva, Switzerland, a device of political reformers that proved a signal failure as a *peace* measure.

A GREAT WANT:

A RELIABLE RULE OF RIGHT BETWEEN NATIONS.

THE great want of the day is to convince men that the intercourse of nations is to be governed by precisely the same principles as the intercourse between individuals. Why should this be difficult? None deny that individuals are bound to exercise forbearance, forgiveness, and brotherly love. None assert that men escape personal responsibility when they act in concert, whether as a nation, a corporation, or a crowd. War involves the breach of every commandment in the ten; it is but fighting in a crowd. The conquest of a feeble nation by a strong one is as contrary to the divine law as burglary, arson, or theft. The attempted sundering *by force* of the constitutional allegiance which a part of a nation owes to the whole, is as wrong as the violation by force of a private compact.

It is said that individuals are debarred from the use of violence to redress or prevent an injury, because the law provides for their security. If this were the only justification, then the establishment of an international code would render all war unjustifiable. Hence the American Peace Society labors to procure the adoption of such a code, and a proper court for its application and enforcement.

But the want of such a code can no more justify war than living in a new country, where there are no courts of justice, will justify private aggressions or retaliations. There stands "the higher law," *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*.

The general use of Paley's Moral and Political Economy, as a college text-book, will account for much of the prevalence of the sentiment that war is *sometimes* necessary. But never was sophistry more gross

than that of Paley on this subject. He maintains that, "the only distinction which exists between States and individuals is founded on this circumstance, 'that the particular consequence sometimes appears to exceed the value of the general rule.'" Here we have the distinct statement, that we may violate God's law when it *appears* to be expedient! Alas, how often does a measure appear expedient to-day which to-morrow is a confessed folly! Do men allow the violation of contracts with each other when one party deems it expedient? Do we justify a nation in the breach of a treaty because it thinks it expedient? Can we in any case justify our breach of God's "Higher Law," whenever we regard the breach of more "value" than the observance? Cursed be such a doctrine of expediency. It puts us out at sea for a rule of right. Who but the Omniscient, who sees the end from the beginning, and what would be the results of actions not done, can tell what *is* expedient? He *has* told us what is expedient by telling us what is right; and woe to those who disregard his teachings!

Our government deemed it expedient to allow slavery for a while, believing that the shameful system would soon die of itself. The last six years and their existing consequences show the tremendous results. So, too, has it been deemed expedient to allow a great Territory to grow populous and strong in the midst of us which practises polygamy. Ere long the dire result will be apparent. If all Christians would everywhere set themselves resolutely against all wrong, and resolve to bear cheerfully whatever reproach and damage their faithfulness may incur, how much might they do towards rectifying the wrongs and repairing the evils still so widely prevalent in Christendom!

PEACE SHOULD HAVE ITS PLACE.

"EVERY GOOD WORD AND WORK."—2 Thess. 2: 17.

WE live in a day when, more than hitherto, ardent minds are liable to enlist so engrossingly in some one effort at reform or progress as to neglect matters of equal or perhaps greater importance. The miseries of prisons, the desolations of intemperance, the desecration of the Lord's day, the oppressions of caste prejudice, or some other great wrong, may so absorb the mind as to cast all other evils into the shades of neglect. Such men often do great good, and wake up their generation to reform

crying abuses. A few of these are needful, but there is not room for many.

True greatness, moral or mental, requires that we be many-sided and symmetrical, having a due portion of zeal and industry to bestow on every good work within our reach. We may indeed be so placed that an extra amount of engagedness in some one department of benevolence or reform may fairly be demanded of us, to the diminution for the time being, of our contributions or exertions in other directions. The refusal of some to do their duty, or the fewness of those who ought to co-operate, may impose on us more than our fair share of an undertaking. But such cases seldom last a lifetime, and vary with circumstances, and therefore do not affect our general proposition.

No one is excusable for a lifelong indifference to *any* good project. If he thinks he is, let him bring the matter fairly before the bar of his judgment and conscience, and determine *why* he ignores that work. He may not be bound to give it much of his time or money; but is he not bound to give it some, and if not, is he not bound to applaud and advocate the object, and thus give it what may help more than money?

Let us instance the case of the Peace Society. Is any Christian free to withhold his testimony against war, a world-wide custom which the Holy Ghost declares comes of wicked lusts? Has not this custom brought on the earth the greater portion of all the misery there is upon it? Has it not fostered all manner of crime, more than any other cause? You may be an exceptional case, and not be bound to give time or money; but are you not bound to give your advocacy to the cause of Peace? If you are seen to be zealous and liberal as a rule of life, your verbal advocacy will not be neutralized by your not giving it your time and money.

Reader! have you lived to this day as if Peace on Earth were a matter of indifference? Has it had none of your prayers, your money, your time, or even your talk? Then be assured, God will not hold you guiltless. The myriads of widows and orphans made by war call aloud to you. The desolated districts, the demolished churches, the national antipathies, the crushing taxes, call aloud to you. You dare not say it is none of your business. Mark our Lord's description of the day of judgment. The damning charges against those on the left are *sins of omission*: "Ye did it *not* unto me!"

Be you minister or layman, rest assured that if you have no testimony to bear against bloody, brutal, hellish contentions, you are not inspired by the Spirit of Him who is the PRINCE OF PEACE.

H.

THE PULPIT DELINQUENT ON PEACE.

IN the beautiful memoirs of the Rev. Kingman Nott, late pastor of the First Baptist Church, Broome Street, New York, is a letter to his father, from which the following is an extract :

" I went to church, the house crowded, a military company present in full uniform. The preacher, taking one of those highly poetical passages in the Song of Solomon for a text, treated us first to an elaborate *justification of war*. Then he discussed the excellence of *variety*, e. g., in a Thanksgiving dinner, and finished by dilating on the importance of a sound political platform, but not a word about one moral or religious. Not an allusion, even the remotest, was made to Christ, or indeed to religion in any way.

Is this a church of God? I asked myself. Is this man an ambassador from the court of heaven? Am I hearing the gospel, — a sermon? One could not avoid the conviction, for it was thrust upon all, that the speaker's chief object of thought was his dinner. Repeated allusions were made to it, allusions which caused most to smile, but some to hang their heads for shame."

This sad exhibition, it is gratifying to know, is not a portrait of preachers generally; yet that feature of it which sanctions war, I am sorry to say, is a fair representation of pulpit utterances on war. But the grand, the prevalent error of the pulpit as to war, is its *silence*. Seldom do we hear instruction even as to peaceableness in the home or the neighborhood, never as to "all men," which is the instruction of the Holy Ghost.

Editors, too, are not alive to the duty of inculcating "peace on earth." The writer of this recently called on the editor of a *religious* journal of large circulation, and requested him to insert a very brief address of some London ministers to their clerical brethren in America, begging them to use their influence against war. He declined, on the ground that it was outside of the topics germane to a religious periodical to a Christian newspaper!

Another characteristic of the preaching at this day, is the absence of instruction as to *prophecy*. Hence the people are left exposed to adopt the vagaries of Millerites, and Millenarians, or any specious, positive, proselyting man, who proclaims his crudities diligently from pulpit and press. Would that every Christian congregation could hear one good sermon on Micah 4 : 3. "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

M.

ONE RELIGIOUS JOURNAL ON PEACE. — We fear that what "M" reports of one editor is true of a large majority; but we are glad to quote, Aug. 15, 1867, from the *Boston Christian Watchman and Reflector*, as able a religious journal as there is in America, the following hearty, fraternal response to the letter from England: —

"COUNCILS OF PEACE.

We commend the following to our American readers. We accept its every position; we only regret that the guilty failure hitherto of Christian people to exert themselves for the creation and control of a Christianized public opinion leaves us so far from the day when we may beat our spears into plowshares. Our British brethren have earned the right to speak to us on the subject of international war, for it was largely due to their tireless energy and vigilance that the British Government was withheld from throwing its whole weight into the Southern scale during the slaveholders' rebellion. 'Blessed are the peacemakers'!"

HOSTILITY TO THE PEACE CAUSE STRANGE. — To some men its very existence seems a grievance and an offence. For what reason, it is not easy to understand. That its object is beneficent, few are disposed to deny; for the most fanatical admirer of war will surely admit, that to infuse into the heart of nations more of the forbearing and merciful spirit of Christianity, that so they might live together in amity and peace, instead of expending so much of their thought, time, labor and means in rending and devouring, or in preparing to rend and devour each other, is a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

Is there no necessity, then, for a Peace Society? Examine the annals of recent history, and look around upon the actual condition of the world at this moment for your answer to this question. What do we find? We find that, according to a recent calculation, between three and four millions of men have within the last forty years perished miserably in every form of horror and agony, through the wars of so-called civilized and Christian nations. We find, on the authority of Mr. Samuel Laing, that in ten of those years, from 1854 to 1864, 1,000 millions of pounds sterling (\$5,000,000,000) have been spent upon what he calls the "butcher's bills" of the same nations. We find that at this moment there are probably not less than six millions of men in Europe, the very pick of its youthful manhood, being trained in some form or other to the use of arms. We find that for the maintenance of these prodigious armaments an incredible and almost incalculable sum of money is being drained annually from the labor and industry, and, indeed, we may say, from the pauperism and misery of the people. We find that, so far from diminishing on a return of peace, at the close of every war there is a fresh impulse given to warlike preparations. We find that in every country in Europe there is a numerous and powerful class, the members of which surround every throne, guard the avenues to every court, crowd the benches of every legislature, have ready access to the ear of every government, who have a direct interest in the maintenance and unlimited extension of these establishments. We find that, unhappily, the great majority of those who, in every country, wield the power of the press, employ that power to foment international jealousies, and to exasperate and not allay all international differences. We find that the teachers of religion,

for reasons which, however mysterious to us, are no doubt satisfactory to their own consciences, seldom touch the question of peace and war, as a part of their religious instruction; and, when they do, it is too often in a tone of apology, rather than in that of condemnation of this great wickedness. Surely, then, we cannot persuade ourselves that nothing more requires to be done, and that the labors of the Peace Society are a superfluity and an impertinence. — *London Herald of Peace.*

CHRISTIAN TESTS OF WAR.

WAR AND CHRISTIANITY. — Are they compatible in their spirit, their principles, or their appropriate, characteristic results? Put the two side by side, and see how far they agree. Christianity saves men; war destroys them. Christianity elevates men; war debases and degrades them. Christianity purifies men; war corrupts and defiles them. Christianity blesses men; war curses them. God says, thou shalt *not* kill; war says thou *shalt* kill. God says, blessed are the peace-makers; war says, blessed are the war-makers. God says, love your enemies; war says, hate them. God says, forgive men their trespasses; war says, forgive them *not*. God enjoins forgiveness, and forbids revenge; while war scorns the former, and commands the latter. God says, resist not evil; war says, you may and must resist evil. God says, if any man smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also; war says, turn *not* the other cheek, but knock the smiter down. God says, bless those who curse you — bless, and curse not; war says, curse those who curse you — curse, and bless not. God says, pray for those who despitefully use you; war says, pray *against* them, and seek their destruction. God says, see that none render evil for evil unto any man; war says, be sure to render evil for evil unto all that injure you. God says, overcome evil with good; war says, overcome evil *with* evil. God says, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; war says, if you do supply your enemies with food and clothing, you shall be shot as a traitor. God says, do good unto all men; war says, do as much evil as you can to your enemies. God says to all men, love one another; war says, hate and kill one another. God says, they that take the sword shall *perish* by the sword; war says, they that take the sword shall be *saved* by the sword. God says, blessed is he that trusteth in the Lord; war says, cursed is such a man, and blessed is he who trusteth in swords and guns. God says, beat your swords into plowshares, your spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war *no* more; war says, make swords and spears still, and continue to learn war — until all mankind have ceased from learning it, i. e., fight, all of you, until all of you stop fighting!!

DETERIORATION OF MEN FROM WAR. — It is a curious fact, well attested, and long noticed, that the selection of the healthiest and best-formed men for soldiers has at length reduced in Europe the general stature. This has been seen especially in France; and hence we are told, that “the French naturalization laws are to be improved, with the view of facilitating the infusion of the foreign element in the Gallic nationality. A project of law for this end has passed the lower branch of the Legislature, and the Senate has just decided not to oppose its promulgation.”

A HISTORY OF REBELLIONS.

WE wish we had, or could procure, a well-considered, reliable history of the chief rebellions that have occurred in the world. Scarce any country has been without them ; but their history has been woven as a passing episode into that of the country itself. We should like to see the subject discussed by itself on its own merits as a distinct independent question. Hitherto it has been treated almost entirely as a matter, not of principle but of mere prejudice, and the same thing either denounced or commended without stint from the different stand-points taken by the respective observers. How differently during its progress, if not at its close, was our late rebellion viewed at the North and in the South ! So of our own rebellion against England, which ended in our national independence, and so of many other rebellions either stigmatized and punished as revolts, or eulogized as glorious revolutions.

Now, are there no real, well-defined principles to determine whether such resistance to government is right or wrong ? Is there no just, reliable criterion in the case ? Must the decision always be left to chance or caprice, to the whim or prejudice of the passing hour, to pride or passion, to avarice or ambition ? If not, how *shall* it be decided ? What are the just, well-defined, Christian principles applicable to the case ?

During our late rebellion the popular lecturer, John Lord, LL.D., gave on this subject a lecture rich in historical facts, but apparently reaching in the conclusion no settled principle. He instanced "the revolt of the Italian States against the German Emperor, that of the Swiss under William Tell against the same power, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, the Huguenot revolt in France, Holland against Spain, the Puritans in England under Cromwell, the Irish and the Highlanders against England, as also our own against the same power, and that of France against the French monarchy in 1791." He uttered some valuable truisms — "that rebellion is a revolt against constituted legal power ; that nothing can justify it but injustice and oppression ; that, if successful, it becomes glorious, and is called a revolution, but that rebellions as a general thing have failed, unless the people were worthy of the independence they sought."

Now, all this, even if conceded, furnishes no clue to any general rule or principle for our guidance. The actual result of resistance to "consti-

tuted authority" certainly cannot of itself determine that it was right, any more than success in committing robbery or murder could prove the deed to be a virtue. Such offences every government treats as deserving the severest penalties, but threatens penalties no less severe against rebels. The guilt of the latter is far *more* fatal to society than the former, because rebellion is a conspiracy to trample on all laws, and overthrow the government itself. In either case, then, can success prove the deed right? In each alike it is made on the statute-book an offence punishable with death; but why should it be infamous in one case and in the other glorious, now a crime and anon a transcendent virtue? Is not the logic which eulogizes successful rebellion, the triumph of a wholesale crime, clearly wrong in principle and spirit? So every government says in its laws; and certainly it is high time for Christian moralists to fix some criterion of what is right in the case. Such looseness of principle, if not utter lack of any principle at all, ought no longer to be tolerated. If rebellion is right, there should be no law against it; but if wrong, the penalties against it should be uniformly inflicted with as condign, exemplary rigor as against the highest crimes. If a crime against society, it is the worst of all offences, and ought to be so treated by government, public opinion and all history.

MORAL RESULTS OF OUR REBELLION.

As we have been severely censured for occasionally copying only from loyal papers facts unfavorable to the morals of men engaged in putting down the late rebellion, we quote from the *N. Y. Tribune* the following comments on the reports for 1866 from two of our State Prisons:—

"The war of the Rebellion has given us some remarkable figures in the statistics of crime. Even during the war with Mexico it had been observed that the number of convicted criminals diminished while it lasted, and increased after its close; and the same results have followed the late contest, but in a much more marked manner. The average number of males confined in Sing Sing were: in the year 1861, 1,280; in the year 1862, 1,147; in the year 1863, 890; in the year 1864, 796; in the year 1865, 689. In five years the numbers had diminished nearly one half. But what was the result when the war ceased? We have an item in regard to it in the Report of the New-York Prison Association for 1866: 'On the closing of the war the number of prisoners began to increase, and increased so rapidly that in six months the number of commitments was *three times as great* as the number had been during the same months of the previous year.'

"But this is a partial clue only to the entire truth. A recent report of

the Inspector of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania informs us that out of 334 convicts committed in 1866, no less than 246, or *seventy per cent*, had served in the army! From the report for 1866 of the Massachusetts State Prison, we have a similar result, the whole number of commitments for the year having been 247, of whom 171 — or very nearly seventy per cent — had been soldiers.

“What a startling fact is this! Seven out of every ten of the convicts in these two large establishments were among the defenders of their country when her very existence was imperilled! The New-York Report above referred to gives us a hint as to how this has occurred. It says: ‘The convictions in the City of New York for crimes of violence were 624 in 1864 and 995 in 1865.’ This was an increase of about sixty per cent.

“There is a subject for deep reflection in all this. It affords evidence of the demoralizing effects of war. The vast good the late war has done has been purchased at the expense of much evil. The men who risked their lives that the national existence might be preserved were exposed in so doing to temptations which some of them were unable to resist. If the records of the two prisons referred to afford a fair average of the general results, two thirds of those men whose fate will be influenced by our legislation on prison-discipline, are persons to whom, be their errors and crimes what they will, the nation owes a debt of gratitude still. Some of them, doubtless, were lawless characters before they entered the army. Others may have owed their lawlessness to the daily scenes of violence which war presents. As to these last, ought not we who benefited by the war to do our best toward correcting the evil influence it produced on them?”

We have always felt ourselves under obligation to the patriotic men who perilled their lives to aid in suppressing the late atrocious rebellion, but could not shut our eyes to the numberless facts patent to everybody, which show that war in every form, an appeal to the sword even for the righteous and indispensable purpose of upholding government by the enforcement of its laws, is itself a fruitful parent of vice and crime. Our late experience will be found, in a calm, sober review, to have been no exception to the general rule. A vast deal was done to prevent or mitigate its evils; and yet nobody could deny their existence.

We doubt whether so much was ever done, and with such signal success, to provide for the physical and the moral wants of soldiers in the field, or whether there have ever been armies so largely provided with Christian influences, and so free on the whole from vice and lawless crime; and yet did this conflict of arms, this resort to brute force for the settlement of disputes which laws and constitutions were meant to decide by rational, peaceful means, furnish a vast and fearful illustration of the vices, crimes and nameless evils inseparable from war in any form. It never did, never will, never can exist without a flood of evils, both physical and moral; and from the least exceptionable war we might gather facts enough to condemn the custom as unchristian, unreasonable and suicidal. It is the custom we wish to do away. For every war there will always be excuses, more or less plausible on both sides; but the practice itself, like that of duelling, we hold to be utterly wrong, and urge Christian nations to supersede it by laws and courts.

OUR PRESENT WAR-PROCLIVITIES.

THE expectation was very general and confident, that the successful suppression of our late rebellion would be followed by a large, permanent increase of the war-spirit among us, and of active interest in military matters. Our militia system, as the chief embodiment and representative of the martial proclivities prevalent among our people, was to become a sort of pet with politicians, and all aspirants to power and popular favor. A thorough, ample and constant preparation for like emergencies in future was to be a paramount, all-absorbing idea with our statesmen and our people. The land was to become in effect a vast camp, and ready everywhere to bristle with bayonets at an hour's call. Treason was never again to find us napping; but, at the first sight or sign of its hydra-head, our marshalled hosts were to crush it forever.

Such was the prediction; but what is the actual result? Some of our public men made themselves for a time ridiculous by their efforts to turn our seminaries of learning, even our common schools, into so many embryo nurseries of war, and here and there the head of a private school for boys has sought popularity and patronage by having his pupils dressed in partial uniform, and practise a daily drill. But these calculations, based on the expected revival and general diffusion of a war-spirit and war-habits, have already proved signal failures. These bates have not taken with the mass of our people, but have met for the most part a cold response. The 800,000 men disbanded in our army on the collapse of the rebellion, were in no hurry to "play soldier" in a time of peace, but seemed to think they had already enjoyed enough of that sort of sport. There is clearly little if any increased enthusiasm in military matters. Our militia system, if revived at all, is kept alive chiefly by bounties or compensations from the State; and even with a large increase of these in one form and another, the ratio of our active militia to our population, at least in New England, is about the same that it was before the rebellion. The attempts in Maine, Vermont and some other States to galvanize it into a large expansion and a high degree of popularity, have signally failed.

Take a single case. The zeal of Massachusetts in putting down the rebellion is well-known; but of the scores of thousands she sent to the war, how few are now enrolled in her active militia! "There is no *compulsory* militia service in Massachusetts. The force consists of about 6,000 men who volunteer for *three years*, and are furnished by the State with arms and uniforms. The number of able-bodied men in the State between 18 and 45 years of age, liable to do military duty was, by the census of 1866, 158,642, and now is probably much more than that." According to this account, not more than one able-bodied man in *thirty*, liable to military service, is even enrolled in the present active militia. Surely this does not betray much interest in military matters.

INTERCOURSE OF CHRISTIANS WITH ABORIGINES.

It is a fact no less disgraceful than strange and deplorable, that the intercourse of nominal Christians with the aborigines of every country they have discovered, conquered or colonized, has proved in nearly every way disastrous to the latter. It would require a cyclopedia fully to illustrate in detail this sweeping assertion; but history, especially for the last three centuries, would confirm its truth.

Well does Charles Saville Roundell say, "It is a dark page in history which records the contacts of Europeans" — and indeed of nearly all nominal Christians — "with aborigines. We call to mind the deeds of Cortes and Pizarro. We are told by the historian of the West Indies, that 'on a moderate computation, the conquest of the islands of the Spanish Main was effected by a slaughter, within a century, of ten millions of the species.' The aboriginal inhabitants of Australia can now be scarcely said to survive; the Maoris, who were estimated by Captain Cook, about a century ago, at about 100,000, do not now exceed 56,000; the Caribs of the British Antilles are now extinct, save in one island, (Trinidad); while the native races of Newfoundland and Tasmania have long ago wholly disappeared." How sadly true is this of the Indians in North America; and even the Christianization of the Sandwich Islands has not saved the natives from the decay, threatening ultimate extinction, which has commonly followed the introduction of Christians.

We are quite familiar with the stale explanation and excuse of all this — "that the history of colonization is the history of the annihilation of the native races; that, in the order of Providence, savage man is destined to disappear before civilized man; that in the struggle for existence, the inferior races must give way to the superior; that brown and red men have no right to obstruct their superiors in fulfilling the divine command to be 'fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.' A short way of salving over our consciences; but it is not for us to usurp the functions of Providence, and arrogate for our own rash assumptions the sanction of an inscrutable decree. Does the progress of the human race necessarily involve the extinction of its least favored members? Is there not a better solution to be learned from modern philosophy and the Christian religion?"

Such deterioration and decay come chiefly from moral causes. There

are instances, says Mr. Roundell, in Christendom itself of a "relapse towards barbarism, a coincident deterioration even of the physical type. It cannot be denied that there is amongst us unmistakable evidence of degradation of type, as the consequence of long-continued want, ignorance, squalor, and moral degradation. 'There are certain districts in Leitrim, Sligo, and Mayo, chiefly inhabited by the descendants of the native Irish driven by the British from Armagh and the South of Down about two centuries ago. These people, whose ancestors were well-grown, able-bodied and comely, are now reduced to an average stature of five feet two inches, are pot-bellied, bow-legged, and abortively featured; and they are especially remarkable for open, projecting mouths and prominent teeth and exposed gums, their advancing cheek-bones and depressed noses bearing barbarism in their very front. Within so short a period they seem to have acquired a prognathous type of skull, like the Australian savages.'" With respect to "the nomadic vagabond tribes which infest European cities, there may be noticed a certain degree of regression towards the pyramidal type. Henry Mayhew, in his '*London Labor and London Poor*,' says, that 'among them, according as they partake more or less of this pure vagabond nature, doing nothing whatever for their living, but moving from place to place, preying on the earnings of the more industrious portion of the community, so will the attributes of the nomadic races be found more or less marked in them; and they are all more or less distinguished by their high cheek-bones and protruding jaws to be seen among the most degraded of the Malayo-Polynesian races.'"

The pre-eminent culture of nations favored with the gospel has armed them with vast power to bless or curse the world. Nearly all modern history is a practical commentary on this assertion. Had this culture been applied only to the high and beneficent purposes for which it was designed, it might long ago have made the world a moral garden, teeming all over with the fruits of righteousness, peace and salvation. As discoverers, traders and colonists, nominal Christians have for centuries spread themselves in nearly every part of the earth; and, had they gone in the spirit of Christ or his apostles, they might, with even a tithe of the money, energy, and enterprise they have spent in their schemes of avarice and ambition, have made it long ago a paradise in comparison with what it is now.

EVILS OF WAR INTENTIONAL. — The evils of war are not merely incidental, but are inseparable from any of its forms, and constitute its grand, essential elements. They are a part of the system. Misery is its object, or its means; and war, without a fearful waste of property, life, and happiness, is an utter impossibility. Its whole business is to plunder and burn and butcher by wholesale; and to talk of a war that did not perpetrate such atrocities, and inflict such miseries, would be as direct a contradiction in terms as to speak of vision without light, or fire without heat.

NECESSITY OF WAR. — We hear a great deal about this necessity; but precisely what does it mean? Why necessary, for what, and for whom? For civilized Christian men like ourselves? Are we unwilling to regulate our intercourse, or settle our disputes, without bloodshed? Why necessary? Merely because nations *choose* it; just as intemperance is necessary to the drunkard, piracy to the pirate, and duelling to the duellist. There is no other kind of necessity for war; and it must cease of course whenever men shall resolve to have it cease. There is in truth no more need of war in Christendom than there is of duels in New England; it would be just as easy for nations, if they choose, to settle all their disputes without the sword and the cannon, as it is for us to adjust ours without pistols and daggers.

But do you deem it impossible thus to change the war-choice even of Christendom? Human nature is as corrigible on this subject as upon any other; there is nothing to render the extinction of this custom impossible by the right use of the requisite means; and the promises of God make its ultimate abolition perfectly certain.

THE INDUSTRIAL DISADVANTAGE OF STANDING ARMIES. — A Paris paper gives a curious calculation as to the number of months and days lost to agriculture and manufactures in France by the drill of the army in time of peace. The grand army is divided into the active and the reserved corps and the National Guard Mobile the drill time of the latter being a fortnight annually, and that of the other corps varying from constantly active service down to one month annually. The total consumption of time in barrack or depot each year amounts to 471,973 years and five months of one man's labor, or 169,910,430 laboring days. Such an immense deduction from profitable industry must tell powerfully upon the welfare of France, and its disadvantages would be conspicuous if nearly all the surrounding nations were not subjected to the same. The calculation well explains how our country suffered in the race of national progress during the war of the rebellion, and how long it will necessarily take to repair the heavy damages then inflicted. — *Boston Journal*.

ARBITRAMENT OF WAR! — The idea is a cruel absurdity, a species of suicidal madness. Burn villages, demolish cities, lay waste empires, send hundreds of thousands into an untimely grave, into a ruined eternity, all for the settlement of difficulties which can be adjusted only by an appeal to reason! What should we think of two neighbors who should propose to settle a point in dispute, not by reasoning the case between themselves, nor by referring it to an impartial jury, or to umpires mutually chosen, but by shooting at each other, and butchering each other's wives and children? Yet such is the war-system still supported by all Christendom; and, if the stealer of a horse or a coat deserves a prison, and the pirate who destroys but one vessel, or the assassin who murders a single victim, is deemed worthy of the gallows, what must be the criminality of nations in continuing a custom which multiplies such crimes and woes by thousands and by millions!

OUR INDIANS.

DECAY OF INDIANS.—This has been very marked among the more civilized and those exposed to the malign and disastrous intrigues of our rebels, more particularly the Cherokees. They have dwindled down to 14,000, and the females outnumber the males more than 1,800. Ten years ago the tribe numbered 25,000; but the ravages of war, the exposure of the refugees in northern climates, when driven out from their homes during the rebellion, and other causes, have operated to produce this wonderful diminution of numbers. The Cherokees now own in fee simple about 4,000,000 acres of land, and the United States government holds in trust for them \$1,000,000. They are the most enlightened tribe of Indians. They have made most commendable progress in civilization. Many of them are finely educated, and are men of culture and refinement. Before the war they had a number of good schools and academies, and the children of the more intelligent and wealthy were educated in eastern colleges. They have a legislative form of government, with a Senate and House of Assembly; a governor and head chief, elected by the people; courts and justice officers. Their country is divided into different counties. They held slaves; and their former slaves are now treated with consideration and respect, and will soon be some of the principal men of the tribe, as they are industrious, and seem to have a greater desire to accumulate property than the native Indians.

COST OF FIGHTING OUR INDIANS.—Our series of conflicts with a few Indians in Florida many years ago were said to have cost at the time \$40,000,000. We are now threatened with wars far more formidable with we know not how many tribes between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. Armed largely with our improved weapons, and taught far more than ever before our modes of warfare, we are likely to find them formidable foes. The least of the evils in the case will be its cost; but even this we find reported as probably amounting to "a million a week, and Gen. Sherman threatens us with a bill of a hundred millions before we attain a permanent peace." Well does the *N. Y. Tribune* ask whether "it would not be well to try the policy of peace." Had we a William Penn to make the trial, we should have no doubt of its success.

OUR TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS A FAILURE.—Gen Hancock, in his testimony before the Indian Commission at Leavenworth, says he has never before known the hostile feeling so strong and so universal among the tribes as it is this year. He has never known an Indian war conducted with so much spirit and malignity. If the troops were withdrawn, no white man would ever cross the Plains. The savages are well armed. They have a plenty of ammunition, muskets, pistols, and even such modern improvements in the military science as field-glasses and a signal corps. Their animosity is inflamed to the highest pitch; and with them now it is war to the knife.

See what our disgraceful Indian policy has brought us to! For years we have been goading these poor savages to desperation, swindling, robbing and killing them; turning loose a lot of rascally agents among them; cheating them out of their lands, breaking our treaties, living up to the

frontiersman's cardinal principle, that the Indian has no rights which the white man is bound to respect. Now they resent their ill-treatment, and we wonder at their animosity. They turn upon us, and we are utterly unprepared to resist them. There are probably, says Gen. Hancock, not more than 2,000 hostile Indians between the Arkansas and the Platte. Yet this beggarly handful of painted savages has proved more than a match for all Gen. Hancock's army. The reports from the Plains get worse and worse every day. We shall beat in the long-run, no doubt; but how much nameless torture must be suffered by the settlers and emigrants before that victory comes; how many settlements must be laid waste, how much blood must flow, we shudder to contemplate. We have tried the troops, and they do nothing. We have now sent out Peace Commissioners, and the Indians promise to kill the Commissioners as soon as they can catch them.

Is this sort of thing to go on forever? This Indian war is teaching us a good lesson; and while we are in the thick of its horrors, let us take it well to heart. To disarm the hostile bands who are now spreading consternation through the Far West, is only a part of our task. That done, we must learn to shun the false policy which has brought all these evils upon us. We must abolish out and out the whole system of the Indian Bureau. It is little better than a system of mingled fraud and folly. Let us put the Indians on reservations, if that seems best; and if we can do that, then let the army take care of them, keep them in, and, more important still, keep the white men out. If we trust the execution of our treaties to broken-down political hacks who get the appointments of agents and superintendents as rewards for service at the ward caucuses, we may be pretty sure they will be broken. If we put them into the hands of the soldiers, it is probable they will be kept. — *N. Y. Tribune.*

THE PROPHET ON THE MOUNTAIN STOOD.

The Prophet on the mountain stood,
The dewdrops in his flowing hair;
The daylight, with its morning flood,
Filled brightly all the golden air,
And bathed the flowers with beauty rare.

Awakened thought moved every breast,
Not only of the human name;
But beast and bird left cove and nest;
The lion shook his mane, and came
To hear the Prophet's words of flame.

The new is born, the old is dead;
All hail! thou new, thou better day!
('Twas thus the final Prophet said;)
Haste, error's night, oh, haste away;
Let truth and love and PEACE bear away.

Depart, ye cursed scenes of war,
Suspicion, envy, pride, and strife;
That kept all human hearts ajar,
And smote the founts of truth and life,
And made the world with murders rife.

Behold! The day of peace and love,
With radiant angels in the van,
Descending from the realms above,
Fulfils, at last, the heavenly plan
Of love to God and love to man.

T C. U.

THE DRUM.

I HATE that drum's discordant sound,
Parading round, and round, and round:
To me it talks of ravaged plains,
And burning towns, and ruined swains,
And mangled limbs, and dying groans,
And widows' tears, and orphans' moans,
And all that misery's hand bestows,
To fill the catalogue of human woes.

DR. PEABODY'S ADDRESS. — In publishing what our friends write or utter, we have not been wont to hold ourselves responsible for everything they say; but in some comments just received from a very intelligent and steadfast friend, a veteran in our cause, whose pen has furnished some of our best articles, we cannot help thinking he misconceives Dr. Peabody in some positions of his Address. When Dr. P. says "a war may be inevitable; and when it is so, those who give themselves to it in the disinterested defence of the right deserve the fullest meed of glory," he does not mean to endorse at all the war system, "to sustain in the concrete what he would condemn in the abstract," but merely that the men who lost or perilled their lives in helping our government enforce its laws against our rebels, and thus save our country from dismemberment and ruin, deserve to be honored and rewarded. This he says after having distinctly declared, "our recent civil war" — by which he means our effort to put down the slaveholders' rebellion — "had none of the *moral characteristics* of a war, but was rather a vast police movement for the suppression and punishment of multitudinous crime, justified by the same law of self-preservation which would arm the ministers of the State against a body of brigands." A position necessarily taken by every one that believes in civil government, and in

principle entirely distinct from that of war; the very distinction on which we have ourselves insisted from the origin of our society, and practically recognized by every other peace society, except the handful of peace-reformers who deny to government its legitimate and indispensable powers.

On a kindred point, also, our friend doubtless misconceives Dr. P. "War will last," says Dr. P., "until its causes cease, till justice is enthroned in the hearts of nations, in the great heart of humanity." Certainly a reasonable presumption; for as long as nations continue to wrong each other, and have no other way than war to prevent or redress such wrongs, they will of course continue this custom. It is the grand aim of our cause to avert such a result by inducing nations to devise better means, such as we have long been urging, for the settlement of their disputes without war. The moral certainty that nations will cling to their war-system until it shall be actually superseded by something better in its place, we cannot regard "as a quietus to excuse the custom."

On most other points we presume that a frank, full interchange of views would bring Dr. P. and our friend into substantial coincidence in their conclusions, if not in the way of reaching them. They doubtless agree about "the error of letting the military power, during the late rebellion, gain ascendancy over the civil. Treason, the greatest crime known to our laws, has done its uttermost to overthrow our government. The traitors have been brought in the power of our government; but has a single one of them been visited with condign punishment, with the penalties prescribed in our statute-book? Why not? Is it not because the rebels have sought and found protection under *international law and the rules of war*?" A point well put; and we commend it to the special attention of those who would palliate the guilt of rebel leaders, or protest against their suffering the extreme penalty of our laws. If such criminals, the men who have destroyed well-nigh a million lives, and eight or ten thousand millions of property, do not deserve this penalty, who does or ever can? If we let such men go "unwhipt of justice," where is the consistency of punishing anybody for such comparatively smaller offences and peccadilloes as robbery, piracy and murder? Such logic would soon put an end to all effective, reliable government; and to us it seems passing strange that all men of sense do not see this. The act of Booth in murdering President Lincoln was innocence compared with that of Jefferson Davis deliberately plotting and continuing the wholesale butchery of half a million men for the same guilty end.

HOW MORAL RESULTS ARE GAINED. — It is not by miracle or by chance, but only by a wise, thorough, persistent use of suitable means. Politicians understand this well, and put it in practice. They work hard for the success they win. They agitate the whole community, and bring the question at

issue home if possible to every man's bosom. They do not dream of securing their ends without a wide, long, most vigorous use of means. They hold caucuses, get up conventions and mass meetings, send forth in every direction their most popular advocates, set all their presses at work in scattering broadcast their facts and arguments, and thus keep the question clinched to the mass of the people until the decisive vote is taken. This process costs not only time and thought, but a great deal of money. It was said by persons best acquainted with the facts in the case, that a presidential election some years ago cost one of the parties \$25,000,000. This may have been an estimate beyond the truth; but there can be no doubt that our chief elections cost an immense amount of money and labor.

Now, the principle applies to every enterprise of reform or benevolence. Means, both appropriate and adequate, must be employed with persistent energy until the object is fully gained. Its claims must be pressed home upon every man that can be persuaded to aid them. There is no other way; and thus question must, if we would hope for full success, be kept continually before the general minds until it comes to be incorporated in their habitual modes of thought, feeling and conduct.

GERMAN BATTLE-FIELDS. — The Commissioners despatched to the Lazarets and field hospitals by the Patriotic Help Association of Vienna, have just published a long and interesting report. They say the Association had a wide field for their labors in Northern Bohemia alone, and draw a pitiable picture of the condition of the peasantry. For six months their country had been occupied by great armies — first by the Austrians, then by Austrians and Prussians, and lastly by the enemy alone. The peasant's food had been devoured, his fields laid waste, his house burned or torn down and laid in ruins. They declare that the dead were left unburied in many places, and the poisoned air destroyed the living. Nearly all the amputations made by the Prussian military surgeons were unsuccessful, and ended fatally; but no difference was made in the treatment of Austrian and Prussian wounded by the medical men who had charge of them. Still they found the condition of the hospitals in all that related to nursing and medical attendance deplorable.

The Commission started to Brunn on the 1st August with fifteen wagon-loads of medical comforts. In Wilkersdorf they found a Prussian company as a guard to a cholera hospital. The pestilence was so bad that in a short time four hundred and fifty had died out of seven hundred patients, and the officer in command said: 'I hope in Heaven we shall soon leave this, for my sick will all be dead in a few days.' From Wilkersdorf no Prussians were visible, but they had left their traces in the fields and by the roadsides, for the trees had been cut down to make encampments. At Koniggratz itself they found the hospitals overstocked and short of what was needed. — In one house there were one hundred and fifteen wounded officers, and in another were one hundred and ninety-eight more. They needed spirits, lint, bandages, medicines, lotions, as well as *tobacco* and wine. All were supplied by the Commission. On the 9th the Commissioners visited Rosnitz, Westar, Sadova, and many other places, and describe with horror the condition

of the country. The hands and feet of the dead were sticking out of the hasty-made graves !— As to the hospitals in these places, the Commissioners declare all appliances and necessities were deficient. The Prussian doctors deplored their own want of success in amputations. Many of the wounded had been left forty-eight hours on the field without help, and were of course in the most unfavorable condition for treatment by the knife. The report affords a terrible peep behind the scenes of a great battle when the conqueror has moved off with drums and trumpets, and banners flying in the setting sun, and night settles on the dying and the dead. — *London Times*.

WAR-LOANS UNPROFITABLE.

It seems almost a hopeless task to take ground upon the morality of these transactions. In nine cases out of ten the money thus provided is squandered upon military armaments, which can do no good to any one, and probably in the end may be used against the very nation that has furnished the means. According to financiers of a certain school, that is not a question to be considered. The only thing to be considered is, "whether it will pay or not. Business is business, and capitalists are bound not to ask how the funds are to be employed." It must be owned, however, that the principle is carried out only in great questions. The subscriber to an enormous loan for a large empire considers himself entirely absolved from any irrelevant reflection whether he is assisting to arm hostile nations with iron-plated frigates for the express purpose of destroying, or at least impairing, our naval supremacy. If the money is required to put down a Polish rebellion, to wage an aggressive war, or even for the less harmless object of wasting in court ceremonies a sum that might save a whole population in time of famine, the capitalist thinks it no concern of his. The case is altered, however, when it comes to minor matters. The subscriber of half a million to one of these large loans would shrink from devoting a mere 10,000*l.* to a slave-trading or piratical expedition, or even to an attempt to run the blockade during the American war. Heroism is great so long as the enterprise is of sufficient magnitude. When the enterprise is small the fault appears in its true colors.

If foreign loans were really intended for beneficial objects — to develop the resources of a country, construct roads and railways, and bring nations into greater intercommunication with each other — there can be no question that they ought to be encouraged to the utmost of our power. These operations would be of equal utility to the lender and the borrower. Perhaps, considering our commercial position in the world, we should be the gainers, although the other side would gain also. As it is, our foreign loans do almost unmixed harm. Granted that they give a certain profit, the same argument may be used in favor of the merchants who supply native slave-catchers in Africa with brummagem guns, or the traders who find it worth their while to sell gunpowder to New Zealand insurgents.

Apparently the only way to induce the British to stop these foreign loan supplies is to show that they do not pay ; and this can be clearly proved by the experience of the last five years. From the spring of 1862 to the spring of 1866, a number of loans were introduced and subscribed, of which the following are the principal. The approximate amounts, subscribed price, and latest value are given ; and they are sufficient to show that foreign loans, as a matter of business, do not pay :

	Amount.	Issue price.	Last price.
Argentine.....	£500,000	75	73 1-2
Brazilian, 1863.....	3,800,000	88 1-2	62
do. 1865.....	6,756,756	74	69 1-2
Confederate.....	2,418,000	90	6
Danubian.....	898,000	86	67
Egyptian, 1862.....	2,110,000	82 1-2	85
do. second issue.....	1,085,000	84 1-2	84
do. do. 1864.....	5,475,000	88	85
Bonds.....	3,000,000	92	85
Italian State Domain.....	8,000,000	77 1-2	72
Railway.....	1,780,000	74	56
Mexican, 1864....	4,864,000	63	13 1-2
do. Anglo-French.....	12,365,000	63	20 1-2
Moorish.....	439,000	85	96
Peruvian, 1862.....	9,230,000	93	70
do. 1865.....	9,230,000	83 1-2	70
Russian, 1862.....	15,000,000	94	86
do. 1864.....	6,000,000	86	88
Turkish, 1862.....	7,387,000	68	59
do. 1863-4.....	7,685,000	66	56
do. Internal Debt.....	36,000,000	50	33 1-2
Venezuela, 1862.....	1,100,000	63	29
do. 1864.....	1,397,000	60	32
Viceroy of Egypt's Loan.....	3,320,000	90	76

These results are not encouraging. In the whole list only three are above, and that but slightly above, the price of issue; one is of insignificant amount, and of the other two a second is comparatively moderate. Taking out some which were chiefly subscribed abroad, viz., the Anglo-French Mexican and the Turkish 1863 Loans, we can arrive at the losses the British public has made during the past five years in this single class of investments. The difference in the price of issue and the market value amounts to no less than fifteen millions sterling (\$75,000,000). Against this we may place the sum gained by the increase in value of the exceptional three which show a higher quotation, and this may be estimated at 220,000*l*. Fifteen millions loss against 220,000*l* gain is not, in a business point of view, a satisfactory result.

The catalogue given above by no means exhausts the subject. There have been several other loans—the Danish and Swedish, both offered by countries of equal integrity to our own, and both devoted to useful purposes. These are strongly held, and rarely, if ever, come into the market. These bonds have been held for strictly legitimate investment, and hence are not subject to the fluctuations of the day.

But it will naturally be said, if an investor should not take foreign bonds, what is he to do with his money? The answer is simply, let him employ it in a manner both remunerative to himself, and of incalculable value to his fellow-subjects. It is an admitted fact that the judicious use of capital in India for irrigation works would yield a return far exceeding the expectation of the outlay. Even railways, judging by recent example, will pay much better than the 6 1-4 per cent offered by the Russian Government. Above all, speaking financially, the investor would be sure of the safety of

his capital. It has become so much the habit of foreign governments to borrow without paying the slightest consideration as to the possibility of their revenue being able to meet their regular claims, that the thing sooner or later must come to an end. An ambitious emperor, finding that the credit of his country is so deeply pledged that he can get no more assistance from the foreigner, and at the same time in want of funds to prosecute some warlike enterprise, will find it an intolerable burden to pay those to whom he is already indebted. The old story will be repeated of postponement of dividends, subsequent consolidation of arrears, and their usual accompaniment of a reduction in the rate of interest. Then follow representations by the English bondholders to their government, diplomatic remonstrances, and so forth, the bondholders receiving at last the feeble consolation, that if they choose to lend money to a foreign power, they do it entirely on their own responsibility. We have abstained from alluding to occasions of foreign loans earlier than 1862; but the persons who were so unlucky and ill advised as to entrust their capital to Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, and a dozen other countries, will understand the risk they run. The losses we have shown to have been incurred in the last five years are in comparison nothing to what had been previously felt. — *London Daily News*.

WORLD'S POPULATION. — It has been very variously estimated by eminent writers, — by Busching in 1787 at 1,000,000,000, by Fabri and Stein in 1800 at 900,000,000, by Stein and Horschelmann in 1833 at 872,000,000, by Dieterici in 1858 at 1,288,000,000, and by Kolb in 1865 at 1,220,000,000. Dr. Behm estimates it now at 1,350,000,000, thus distributed: Europe, 285,000,000; Asia, 798,600,000; Australia and Polynesia, 3,850,000; Africa, 188,000,000; and America, 74,500,000. At the same time he acknowledges that it is impossible to arrive at anything more than an approximate notion of the population in Asia and Africa, there being no census or other accurate means of ascertaining the number of inhabitants in those countries.

THE PARIS EXHIBITION — ITS INFLUENCES IN FAVOR OF PEACE. — We had hoped that this grand demonstration, like that at London in 1851, would be accompanied with a Congress of Peace; but, while disappointed in this, we are glad to recognize it as one among the many causes incidentally lending aid to the great world-wide reform in which we are engaged. Louis Napoleon, in his speech on the distribution of the prizes, glances at some of these influences: —

From all points of the earth the representatives of Science, Arts and Manufactures have hastened to assemble together; and it may be said that peoples and kings have come to honor the efforts of labor, and by their presence crown them with an idea of *conciliation and peace*. In fact in these great meetings, which appear to have only for object material interests, there is always a moral thought which is evolved from the competition of intelligences — that of *concord and civilization*. Nations, in drawing nearer together, learn to know and esteem each other; hate becomes extinguished,

and this truth becomes more and more accredited, that the prosperity of each country contributes to that of all.

The Exhibition of 1867 may justly be called *Universal*, for it unites the elements of all the riches of the globe. By the side of the latest improvements of modern art appear the products of the most remote ages, so that they represent at the same time the genius of every century and every nation. It is certainly universal; for, by the side of the wonders which luxury produces for some, it has paid the deepest attention to what the necessities of the greatest number require. Never have the interests of the laborious classes awakened a more lively solicitude. Their moral and material wants, their education, the conditions of cheap existence, and the most productive combinations of association, have been the object of patient research and serious study. Thus, all improvements progress side by side. If science, in subjugating matter, emancipates labor, the culture of the mind, by suppressing vices, prejudices, and vulgar passions, sets humanity free.

Let us congratulate ourselves, gentlemen, on having received among us the greater number of the Sovereigns and Princes of Europe, and so many eager visitors. Let us be proud, too, in having shown to them France as she is, great, prosperous, and free, sometimes tolerant even to the extent of license. Let those who have lived some short time among us carry back with them a just opinion of our country. Let them be convinced of the sentiments of esteem and sympathy which we entertain for foreign nations, and of our sincere desire to live in peace with them. The Exhibition of 1867 will mark, I hope, a new era of harmony and of progress. Assured that Providence blesses the efforts of those who, like ourselves, aim at doing good, I believe in the final triumph of those great principles of morality and justice, which, in satisfying all legitimate aspirations, can alone consolidate thrones, exalt nations and ennoble humanity.

WAR IN MINIATURE; A DUEL WITH POCKET KNIVES. — A Captain Clark and a Jacob Garrett, lately working a plantation together in Louisiana, had a dispute which they agreed to settle by a duel to be fought with pocket knives. "They immediately proceeded to execute their proposition by drawing their knives and rushing together. The fearful combat lasted a considerable time, the men grasping each other with the left hand, and with the right cutting, slashing and stabbing indiscriminately in the back and body, on the head, face and hands, until Captain Clark fell exhausted from the loss of blood. Both men presented a horrible appearance, being literally hacked and gashed all over the upper part of the body and arms. Captain Clark expired about twelve hours after the fight, and at last accounts Mr. Garrett was considered beyond the hope of recovery."

Such a scene of mad and murderous folly we all view with mingled feelings of pity, disgust and horror; but is it not a fair and truthful epitome of war? They get angry at each other; and, without taking any proper or rational means to ascertain how far either party may be right or wrong, they resolve, right or wrong, to wreak vengeance on each other with the moral certainty that the fight will inflict on both more evil than the whole matter in dispute is worth. So nations in more than nine wars in ten. Yet they talk, and history repeats the suicidal nonsense, about the *glory* of their wars!!

EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENT:

ADDRESS FROM BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND.

A MEETING of the working-men in Birmingham was held September 3rd, to testify their interest in the recent popular movement on the Continent in favor of Peace. Several addresses were made, and the following Address, which Elihu Burrit had been requested to prepare, was read and adopted:—

A Friendly Address of Citizens of Birmingham to the people of France and Germany;

“Brethren, we beg you to receive kindly a few words of fraternal greeting, which we, citizens of Birmingham, in public meeting assembled, desire to address to you.

“We wish to tender to you an expression of the deep sentiment of gladness and delight with which we, and thousands of our fellow-countrymen, have read the friendly communications which communities in France and Germany have recently addressed to each other, deprecating every act and utterance of ill-will, and every disposition and effort calculated to put in peril the peace existing between the two countries. In this friendly correspondence we recognize, with hope and joy, a new power and a new era in the commonwealth of nations. We see in it the great, intelligent, industrious peoples of Christendom brought face to face and hand to hand in the full force of their enlightened reason and common humanity, to pledge each other that they will not suffer themselves to be led like sheep dumb to the slaughter, without opening their mouth against the bloody and useless sacrifice; to insist that the sacred rights and interests of nations shall not be decided by the blind hazard and arbitrament of war; to constrain their governments to submit every dangerous question of controversy that may arise between them to the passionless tribunal of reason, equity, and humanity, rather than to that fiery and windy tempest of fury and destruction which war summons forth with its consuming breath.

“Brethren of France and Germany, we trust that you will also see in the fraternal communications which you addressed to each other on a recent question of much peril, a moral force which you may and will employ at the shortest notice, whenever a question shall arise to endanger the peace between the two nations. We express this hope not without some experience in the use and influence of such correspondence. On more than one occasion, different towns and communities in Great Britain have put themselves in direct communication with the citizens of another country on questions which threatened to lead to a desolating war. In 1846, when a case of this nature arose between England and the United States, in connection with the Oregon question, a number of large and influential towns in the United Kingdom addressed similar towns in America in communications breathing the same spirit that inspired the addresses which you interchanged on the Luxemburg question. Again, on the accession of the Emperor of the French to the imperial throne, a sentiment was aroused in Great Britain, which, under the influence of certain journals and public men, assumed such force, and expressed itself in such forms, as to alarm thousands of thoughtful men, lest it should break the bonds of peace between the two nations. To counteract this sentiment, and to convince the French people that it was not the feeling of the great masses of the nation, the large towns of the kingdom resorted

to this very system of friendly international addresses. London, Dublin, Glasgow, and Edinburgh sent each an address to Paris; Liverpool to Lyons, Manchester to Marseilles, Birmingham to Bordeaux, Leeds to Lille, Sheffield to Strasburg. Fifty of the large towns in Great Britain addressed the same number of towns in France, deprecating the expression of any sentiment of distrust or ill-will towards the French people, and earnestly inviting their fraternal co-operation in strengthening and multiplying the bonds of peace and mutual interest between the two countries. So far from drifting into a war with each other, France and England soon became more closely united than they had ever been before.

“Brethren of Germany and France, let us pledge each other, that war shall not rob us of one of the glorious victories which peace has won for us in this great year of progress. This year the peoples of Christendom have met in a grand parliament of their arts and industries in Paris. We have shown to each other and to the world at large what we have been thinking and doing for the well-being of mankind. We have exhibited such combinations and results of science, art, and mechanical skill as have filled even their contributors with wonder. What fraternities of capital, genius, and labor, every department, section, and stall has represented! How the coarsest toil of the miner’s pick and the forger’s hammer has been blended with the finest touches that the human hand ever gave to the working of the precious metals! What an exposition of the seeds, grains, roots, and fruits, and all the agricultural implements with which the patient and laborious millions of all latitudes plough, sow, and reap their lands for food for man and beast! With this magnificent spectacle before our eyes, let us enter into a solemn bond and covenant with each other that war shall never more be allowed to cut the sinews of these splendid industries; to disperse the peaceful armies of these honest artisans of the field, forest, mine, and factory, or to array them against each other with the barbarous instruments of the battle-field. Let us raise aloft over all the populous continents of the world this white banner with a new device: ‘The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Men!’ Let us rally the taxed and toiling peoples under this flag; under its glorious and victorious folds let us organize one grand and decisive crusade to expel war, and all its spirit, and all its horrid machinery, from the face of the earth.

ADDRESSES. — *J. S. Wright.* — In Paris there is now the most perfect exhibition of the products of art and industry ever brought together; but the preminence given there to implements used for the destruction of mankind is most remarkable. A cannon is the most conspicuous object in the exhibition, and the most remarkable of the English contributions are from the War Department. Probably £30,000 has been taken from the taxes of this country to send over to France specimens of everything used in England for the purposes of war, to taunt the nations by proclaiming how powerful England is for the destruction of mankind. The people should look after these things, and should remember that powerful armies have ever been used to repress the aspirations of peoples, and crush their liberties. No nation with a large standing army can ever take its proper position as a nation of free men. The people are taxed to the uttermost; and yet the governments are spending more than they can get from the people, and are thus running more deeply in debt every year, and laying up stores of misery for future generations. The expenditure of France is £87,000,000 sterling per annum — seven millions more than her income. The people must bestir themselves; ministers, peers, and members of the House of Commons can very well afford

their share of the taxes, but to the working classes the question of war taxation is a question of bread. There is hope when the people of England, France and Germany begin to take the matter up in earnest.

Rev. C. H. Leonard. — War is the game of kings; the tendency in these days is to deprive kings of an overwhelming influence in the affairs of mankind; and I believe, as this consummation is perfected, wars will become less frequent. The notion of a peaceful world is, after all, not so very Utopian as some people suppose. At one time in England every forest was a separate camp; and in the time of the Heptarchy differences between the North and the South, the East and the West, the middle and the outer kingdoms, were settled by war; and at much later periods those who lived on either side of the border knew of no arbitrament but that of the sword. All this has passed away; and there is no reason why international wars in Europe should not pass away too.

OUR EXAMPLE ABROAD IN MILITARY MATTERS. — “At a meeting of the British Association on the 6th of September in the section of *Economic Science*, Mr. E. Grant Duff, the chairman, used the following language: ‘Would that the people of this quarter of the globe would awake to the danger of being surpassed by the great nation on the other side of the Atlantic! An American politician came back last autumn from Prussia declaring that it was impossible to walk ten yards in a Prussian town without meeting a soldier. An English politician came back at the same time from the United States declaring that he had traversed the country from end to end without seeing even a single soldier. When will monarchs and cabinets and popular assemblies learn that old wisdom of William III., that that nation will hold the balance of power which, in proportion to its strength, has economized material resources to the highest point, and acquired the highest degree of moral ascendancy by an honest and consistent allegiance to the laws of morality in its domestic policy, and in its foreign relations?’”

IMPROVED WAR-WEAPONS! — Such is the name given to means designed by modern science and ingenuity for enabling men in war to kill each other! to destroy their property, and inflict evils of every kind upon one another by wholesale. They are lauded and rewarded with the highest honors. Apply this logic to other cases. Suppose a man of mechanical skill and science should teach a burglar to rob and plunder, an incendiary to lay a city in ashes, or a murderer to kill a whole regiment in an hour, would you deem such an achievement worthy of encomiums, glory, and the highest emoluments of office? Yet thus are the wholesale destroyers of mankind treated; and it would be a painfully curious inquiry to learn how this class of men have generally been rewarded.

NAPOLEON'S GUN. — It seems the French Emperor has tried his hand in improving the instruments of human slaughter. “It is a new, small cannon; the most terrible arm yet invented. None know their mechanism, except the artillery officers, who direct the experiments. Cannon, cartridges and ammunition are brought in leather valises, and the trials take place behind

a screen of planks. All that can be known is that at two thousand five hundred metres these arms send a perfect hail of balls against a target two metres high and one broad. At that distance the balls pierce an iron plate two centimetres thick. Each cannon can fire twenty shots in a minute, and two men suffice for the transport of the arm, the carriage, the ammunition, &c. Lately these guns were tried against a clump of trees at fifteen hundred metres (nearly an English mile). The trees were mowed down in a few minutes, like a cornfield by a steam mowing machine. It is frightful. Five or six men armed with such an engine could destroy a whole regiment in a few minutes.

THE CHIEF VICTIMS OF WAR. — On whom do most of its evils fall? Are its guilty abettors the men that pay its expenses, bear its hardships, and suffer its countless woes? No : these come upon the *people*. It is their earnings that are wasted, their blood that is poured out like water, their dwellings that are burnt to ashes, their fathers and brothers, husbands and sons, that are driven away like cattle to be butchered by thousands ; while the authors of all these evils, sitting aloof from the storm upon their sofas of ease and luxury, may read without a sigh of the miseries they have themselves occasioned.

NUMBERS IN THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS. — Some curious statistician in England reports the following facts : — That in Great Britain there is one for every 1,240 of the population ; while, in France there is one for every 1,970 ; in Belgium, one for every 2,700 ; and in Prussia, one for every 12,000 only. Another curious fact is, that in England the number of persons belonging to the different professions is nearly the same. Thus there are 34,970 lawyers, 35,483 clergymen, and 35,995 physicians. In Prussia, there are 4,809 physicians to only 1,362 lawyers ; a fact implying that they are a peaceful and sensible people. In America lawyers and physicians must be much more numerous than ministers.

WAR AND FORGIVENESS. — Does war ever forgive? is not the very idea incompatible with war? A friend of peace once asked a general, on a muster-field, "What do you mean by this array of swords, muskets and cannon?" — "We mean to be avenged on our enemies, should they insult or invade us." — "But we are bound to *forgive* our enemies, should they injure us." — "So we will," said the general. — "But, if you really forgive them, what do you want of swords, rifles and cannon?" — "To stab and shoot them." — "But, if you forgive them, how could you at the same time shoot and stab them?" — "I think," said the general, "I can feel forgiveness in my heart towards my enemy, while I am shooting and stabbing him. Can I not?" — "If you can, you take a queer way of showing it. How can you show your forgiveness by swords and guns?" — "I am sure," he replied, "it's more than I can tell." — "Perhaps," said the peace-man, "you have

the art of shooting and stabbing your forgiveness into the hearts of your enemies; and it may be the object of your review to perfect yourselves in this art. Is it so?"—"I think," replied he very honestly and truly, "we are more likely to perfect ourselves in the art of *killing* them."

"Could you," inquired a peace-man of a military officer, "could you, after a battle in which you had stained your hands with the blood of your brethren, ask God to forgive you as you had forgiven your enemies?"—"I am not a Christian," said he, nor do I profess to forgive the wrongs done to me and my country; but I know I should be a hypocrite and a blasphemer, if I should ask God to forgive me as I had forgiven my enemies, after I had been killing them. When I ask him to forgive me as I have my enemies, I will cease to kill them, or to encourage others in doing so."

A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER. — A great living preacher said the other day, "I am always glad to hear of a soldier being a Christian, but am always sorry to hear of a Christian being a soldier." Such is the feeling which most Christian people would intuitively reciprocate, a testimony that an enlightened conscience perceives in the two professions an incongruity which no casuistry can reconcile or soften. We are to put on the graces of meekness and gentleness; but how is it possible to do so while engaged in destroying our fellow-men, and when all the worst passions of man's nature are roused into wild-beast ferocity, every restraint cast aside, and every device adapted to stimulate to fury in mutual slaughter?

Is it said a great national emergency may arise wherein national life depends upon defence by arms? I reply do we really believe in God's overruling providence, or is the iteration of our profession of such faith a mere figment of the imagination? Do we really believe "the hairs of our head are all numbered"? Is not then the path of obedience the path of duty and safety?

We believe the prophecy, that the time will arrive when "men shall beat their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." We believe that the application of gospel principles will be the means of bringing about this end; and we pray for the speedy subjugation of the world to Christ, when, as a natural consequence, war will be impossible, and the consummation of peace on earth and goodwill toward men will be fully realized.

If this be so, all claim to consistency must be abandoned by those who thus regard the declarations of Scripture, and at the same time deliberately sanction, uphold and perpetuate the evil, the utter extermination of which is therein contemplated. The power of the gospel is just as potent to-day to vanquish evil, and subjugate the human will to perfect obedience to its precepts, as it was 1,800 years ago, and as it will be 1,800 years hence. No special miracle will be wrought to bring men to recognize the perpetual obligations set forth in the Sermon on the Mount, beyond that miracle of grace which is ever being repeated in the hearts of individual men, transforming their lives, and making them new creatures in Christ.

It is because such vast numbers of those who profess allegiance to Christian principles, and yet have not trusted themselves to their application, that we to-day behold the pitiable spectacle of modern Christian Europe groaning beneath the weight of her armaments, and the burden of sustaining four or five million civilized men under arms, whose business it is to kill, and for whom wholesale murder is legalized. — *London Herald of Peace.*

PEACE CONGRESS AT GENEVA.

THIS Congress, viewed as a peace movement, is reported to have been a signal failure. The reports of its proceedings and results ought, perhaps, to be received with many grains of allowance; but it seems pretty clear that its grand aim was to promote Political Reform in general, rather than the cause of Peace. Its real purpose and character may be seen in the following programme of topics to be discussed:—

1. The reign of peace to which humanity aspires as the final triumph of civilization, is it compatible with those great military monarchies who spoil the peoples of their most vital liberties, maintain formidable armies, and tend to suppress small States for the advantage of despotic centralizations? Or is it not the essential condition of a perpetual peace between the nations, for each nation to have liberty, and in their international relations the establishment of a confederation of free democracies, constituting the United States of Europe?

2. What are the means for preparing and hastening the advent of this confederation of free peoples? By a return to the great principles of the Revolution, now, at least, becoming truths; by the re-assertion of all liberties, individual and political; by an appeal to all moral energies; by the awakening of conscience; by the diffusion of popular instruction; by the destruction of prejudices of race, of nationality, of sect, and of the military spirit, &c.; by the abolition of standing armies; by harmonizing economical interests through liberty; by bringing morality and policy into accordance.

3. What will be the best means to make the action of the International Congress of Peace lasting and effectual? By the organization of a permanent association of the friends of democracy and liberty. The principle task of the Congress of Geneva should be to arrange the plan, and to lay down the first foundations of this Association.

Here is a vast programme of political reform, and aims at nothing less than to supersede the present monarchies of Europe by some form of popular government, "a Confederation of Free Democracies, constituting the United States of Europe." It is a grand conception, which we should be glad to see peacefully accomplished by such moral influences as alone can ever render the attempt either successful or safe; but no one at all acquainted with the cause of Peace needs to be told that its friends never dreamed of such a comprehensive and sweeping political reform as a part of their specific work. We seek merely to do away the custom of war, the practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword, the well-known *War-System of Christendom*. As Peace Reformers we restrict ourselves to this single object, and shall fulfil our specific mission whenever this war-system shall be superseded everywhere by peaceful methods of regulating the intercourse and adjusting the difficulties of nations. We see why the London Peace Society, a fair representative in this matter of all peace societies, could not "send representatives to the Geneva Congress." The subject was before its committee; "and the conclusion to which they came was, that the constitution of the Peace Society does not admit of their sending any delegates. That constitution forbids

the Society to identify itself with any political or religious party. Now, the gentlemen who are organizing the Geneva Congress do avowedly belong to a particular political party. With an honorable frankness which cannot fail to command our respect, they have put their political principles and aims in the fore-front of their programme. Whether this is wise or expedient may admit of discussion. We should have greatly preferred that they had not done so; and we have done our best to persuade some of their leaders that it would have been better to have adopted a broader platform, admitting of the co-operation of men of all political views. They, however, thought otherwise; and they have the right, no one can doubt, to determine their own course.

"The work which this particular organization has undertaken is one, in our judgment, of great importance. If they can imbue the democracy of Europe with pacific principles, and bring the people of the different countries of the civilized world into closer and friendlier relation with each other, they will render a most essential service to the cause of peace. Hitherto, we fear, the people have been almost as ready to rush into war as the governments, though this, no doubt, has generally been the result of the cunning manner in which those in authority have known how to play on the prejudices and passions of the people for their own objects. With all our hearts, therefore, we wish good speed to our fellow-laborers meeting at Geneva in their efforts to enlighten and guide the people. One word of caution and counsel we venture most respectfully to submit to them, and that is that the cause of peace *cannot* be advanced by weapons of war, however plausible may be the reasons assigned for having recourse to them. It would be like an attempt to promote temperance by an orgie of drunkenness."

PEACE OPERATIONS IN ENGLAND. — The London Peace Society has, besides its able and accomplished Secretary, who edits its organ, several lecturers constantly at work. One of these, Mr. O'Neil, "cannot omit some mention of the many opportunities which I have had of bringing Peace views before thousands of the people at towns' meetings called by the local authorities, and at public meetings for the consideration of reform. I have been specially invited to address many of these meetings. The cordial and enthusiastic reception given to the statements on peace, non-intervention, and friendly intercourse with all nations, and the deep feeling of reverence and gratitude manifested to the names of Sturge, Cobden, and other friends of Peace, have been most encouraging. The Peace Society has been in no way responsible for these occasional movements; but I am confident that the cause of Peace has been advanced greatly thereby among the masses. I am sure that at these mere supplementary meetings, I have been enabled to command Peace views to fifty thousand persons, in London, Birmingham, &c."

Such indications of spontaneous, popular interest in our cause are full of promise. How long before the malign influences of our rebellion will allow us to hope for like interest here, and let ministers of the gospel deem it safe for their reputation to say an unequivocal word for Peace? Will they consent to lay far in the rear of the masses, the artizans and work-people of France, Germany and Holland?

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

CONTENTS.

Consistency of Christians on Peace.....	357	How much on Pensions.....	377
Austrian Bankruptcy.....	360	Militia System in Vermont.....	378
What Ministers can do for Peace.....	361	The South sick of Fighting.....	378
The Union necessary in Peace.....	363	Peace with our Indians.....	378
Christian Protest against War.....	365	A favorable Sign for Peace.....	378
New Inventions for killing.....	370	A Peace Paper in the South.....	379
Incidental Results of our Rebellion.....	370	War a Foe to Mental Culture.....	379
Peace Movements in Europe.....	371	Garibaldi and Revolution.....	381
A Noble Utterance.....	372	British Rebellions.....	382
Our National Debt.....	372	Cost of a Battle to a Continent.....	382
Our Soldiers at the West.....	372	God of Armies.....	383
The Warrior's Profession.....	373	War Education.....	384
Pledge on Peace.....	375	Annual Contribution.....	384
Soldier repeating Lord's Prayer.....	376	Receipts.....	384
London Peace Society's Address.....	376	Index.....	386

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
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

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Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

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THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1867.

CONSISTENCY OF CHRISTIANS ON PEACE.

WE think ourselves reasonable and very moderate in our demands upon Christians in behalf of Peace. The cause is no less theirs than our own; and in urging its claims, we ask of them no more than is fairly, if not confessedly, implied in their profession as disciples of Christ. Some of our views you may think extreme; but we shall be satisfied if you will honestly carry out in practice the principles which you all admit to be an integral part of your peaceful religion. You believe in Christ as the Messiah, promised in Isaiah as 'the Prince of Peace,' under whose spiritual reign nations are 'to beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more.' The song of the angels at his birth, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth Peace, good-will to men," you regard as an index divinely true to the spirit, aims, and actual results of his gospel in its progress through the world. You accept, also, the teachings of Christ in his Sermon on the Mount, and of his Apostles in their epistles, as authoritative expositions of what you ought, as his followers, to believe and do on this subject.

Here is a brief epitome of what we take to be your faith on this point, as disciples of the Prince of Peace; and we simply ask you to act in accordance with these principles. When Christ, in his last command before his ascension, bids his followers "Go preach the gospel to every creature," he implicitly requires them to preach his *whole* gos-

pel, its principles of peace equally with its requisitions of repentance and faith ; and if we fail to include the former along with the latter, we are recreant to the high trust then and there committed to us. Are not the principles and duties of peace, alike between individuals, communities, and nations, an integral part of that gospel which he requires us to receive ourselves, and preach to every creature? You acknowledge your obligation "to disciple all nations," to evangelize the whole world, and bring its teeming myriads under the full power of his gospel ; but can this ever be done without inculcating this part as well as every other part of its principles? If we omit from our preaching the obligation of repentance or faith, of love to our neighbors or our enemies, of public worship or secret prayer, of obedience to parents, or honesty and truthfulness in our intercourse with our fellow-men, should we not to this extent fail in carrying out our Saviour's last command?

This reasoning clearly applies with equal force to the class of truths and duties embraced in the general question of Peace. Are they not confessedly a part of the gospel? If so, we are just as truly bound to inculcate and practice peace as we are repentance, or faith, or any other part of our religion. We see not how Christians can escape from this conclusion ; and the fact that most of them slumber so complacently over the whole subject, only proves how little attention they have hitherto given to it.

Now, we merely ask you to carry into effect this part of the gospel as you would that which enjoins repentance and faith. Do this, and we shall be satisfied ; for God would take care of the result, and soon make it glorious beyond our highest conceptions. Just imagine the effect sure to follow an earnest, faithful inculcation of the teachings on this subject found in the New Testament : 'Seek peace, and have peace one with another. Follow peace with all men. Blessed are the poor in spirit, the meek, the merciful, peace-makers. Resist not evil ; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor ; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law. Do good to all men. Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them. Love your enemies. Overcome evil with good. If thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink ; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.' Let all Christians unite in pressing everywhere upon men, alike as individuals and na-

tions, such precepts as these, and how surely and how soon would wars and the entire war-system melt away from every land blest with the light of the gospel.

Take another view. You believe, as the Bible promises, that Christianity is one day to become the religion of the whole world; and in reliance on such promises, you unite your efforts with others in sending the gospel to the unevangelized nations of the earth. You do not suppose such promises will fulfil themselves without the appropriate human instrumentality prescribed of God for the purpose. You do not in this case expect ends without proper and adequate means, but set yourselves at work to use the means of God's appointment. Here is just what we ask you to do on the subject of peace. God's promises of peace as a result of the gospel, are quite as full, explicit and decisive, as those which foretel and assure the world's evangelization. If we believe him in one case, we must, if consistent, believe him with equal confidence in the other. If means, also, are indispensable in one case, they are equally so in the other. You might just as well expect the world to be all Christianized without the means prescribed in the gospel, as to suppose the immemorial custom of war will ever be done away without proper and adequate means. It is only a simple dictate of common sense to insist that you should in the cause of peace, as in that of foreign missions, use the divinely appointed means, in order to insure the divinely promised result.

Let us ask here, how far have you done so? Do you inculcate peace as you do repentance and faith? Have you set yourselves resolutely at work to render this part of the gospel effective in securing its promised results wherever it prevails? You give money to evangelize the heathen. How much have you given to do away the custom of war? You spend not a little time and money to insure the active, habitual support of the missionary enterprise. How far have you done so in the cause of peace? You pray daily for the former, and have once a month a special concert of prayer. We have long urged Christians to unite, not once a month, but only once a year, in a general concert of prayer for the universal and perpetual prevalence of peace. Have you or your church habitually complied with this most reasonable request? Year after year we have sent this request to the churches of our land; and out of the forty or fifty thousand, has one in a thousand observed this concert of prayer for the world's pacification?

We would be neither censorious nor despondent; but certainly there is something strangely wrong in the conduct of Christians on this subject. They treat it as they do no kindred question of truth and duty. They contradict their own professions. They believe the gospel adapted, designed, and destined to do away this master-evil, yet persistently neglect, age after age, to use the only means by which it can ever achieve this grand and glorious consummation. This sovereign catholicism has been in their hands some eighteen hundred years, for the very purpose of curing this evil along with others; and yet in this afternoon of the nineteenth century they are, as a body, profoundly asleep over the subject, and seem willing to let this mammoth sin and scourge continue unchecked forever. A severe judgment, we grant, but only a simple statement of the facts in the case. A moral paralysis, a sort of death-slumber on the subject, pervades nearly the whole Christian world. Can anything be more inconsistent or more inexcusable? Here in the early dawn, as we hope, and most Christians believe, of that millennium, during which the angel-song of peace is to be echoed round the globe; with Christendom bristling all over with bayonets, four or five million warriors in Europe alone armed to the teeth in constant readiness for the work of mutual slaughter; nearly all its governments well-nigh bankrupt with war-debts, ten thousand millions of dollars in all; and yet with such facts as these staring them full in the face, the mass of Christians, Catholic and Protestant, orthodox and heterodox, are seemingly indifferent on this subject, neither doing nor attempting aught in earnest to cure or mitigate this mighty evil, but scowling in pity or scorn on the few Christians, a Spartan band in this Thermopylæ of the coming ages, who are trying to secure and hasten the fulfilment of the grandest prophecy, save that of the world's evangelization, that God ever gave, the permanent, universal reign of Peace on earth. Thank God that an inconsistency so glaring and inexcusable cannot last forever; and when Christians do wake from their guilty slumber of fifteen centuries, subsequent ages will marvel that they should ever have slept for an hour over such a theme.

AUSTRIAN BANKRUPTCY. — It seems from a late statement of the Austrian "Finance Monitor," that Austria's debt now amounts to no less than 3,046,000,000 florins. Since the curtailment of her dominions, how is she ever to pay a sum so enormous?

WHAT MINISTERS CAN DO FOR PEACE.

God never exacts impossibilities; but always makes our obligations precisely commensurate with our capacities and means. What we have no power to do, we are not bound to attempt; and if there are prevalent in the world any evils for which God has not provided a remedy, or to which it is not in our power to apply a remedy, we cannot be responsible for their continuance. If war is really incurable, we can be under no obligation to attempt the cure or mitigation of its evils, but may, perhaps must, leave mankind, as most Christians *have* left them for the last fifteen centuries, to endure them in all time as best they can. Or if war is in fact as curable as any other social evil, and God has provided in his gospel a sure and sovereign remedy, but Christians have no power, means or opportunity to apply it, then may they be excusable for their past and still continued neglect of this subject.

But are any of these positions tenable? Is war absolutely incurable? Has God in his gospel made no provision for its cure? Have Christians no power or opportunity to apply this divine remedy to the case? We all know well what answer must be given to such questions as these. Every Christian believes that the gospel, rightly applied for the purpose, can, and one day will, do away this custom. Why, then, has it not already done this in lands where it has prevailed for centuries? Where lies the blame of this long-continued failure? Is it in God and his gospel, or solely in the neglect of Christians to make a right application of its principles to the case? If the latter, as we all believe it is, what excuse can they plead for such neglect through so many ages?

Let us consider for a moment one excuse for this neglect of peace by Christians, especially in our own land. It is, in brief, that they are not responsible for the evils of actual war or the war-system, because the question is not under their control, nor within the reach of their influence. We grant that it is not theirs to decide in form questions of peace or war; but it is in their power, and a part of their appropriate business as Christians, to inculcate such principles, form such habits, and diffuse such influences in society, as shall stop actual war, and do away the war-system. All this they *can* do if they will; and if they *will* do it to the utmost of their power, we have good reason to expect

that this great evil will, ere long, begin to melt away entirely and forever from our land.

Just glance at what Christian ministers here might do on this subject with great ease and moral certainty. A few months ago, Prof. Henry B. Smith, of the New York Theological Seminary, laid before the Evangelical Alliance at its meeting in Holland, an abstract of the numbers and resources of the different Christian denominations in our country, from which we gather these facts: — Of the Methodists, there are in the North, 1,039,184 church-members, with 13,172 preachers, 25 colleges, 56 official periodicals, with a circulation of a million every month. At the South their number is estimated at 700,000. Besides these, there are Protestant Methodists, 105,000; African Methodists, about 112,000; Wesleyan Methodists, 25,670; with a few thousand Free Methodists and Primitive Methodists. The whole number in our country exceeds 2,000,000.—Next come the Baptists, with a total membership in the different branches of 1,689,485, in 17,220 churches, and probably as many preachers, with 23 colleges, 11 theological seminaries, and 23 periodicals. To these add some 700,000 Presbyterians, under different names; perhaps 360,000 Congregationalists, Orthodox and Unitarians; more than 160,000 communicants in the Episcopal Church, with 2,460 preachers; of the Reformed Dutch, 444 churches and 461 ministers; of the Universalists, about 600,000; and of Roman Catholics, about 4,000,000, with 3,795 churches, 2,317 clergymen, 29 colleges, and we know not how many periodicals.

How vast an aggregate is here of moral power, all virtually, if not directly, under the control of those who profess to preach a gospel of peace! If we omit Catholics, we shall find here more than 4,500,000 church-members, and more than 40,000 ministers of the gospel, preaching to a still larger number of congregations, and having under their management or influence probably more than 100 religious periodicals, an equal number of colleges and theological seminaries, and nearly all our inferior schools of every kind. All these main-springs of moral power are directly or indirectly in the hands of Christian ministers; and if they would wield them as they might and should, could they not surely and easily recast public sentiment on the subject of peace in the mould of the gospel? Could they not through the pulpit, the church, the sabbath-school, the family, the press, and the various seminaries of learning, create ere long such a public opinion as would

render both war and rebellion in this country morally impossible? If they *can* do it, ought they *not* to do it? If with all this amount of moral power at their command, they refuse or neglect to use it for this purpose, will they not be held to a fearful responsibility for the deluge of evils that may come from their neglect?

THE UNION NECESSARY IN PEACE.

UNDER this caption, I read some time ago in the *Advocate of Peace*, an article discriminating between the true and real object of the Peace Society, and those side issues which are often made to run collateral with it, and lead the mind off from the great object at which it aims. My interest was especially excited by the fact that it appeared to bring the reader step by step nearer and nearer to the point from which success is to be expected. Still it seems to me that the article did not reach the chief *practical* point; and I would, if possible, supply the deficiency.

The article alluded to culminates in this: "War, being inconsistent with Christianity, and the true interests of mankind, ought to be abolished." Now, this sentiment is already extensively entertained, but remains a dormant truth, and must be brought to a practical test and bearing. In that article the temperance reform, and the means by which it succeeded, are happily used as illustrations and arguments in favor of unity and definiteness in the cause of peace; and as the main agency in that reform was a practical pledge in some way, it must be so in this. Where protest and demonstration failed, example took effect on society, and that by its effect on individuals. National wars are as really an aggregate of individual action as is national drunkenness, and the reform must be in individual action. But so long as the men most noted for wisdom, piety and virtue, concur with the popular voice ever ready to justify and applaud military enlistments, so long will the war-system hold on its course.

At the present crisis of our cause, then, does it not become the duty of every one who would lend his aid for abolishing war, to pledge himself, publicly, never to enlist, receive a commission, or in any way bind himself to military service *under the laws of war*, or encourage others to such an act? Why should not such pledge be taken, and kept? He who enlists, binds himself by oath to obey the orders of the officers

who may from time to time be set over him *in accordance with the laws of war*, thus selling himself, body and soul, conscience and principles, a passive instrument to the work of destruction and slaughter.

Were such a peace pledge adopted by the churches throughout Christendom, who can doubt that the practice of war would soon be brought to an end? Yet, what is the duty of all in this regard, is the duty of each. Such a course, it is true, would narrow down the sphere of worldly ambition, and might, consequently, call forth the ire of military aspirants. But these men have been treated with undue deference long enough by the friends of peace; and their rage, though not sought, might serve to galvanize the dormant principles of peace-men into wholesome activity. The chief objection, however, to such a course is something like this: 'As war is the defence and support of civil governments, such a course would prove their destruction.' This objection against peace organizations will compare very well with one which was common at first against temperance societies, viz., that, if the sentiment of total abstinence were to prevail, it would derange the industrial business of our land, would stop the distilleries, would spoil the market for the surplus grain and cider of the country, lay an incubus on all enterprise, and thus tend to the decline of civilization and refinement. Facts have shown the absurdity of such arguing, and equally preposterous is the pretence that the abolition of war would prove detrimental to civil governments.

There never was a grosser libel on civil government, than the assumption that war and the laws of war are its chief, indispensable reliance. The true support of government is the will of the people, and its true object is to secure to all, impartially, those rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, with which their Creator has endowed them. But in contrast with this, governments under the influence of the war-system and the control of its laws, have been, and are to this day, the greatest violators of those rights, and the greatest sources of injustice known to the world. The laws of war are by no means necessary to sustain an internal force adequate to the wholesome purposes of government; and military actions beyond this are not governmental, but games of competition, where the lives of the soldiery are made the playthings of the competitors. We say, then, peace-men should unite in taking a practical stand against the war-system, if they would secure practical results.

B.

CHRISTIAN PROTEST AGAINST WAR.

THE DUTY OF CHRISTIANS TO OPPOSE THE CUSTOM OF WAR, AND SEEK ITS ABOLITION.

BY SAMUEL W. BOARDMAN.

WHY is no more accomplished in the cause of peace? This question, though of world-wide importance, and pertinent to all Christendom, is often propounded to the friends of peace as if it specially concerned them. So it does, and has often met with appropriate response; but it still recurs in undiminished importance with every passing year. I propose to consider what I deem a chief reason why the cause of peace has not received more attention, and consequently made no more progress.

It certainly cannot be from any lack of importance. If we look at the physical evils of war, their very name is legion. Nothing like it spreads carnage, destruction, and desolation over a land. If we look at its moral character and effects, we shall find in them a greater display of the turpitude of depraved human nature than was ever tolerated by any other institution, more direct and wide-spread violations of the moral law, than in all other misrule. Nor is the slow progress in this cause explicable on the ground that the evils of war, both physical and moral, are not before the public. These evils, too painful to be disregarded, and too obvious to need illustration, have been pressed in many ways upon the public attention by organized societies for half a century. Nor is the delay for want of an accessible point of attack upon the war-system. In every view, moral, physical, and political, it stands exposed to easy and successful assault. Why, then, no more progress? Is not the main or most decisive reason this; that the friends of peace have not sufficiently concentrated their energies on the *Antagonism between War and Christianity*? I think it is. The Great Ruler of the Universe has promised his church success *at precisely this point*: "Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and He shall judge among the nations, * * neither shall they learn war any more." Isaiah 2: 2—4; Micah 4: 1—5.

This reform, then, is to be effected in and by *the church*. It is the appropriate work to be effected, under God, by a right application of

the gospel. We cannot expect the statesman, the politician, and, least of all, military men, will discard and abolish the war-system in defiance of popular sentiment. Such a course would narrow down the sphere of their ambition, and thus defeat their grand aims. Indeed, we find in all Christian countries, and in pagan and Mahometan, also, that those who would revel in military renown, depend on their religious teachers to keep the public mind reconciled to the doctrines and practices of war, and thus keep them in countenance. Even the depraved heart of man is not hard enough to brook the horrors of war without some warrant or excuse from a superhuman source. For this purpose polytheism was quite convenient in its day. Each tribe or clan could fight under the auspices of some tutelary deity; and, to the same end, the implicit faith and blind obedience of the Mahometans have been made subservient.

But can Christianity shield the conscience against the horrors of promiscuous homicide? Impossible! yet nominal Christianity *has* done it, is doing it still, and that extensively even among Protestant Christian nations. This phase of nominal Christianity was undoubtedly attained by an amalgamation of paganism with Christianity through its connection with allied civil and ecclesiastical despotism. During the first three centuries war was discarded as utterly unchristian; and, as might be easily shown, the religious defences of war in Christendom are but remnants of such unhallowed alliances. It is the duty of Christendom, of every intelligent Christian, to scan the laws of war as inculcated and put in practice by military men, mark the powers they claim for civil governments to make enemies of the nations they respectively represent, and bind their subjects, in blind obedience to officers set over them, to engage in the work of wholesale homicide, thus absolving them from the dictates of conscience and the moral law. It is their duty and ours to hold up to public gaze such laws and claims, their tendencies and consequences. We should exhibit the contrast of all these to the spirit, principles, and high aims of Christianity, and show the world that no man can voluntarily place himself under such laws and liabilities consistently with his obligations as a disciple of Christ. War must one day be expurgated from the Christian profession; and why should it not be in our day? Christian civilization, intercourse, and arts, have already attained a degree of perfection which gives the present an advantage over any previous age for such an

achievement. Nay more; war as a *relic of barbarism* stands out in prominence to the view of every deliberate beholder, awaiting its rejection and doom "among the rubbish of the dark ages;" and it is in the power of the present generation of Christians to give it such a consignment.

For this purpose, the cause of peace must be pursued with persistent energy and boldness. We must not suffer ourselves to be diverted from the true ground of reform (religion) by such side issues as questions of self-defence or support of government. Pure defence is not war, nor may the claims of civil government be allowed to correct the moral law, or regulate the claims of Christian principle. Long enough have the superhuman assumptions of authority by human governments made nationality the very Moloch of Christendom to which her dearest sons, in countless numbers, have been offered in sacrifice. Such assumptions we must resist, and show their contrariety to the first principles of our religion. Let us keep before the Christian public this question, — Is it consistent with Christianity for us to bind ourselves, conscience and principles, body and soul, by military bonds? To this question we can give but one direct answer. Is it not, then, the duty of *our churches* to establish rules prohibiting the enlistment of their members under martial law?

We may urge this from the consideration that in no way short of this can our churches withdraw their influence from the support of war. We occasionally hear now from the pulpit, especially in time of war, the character of a good heroic Christian soldier delineated, and listen to prayers for his success in such capacity. And in time of peace, nothing is more common than to hear from preachers illustrations of worthy Christian character drawn from the conduct and achievements of military men; in all which our churches concur, and thus are giving, both directly and incidentally, efficient support to war. They must abandon and denounce all complicity with war, if they would fulfil their high calling, and answer the ends for which they were instituted.

I know it is often urged that, as the Bible is a perfect rule, it is not expedient for the churches to adopt definite rules and regulations relative to the action of their members. This objection I think contrary to the instructions of the Bible. The teachings of Christ relative to both piety and morality were perfect; and yet the apostles found it necessary, and made it a prominent part of their epistles, to correct er-

rors into which Christians had fallen under the claim of Bible authority. Especially necessary were such corrections after the apostles had been taken away, and Christ, the Great Head, had left them without an Ephod and without a Teraphim — without any manifestations of his will. In this condition, forlorn to human view, the churches, assailed by new heresies, fell into new errors which needed special correction. It was at such a crisis Christ made his last revelation to the seven churches of Asia, and through them to his churches for all coming time.

In this revelation we see another injunction on the churches to discard particular wrongs. Presenting himself, in sublime language, as inheriting the perfections of his own divine nature, yet Prince of the kings of the earth, walking in the midst of his churches as golden candlesticks, and holding the ministers as stars in his right hand, as organs of his communications to the churches, he asserts his inspection of each severally, "I know thy works." He speaks of their merits and demerits, the heresies by which they were invaded, their duties in such exigencies, and the disastrous consequences of entertaining such errorists and their doctrines. The same majestic Head of the Church, as Prince of the kings of the earth, still walks in the midst of his churches, to which severally, as in that revelation, we may hear him say, I know thy works, thy labor, thy patience, thy temptations, as also thy defections, and departures from the simplicity of the gospel. True, he did not reprove in those churches the error we have now under special consideration — the dogma of war. That heresy had not then found place in the Christian church; yet he condemned its principles and its practices in all his rebukes to those churches. He condemned the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which would set men free from the requisitions of the moral law, and still retain them as Christians. The doctrines of war claim to bear men above the demands of moral and civil law. In the Asiatic churches, he brands as synagogues of Satan those blasphemers who attempted as Jews to teach and to lead; and what milder appellation would he now give to those religionists who blasphemously inculcate the doctrine, that belligerent warfare is Jehovah's appointed and appropriate method of settling international differences, and claim to derive such doctrine from Jewish history? As it was obligatory on those seven churches of Asia to take public action against those wrongs, and put them away, so is it obligatory on our churches at the present day to take public action against a heresy more deadly in form and effect which has since found place in the Christian church.

War is condemned in Scripture not less distinctly than any other wrong. We should so treat it, nor be deterred by the sanctimonious plea of "the divine rights" of kings, governments, or states, nor by all the sophistical circumlocutions urged in its behalf, however fraught they may be with good maxims. None of these can invalidate the plain logic of the apostle John, "He that doeth *righteousness* is righteous, . . . He that committeth sin is of the devil . . . For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." The churches are a spectacle to God, to angels, and to men; and what avails it to say, we must let war alone until the gospel has produced its legitimate effects upon the hearts of men? The Great Head of the Church has made no allowance for such delay. His emphatic language to our churches, as to those of Asia, is, *repent*.

The bugbear, 'the churches may not interfere with the prerogatives of the state,' is no valid excuse. The institution of war is not a prerogative of legitimate state authority, but a usurpation and an invasion of the personal rights and duties of Christians. The church stands before the world as "the pillar and ground of the truth." Indeed, the organic law of our state (Vermont) concedes to the consciences of its citizens the right of refusing to bear arms. The church is the appointed light of the world; but this light is darkened by the fumes of war as was the sun in the prophet's vision by the smoke from the bottomless pit. And shall civilization, humanity, and all the best interests of the world wait in suspense for the church to withdraw its support from this abomination of desolation, and let it hasten to its final fall?

It is by no means sufficient for our churches to pass resolutions condemning war in the abstract, and in unnecessary cases, as if necessities for it may exist. This would leave the case just where it now is; for the moment we make exceptions for the necessities of war, we grant all that is asked by its apologists. War, in its real character, is never necessary; but the principles it confronts always are. We must lay the ban on the particular individual act. Nothing short of this can reach the case. So we found it in the temperance cause, and so we shall find it in this. And at what other point can the case be reached as well as at that of enlistment? If a man does not commit an unchristian act in taking on himself the obligations of a soldier, he does not in all the carrying out of war. But if the churches neglect to act in the premises, individual duty is not thereby precluded. To each of the seven churches of Asia Christ made promise to individual exertion,

("He that overcometh" &c.), and, as both public reforms and public wrongs are but an aggregate of individual acts, we say it is the duty of every member of our churches to bear both individual and associated protest against enlistments in war. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

NEW INVENTIONS FOR KILLING. — Von Dryse, the inventor of the Prussian needle-gun, is said to have completed several other weapons still more deadly. "The first is a rifle entirely of iron, with a horse-shoe-like termination, instead of the butt, fitting it to the shoulder, and so steadying the aim. It is three pounds lighter, and 7s. cheaper than the present needle-gun, can be fired eight times in a minute, and will kill at a thousand paces. — The second is of wider bore and somewhat heavier, and carries a missile 1,500 paces, that bursts into eight peices on striking, doing the work of a hand grenade, and setting fire to ammunition wagons, and the like. The mechanism of both is on the needle principle improved. — The third is a double-barrelled breach-loading cannon, carrying its own ammunition, loading itself, managed by two men, and each barrel capable of being discharged four times a minute. The inventor has constructed various specimens corresponding with the 3 and 6 pounders of the Prussian service. A conical projectile shot from one of the heavier sort penetrated an iron plate two inches thick, and ignited the wooden frame behind it at 2,000 paces. As the effect of such tremendous instruments of destruction must ultimately be to put an end to war, Messrs. Dryse, Snider, Armstrong, Whitworth and others, who have racked their invention to discover the most effective modes of committing murder on the magnificent scale which renders it glorious instead of an introduction to the gallows, must needs be considered benefactors of the human race!!" — *Financial Reformer, Eng.*

INCIDENTAL RESULTS OF OUR REBELLION. — These are manifold, and almost ubiquitous, and quite likely to outlast the present generation. We all remember well how its local evils permeated and convulsed Missouri, and so late as July, 1867, more than two years after the collapse of the Rebellion, it was stated "that the Vigilance Committee of Johnson county, Missouri, which was organized some time ago to rid the county of lawless desperadoes, has itself become a band of outlaws, and is wreaking private vengeance and committing the very crimes it was organized to punish!" No unusual result of war, and seldom, indeed, prevented, except by good moral influences outside of the war-system, at work to counteract and repair its evils.

PEACE MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE.

PEACE CONGRESS AT GENEVA.

THE proceedings of this Congress were not fully known when our last number went to press; but rumor had reported it as a failure, and as a peace measure it confessedly was to a great extent. The chief reasons for this are well stated in the London "*Herald of Peace*:"—

"We still believe, as we have always believed, that the gentlemen who first moved in the matter were sincerely intent on promoting the cause of international peace; and if the meeting called under their auspices did, through a concurrence of untoward events, prove practically an abortion, we may be sure that none are so disappointed and grieved as they. We must, however, admit that they committed some deplorable mistakes, which nothing but a miracle could prevent from leading to failure.

1. It was a mistake to have made their appeal exclusively to 'the democracy' of Europe. But their 'democracy,' as generally understood in England, includes only some portions of the people, and that portion identified in public estimation with ideas of revolutionary excess and violence. By restricting their appeal to this one class, they did two things—they repelled many men of grave and earnest character, devoted friends of peace, whose presence would have supplied the very elements of prudence and moderation which were so conspicuously wanting as ballast; and they attracted all the wild, hair-brained spirits who seek shelter under the vague designation of democracy.

2. It was another most fatal mistake to have invited Garibaldi to be present, and to become Honorary President of the Congress. It was a mistake, if for no other reason than this, that his personal popularity swamped and swallowed up the Congress, diverting public attention from the great question to be discussed, and turning it into a totally different and even opposite direction. Peace men as we are, we are not insensible to the admirable qualities of Garibaldi's character, his child-like simplicity, his disinterested patriotism, and the naturally amiable and humane tendencies of his heart. But then he is a warrior, and practically nothing else; his only titles to distinction are his warlike exploits. To place a military chieftain with a drawn sword in his hand, and the battle-cry actually on his lips, in the chair of a Peace Congress, what was it but to invite ridicule and court defeat? The result, we fear, will be to hinder rather than to help the cause of peace. One of the most plausible reasons assigned by the governments for the maintenance of standing armies is the necessity of controlling and suppressing the revolutionists, who, they allege, are watching their opportunity to overturn the institutions of society by physical force. We believe that much of the alarm they affect on this point is hypocritical; but it serves their purpose well with large classes of persons, and nothing could have more effectually played into their hands than some of the proceedings at Geneva.

3. Another grave error was in not preparing a more definite programme of the practical measures they proposed for the attainment of their object, and in not insisting upon the orators adhering even to the very vague programme which they *had* prepared. Our French neighbors do not appear sufficiently to understand that the right of free discussion, like every other

right, has certain restrictions and conditions without which it will infallibly run to seed, and bear no fruit: The effect of that unconditional license of speech which the promoters of the Geneva meeting encouraged by the laxity of their programme, was most disastrous to the interests of the Congress. All the wild spirits of Europe seemed eagerly to rush to the platform, not to speak of the great question of international peace, but each with a grievance of his own to proclaim, or a crotchet of his own to ventilate. Some excellent speeches were delivered *ad rem*, but for the most part the orators wandered into all sorts of irrelevant discussions. Instead of trying to conciliate and combine as large a number of persons as possible for the task of overturning the war-system, in any case a task of stupendous difficulty, they seemed as though they were studiously bent upon alienating the sympathies and affronting the prejudices of as many as they could.

A NOBLE UTTERANCE. — During the Paris Exhibition, all the foreign Commissioners had an audience with the Emperor Napoleon. His reply to their address, his prominent idea, is the world's need of peace. He says:

"We shall ever remember with pleasure this great international festival. As representatives of the principle of labor in all parts of the world, you have been able to acquire the conviction that all civilized nations now tend to form a single family. I thank you for the wishes you express for the Empress and my son. They also share my gratitude for your exertions, my sympathy for your persons, and my wishes for the peace of the world."

What a grand novelty! A monarch, second in military power to no other, discards all ideas of conquest, seeks the good of his people, fosters every branch of national industry, ignores national rivalries, and invites to his capital the inventive, the laborious, the tasteful and the literary of all nations, on a mission of love and universal brotherhood!

OUR NATIONAL DEBT — Its Rise and Progress, It began January, 1861:

Jan. 1, 1861	\$66,243,721	Jan. 1, 1866,	2,716,581,536
July 1, 1862,	514,167,974	April 1, 1866,	2,705,646,516
Jan. 1, 1863,	764,535,854	Aug. 1, 1866,	2,633,099,276
July 1, 1863,	1,098,793,181	Oct. 1, 1866,	2,574,336,941
July 12, 1864,	1,795,033,569	Jan. 1, 1867,	2,543,325,162
Oct. 31, 1864,	2,017,100,515	April, 1, 1867,	2,523,428,070
May 31, 1865,	2,635,205,753	Aug. 1, 1867,	2,511,306,426
Aug. 31, 1865,	2,757,689,571	Oct. 1, 1867,	2,495,277,447
Oct. 31, 1865,	2,740,854,758		

OUR SOLDIERS AT THE WEST. — A dispatch from Omaha, some time ago, shows us what sort of men we have in our army: "A battalion of 400 soldiers arrived Sunday *en route* to the Plains, to fight the Indians; but before leaving they broke into the American Transfer Company's warehouse, drove out the watchmen, stove in the heads of the whiskey and wine barrels, got drunk and broke open the canned fruit and oysters. The subordinate officers are said to have been *as bad as the men*, and the Colonel in command had no control over them." Such are the men sent to represent us before the Indians, and conciliate their friendship! How unlike William Penn and his Quaker brethren treating with the Indians in his day! Yet will these very men, should any of them return, be flattered by their officers and by politicians as gallant and noble veterans, patriotic and glorious defenders of their country!

THE WARRIOR'S PROFESSION:

WHAT IS ITS REAL MORAL CHARACTER?

"OURS," said a distinguished British general, "is a damnable profession." A severe judgment; how far is it just and true? To this question we cannot give a satisfactory answer without considering the different services to which the soldier is called. He is employed in most, if not all countries as an occasional executor of law, as an armed police to preserve social order, and bring offenders to condign punishment. The soldier, when called to such services, does not differ essentially from a constable or policeman. He is not properly a warrior, but a temporary executor of law, a servant of peace, not of war. In this way the soldier is made the last resort of a magistrate in dealing with desperate villains, and protecting society against mobs and riots, insurrections and rebellions. Such was his work in suppressing our late rebellion. In performing such services, soldiers act as instruments of the civil magistrate, and are not necessarily more objectionable than a constable, a sheriff, or any other kind of police force. They are only part and parcel of the government that seeks to prevent or punish crime, to preserve the public peace, and shield the great common rights and interests of men in society.

Services like these we regard as properly no part of the war-system, or what strictly constitutes the warrior's profession. They are outside of his profession, and required of him only in special and extraordinary exigencies. His profession is not to enforce law; and when he does so, it is an extra, incidental service. His business as a mere warrior is solely to wage war; but in executing law against its violators, there is really no war. *War is a conflict by force between two DISTINCT NATIONALITIES*; but here is only a single nation or government dealing solely with its own subjects. Force is indeed used, but only for the purpose of executing law, and maintaining government in its rightful authority. There is no war-principle in the case, but a simple, straightforward process of legal, peaceful justice. Force is indeed used, but only to compel a compliance with the requirements of law. In war, however, the soldier goes forth to a work quite distinct from all this. It is made his whole business, right or wrong, law or no law, to wound and kill, to plunder, burn, and destroy, to inflict as much suffering of every kind as possible upon the enemy. Read Suwarrow's catechism for Russian soldiers, or any other treatise on the duties of men waging war, and you will find these positions all fully confirmed.

Viewed, then, as engaged in the exclusive work of war, is not the soldier's "a damnable profession?" Is not its whole aim to do the very deeds for which men in social life are visited with the severest penalties? Take the "Salem tragedy," so well known forty years ago (1827), the actors in which Daniel Webster did so much to bring to the gallows,

Joseph and Francis Knapp, distant relatives of a rich old gentleman in Salem, by the name of White, instigated Richard Crowninshield, by the offer of a thousand dollars of the plunder, to kill the old man, and seize his treasures. Crowninshield, entering the house of his victim at midnight, and creeping softly up stairs to the room where he was sleeping, struck him over the head with a bludgeon, and then turning down the clothes stabbed him several times in the heart with a dagger. Everybody called him a hired assassin; and he would have been hung as an atrocious murderer, if he had not in prison hung himself. The two Knapps were tried, convicted, and hung for hiring Crowninshield to assassinate White.

Here is a clear case of hired assassination; and wherein does it differ from the profession of a soldier? Doubtless there is *some* difference; but in what does it consist, or to what does it amount? How far are the two professions or acts alike? Let us look at the facts. Here is a nation of ten, twenty or fifty millions, that hire you as one of their soldiers to kill whomsoever they may wish to have killed, and promise to give you beside your food and clothing so much a day. The nation, indignant that the Chinese spurn their opium, or that the Seminoles will not give up their lands, the inheritance of fifty generations, to some avaricious white men, order you to go and kill them, burn their dwellings, and butcher, without distinction or mercy, thousands of unoffending men, women and children.

We see now the facts in the two cases; and what is the difference? The deed is the same except that in one case a single man was killed, and in the other thousands or scores of thousands. The motive, too, is essentially the same, — with the employers, self-aggrandizement; with the hired agents, pay. The difference, for there is some, will not redound much to the warrior's credit. The warrior hires himself to millions of men called a nation; Crowninshield hired himself to only *two* men. The warrior hires himself out to kill *whomsoever* the nation may wish to have killed at *any* time; the assassin engaged to do a *specified act*, to kill a *single* man at a given time, and that man named beforehand. The warrior is hired to kill by the month or year; the assassin was hired by the job. The warrior is a day-laborer in the work of blood; the assassin is a jobber at the same trade. The assassin is better paid than the warrior; for the former was promised a thousand dollars for killing one man, while the latter might kill a hundred in a day without getting half a dollar for the whole. The warrior agrees to kill any and all whom the nation may bid; and, if required to shoot his own father or mother, brother or sister, wife or child, he must shoot them, or be shot himself; whereas the assassin, had he refused to kill the old man according to agreement, would not himself have been liable to be hung. The warrior makes a fearful bargain; for, though aware that, if he refuse to kill any whom the nation may bid him kill, he must himself be put to death, he nevertheless enters into the bloody compact, not know-

ing but he may be ordered to shoot or stab his own parents, wife, or children. Not so bad the assassin's bargain. Had Crowninshield engaged to kill at any time anybody whom the Knapps might wish to have killed, with the understanding that he should himself be put to death if he ever refused to kill any one they should bid, there would be a pretty close analogy between his case and that of the warrior. But the assassin's position was not so terrible. The warrior must kill whomsoever his employers may bid him kill, or the terms of his contract make him liable to be shot or hung himself.

Now, let every reader judge between the two, and tell us, if he can, why a hired assassin like Crowninshield should be hung as a monster of wickedness, while the warrior, hired by millions to do the *same* deed *by wholesale*, is admired and eulogized *as a hero*. To kill *multitudes* at the bidding of millions is deemed patriotic, glorious, Christian, worthy of songs and eulogies and monuments; but to kill *one* man at the bidding of another one is denounced as base, infamous, diabolical, deserving of the gallows, of eternal infamy. Well did Bishop Porteus say,

"One murder makes a villain;
Millions, a hero."

Will the warrior *never* be classed with the hired assassin? How much longer will men of any principle, conscience or self-respect, hire themselves out to the work of robbery and murder as their business? How long will professed Christians, or any Christian community, respect or even tolerate such a profession, the trade of human butchery?

PLEDGE ON PEACE. — We doubt, for many reasons, whether any specific pledge can be adopted with success on the subject of Peace. It has succeeded admirably in the cause of Temperance, but failed in every other. It has been attempted in some others, but the experiment, we believe, has always proved a failure. The object of such pledge, however, may perhaps be secured in some other way — by a direct, effective protest against the custom of war, the war-system now upheld and glorified all over Christendom. In doing this, the most serious difficulty lies in separating the war-system from civil government with which war-men obstinately persist in confounding or combining it. It is an unfair trick of theirs; for, while civil government will continue in its fullest glory and beneficence through the millennium, there will be in that golden era no war or war-system. We see not how any believer in civil government as "an ordinance of God," can deny its right and duty to execute its own laws; but the use of physical force in this way need not and should not be any part of the war-system. It will not be in the millennium, and *ought* not to be now. — As to enlistment in the army or navy as the business of his life, we see not how any intelligent, right-minded Christian can think of doing it. The true spirit of his Master, the Prince of Peace, must instinctively revolt from it. It is confessedly a bloody, brutal business; nor was the British general too severe in calling it "a damnable profession." With such a profession no Christian should have anything to do, except to bring it as far and fast as possible into disuse. Our reasons for this we cannot here state; but they are many, and in our view clear and decisive.

THE SOLDIER REPEATING THE LORD'S PRAYER. — Let us, says Erasmus, imagine we hear a soldier among these *fighting* Christians saying the Lord's Prayer just before battle. OUR FATHER! says he. Oh, hardened wretch! can you call God Father, when you are just going to cut your brother's throat? — *Hallowed be thy name.* How can the name of God be more impiously unhallowed than by mutual bloody murder among his sons? — *Thy kingdom come.* Do you pray for the coming of *his* kingdom, while you are endeavoring to establish an earthly despotism by spilling the blood of God's sons and subjects? — *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.* His will in heaven is for PEACE; but you are now meditating WAR. — *Give us this day our daily bread.* How dare you say this to your Father in heaven at the moment you are going to burn your brother's cornfields, and would rather lose the benefit of them yourself than suffer him to enjoy them unmolested? — *Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.* With what face can you pray thus when, so far from forgiving your brother, you are going with all the haste you can to murder him in cold blood for an alleged trespass which, after all, is but imaginary? — *Lead us not into temptation.* And do you presume to deprecate temptation or danger — you who are not only rushing into it yourself, but doing all you can to force your brother into it? — *Deliver us from evil.* You pray to be *delivered from evil*, that is, from the evil being, Satan, to whose impulses you are now submitting yourself, and by whose spirit you are guided in contriving the greatest possible evil to your brother?

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY'S ADDRESS

TO THE FRIENDS OF PEACE ON THE CONTINENT.

FRIENDS, — Having been laboring for upwards of fifty years in the cause of universal peace, we have seen with more interest and pleasure than we can describe, the movement that has recently taken place on the Continent of Europe in furtherance of the same sacred object. The interchange of addresses between the working classes of France and Germany, the generous sentiments expressed by many distinguished men, from the tribune and from the press, in condemnation of war, and in favor of the cause of human brotherhood, the simultaneous formation of many international associations for the persistent propagation of the principles of peace — all appears to us full of hopeful augury for the future destinies of humanity.

And was it not, indeed, time that the people of Europe and the civilized world should take this matter in hand? For ages and ages, while professing a religion of peace and brotherly love, the nations of Christendom have permitted themselves to be led forth to incessant mutual slaughter, often in reference to questions of the merits of which they were totally or nearly ignorant, while the rare intervals of peace have been employed to nourish their hereditary hatreds and to perfect their means of destruction. Even at the present advanced period in the history of the world, while so many influences are at work tending to bring the nations of the world into closer and kinder relations with each other, we see that by far the larger proportion of the revenues drawn by the governments from the resources of peo-

ples, are employed in the maintenance and extension of establishments whose object is to prepare for the work of mutual carnage and ruin. We rejoice, therefore, we rejoice exceedingly, to hear so many earnest and eloquent voices raised to protest against this deplorable system — a system which we can hope to bring to an end, only as we succeed in enlightening and organizing the public opinion of all civilized nations.

United as you are in what is truly the cause of justice and humanity, we exhort you to be of good courage. There are, no doubt, formidable obstacles in the way of our success. A custom like that of war, that has existed for so many ages, and is closely intertwined with so many associations of the past and so many interests of the present, cannot be uprooted in a day. There are prejudices and passions which, unhappily, have taken possession of the minds and hearts of the peoples themselves, on which selfish men know how to play, alas! only too successfully for their own purposes of unscrupulous ambition. There are large classes in all countries, and those occupying the highest places of distinction and influence, who have a direct interest in perpetuating this barbarous custom, and the institutions by which it is nourished and sustained.

The work we have undertaken is one that demands, in an eminent degree, faith, courage, and constancy. We must count on having to encounter the indifference of the prosperous, the scorn of the cynical, and the active and bitter hostility of those who profit by the system we assail. Nevertheless, we believe that the forces that are for us are greater than those that are against us. All the noblest and strongest tendencies of civilization are on our side. Commerce, with its thousand minute ramifications, is daily bringing the nations into nearer relations, by mutual interest and dependence. Industry is forming itself into international associations, by which the working men of all countries will learn to understand and sympathize with each other. The growing light of intelligence is scattering the mists of prejudice which have concealed from nations the features of their common brotherhood. The reason and conscience of humanity, gradually awaking from what has been on this subject the torpor of ages, are beginning to rebel alike against the absurdities and the atrocities of war. Religion, acknowledging all men as the children of one common Father, is ready to shed its consecrating benediction on our enterprise, so essentially in harmony with its own spirit, when rightly understood and appreciated.

In addition to our criticisms on the Geneva Congress, we have others on the principles, policy and measures of our co-workers on the Continent of Europe. We would cheerfully give them the right hand of fellowship in this grand work, and encourage them to the utmost in its prosecution, as we look upon it as a striking and very hopeful uprising of the people against the war-system; but we must own that we have some doubts about the permanent value of the movement to the cause of peace. It is certainly a very significant omen. In our next number we hope to say something more on this point.

HOW MUCH ON PENSIONS. — At the last Session of Congress, the House voted for a bill necessitating an expenditure of \$33,208,000 upon invalid and other pensioners. Nearly three times as much for pensions alone as all the current expenses of our government a year under John Quincy Adams' administration about forty years ago.

MILITIA SYSTEM IN VERMONT. — We did expect, as an inevitable result of our Rebellion, that a new impulse would be given to popular interest in our militia trainings. It is chiefly in this way, that the war spirit and habits of our people are developed, and here, if anywhere, their tendencies to peace or war show themselves. We are glad to find our fears disappointed. The people seem very little more inclined than before the Rebellion to waste their time or money upon the once popular farce of militia trainings. In the legislature of Vermont, the Senate, the conservative house, recently proposed to have all able-bodied males not exempted, between twenty-one and twenty-eight years of age, (the limit was formerly eighteen and forty-five), a period of twenty-seven years instead of only seven in this case, drilled for active service; but the Representatives, the branch most fully echoing the will of the people, defeated the measure by a decisive majority.

THE SOUTH SICK OF FIGHTING. — Hon. B. Alley, late member of Congress said, on returning from a visit to the South, last summer, "He found the people agreed that they had had fighting enough. All their best young men were either killed or wounded, and little fighting material left." Generally bitter toward the North, but utterly helpless. They took the sword, and they perished by the sword. A legitimate and common result which they *ought* to have foreseen.

PEACE WITH OUR INDIANS. — We rejoice to see some prospect of reliable peace with our Indians. Congress at last conceived the true idea in sending commissioners to form treaties of peace advantageous to both parties, instead of soldiers to fight and destroy them; and we now have some reason to hope for a peace that shall be permanent. This, however, will depend chiefly on ourselves. If we continue to send among them such rascals as we have heretofore, deceiving, defrauding, and every way abusing these sons of the forest, we can have no reliable peace. Our government long ago adopted in the main the right policy, but entrusted its execution for the most part to hands utterly unworthy of confidence. We trust it will hereafter avoid mistakes so fatal to ourselves as well as to the Indians. If we will act as a Christian people should, as William Penn did, we shall in time make them our fast friends, and find them, when incorporated with our people, valuable and prosperous citizens.

A FAVORABLE SIGN FOR PEACE. — The silence of the Christian press, as of the Christian Pulpit, on the subject of Peace has been, in this country, very marked during and since our rebellion. A fact much more easily explained than justified; but we are glad to see, of late, some signs of improvement in this respect. Some months ago we copied from the *Boston Watchman and Reflector*, one of the ablest and most influential papers in the land, some strong, hearty utterances in favor of Peace; and there are now lying before us two other Baptist papers, each having a wide circulation, that contain articles of considerable length and earnestness on the same subject, and in the right strain. May the example spread till it shall reach every religious paper in the land. Could not our religious papers, if all united for the purpose, avert any war that may hereafter be threatened?

A PEACE PAPER in the SOUTH. — Among the curious and hopeful signs of the day, is a prospectus sent us some time ago for a weekly paper styled the *Christian Neighbour*, issued at Marion, S. C., to be published by Sidi H. Browne, a member of the Methodist Church, who characterize the paper, in part, thus: —“Enjoining conscientious obedience to all the ordinances of civil government not in conflict with the law of God, the ‘Christian Neighbor’ will be an unequivocal advocate of CHRISTIANITY AS OPPOSED TO WAR, either offensive or defensive.” We welcome most cordially such co-worker, and wish the enterprise signal success.

WAR A FOE TO MENTAL CULTURE:

THE COLLEGE AND THE CAMP.

LET us look at the relation of the College to the permanent and peaceful order of society. For itself, the College demands a settled public tranquillity. Study craves a quiet atmosphere. It must sit down to its work, if it is to work effectively, calm, patient, and secure. It seeks naturally the most sequestered scenes of nature for its bowers. The whispering grove, the bank of the murmuring river, the silent shade, the inclosed guarded quadrangle, rural towns, far from the rattling wheels of commerce and trade, and the jar of machinery, are its immemorial retreats. Wake the tempest of commotion and change in the heavens over it; let the lightnings of political storms flash beneath its drooping eyelids, and the bolts and shouts of popular revolution crash in upon the absorbed and musing thought; let war blow his trumpet, and the fierce pulses of cannon shake the air, and the spell is fled, the charm is broken, the rapt devotee is dragged rudely back to the loud, clamorous present, and action, instead of study, is the call of the hour. What testimony was that which reached us from distracted Naples at the beginning of this present decade, when the guns of four great forts threatened its streets and dwellings? ‘Our colleges are comparatively abandoned, and our learned societies exist but in name.’ What testimony is that, within the decade, from our own rocking land? The Muses fled when the war-eagle screamed; science deserted her laboratory for the armory and the bastion; the flood of patriotic ardor drowned out the monkish scholar from his cell; the halls of learning were depopulated; the young recluses sallied forth; the pen and the inkhorn were exchanged for the rifle and the cartridge-box, the student’s cassock for the soldier’s uniform, and the leaders in the world of letters for the leaders in arms and the field. For its own sake, therefore, the college favors peace and public composure, that its own morning and evening bells may ring clear on the quiet air. It is not an institution for nomadic tribes. It cannot pitch a tent at nightfall, and strike it with the next dawn. It must dig for foundations, and rear solid walls, and lift its steady domes with windows opening to the blue fields above and the blossoming constellations. It asks, therefore, for restful times, for the hush of all overturning tumults, and seeks to insure settled civil order and the steadfastness of the State.

And what it asks, it helps to give. Where popular intelligence is dif-

fused, revolutionary ideas may be started, but they have to be canvassed. When the demagogue encounters the schoolmaster, his arts are powerless. When priestcraft meets the spelling-book and the Testament, its glozing addresses are silenced. In an enlightened community, each individual feels competent to ask questions and try issues. If he be called upon to join a revolutionary faction, his reply is, 'Let's look at that.' The appeal must be to his reason, not to his passions. He has learned to read, and the ability to read is a demand which creates its supply. All public measures are put on trial before this wide public tribunal. This reader uses his eyes, and every novel idea of the day is his by nightfall, and he has a judgment upon it. His stock of ideas and judgments, as to public and general economies and policies, grows by continual accessions, and becomes a privy council which he can summon to a session upon every question of doubtful advantage and expediency.

But the element of light alone is insufficient to establish and insure public tranquillity. One other element must be added. Light and Love must be in partnership for this work. Light without Love is but archangel ruined — the baleful flame of a mighty but malign intellect. Love without Light is blind, and may do the work of Hate. Love to prompt, Light to guide — these together do their work well, and make it permanent and abiding. Associate them in human enterprises, and they are strong as God is strong. Light and Love come into bridal union in the Christian College. The intellectual element, of course, is present. But Minerva rules not here alone. It is the pre-eminent distinction of the Colleges of our land, that they embody so much of the moral and the Christian element. They were not the creatures of State action and endowment. They were founded by pious men who cut the inscription deep over their portals, "*Christo et Ecclesie*." Through them run, for the thirst of ardent and acquisitive natures, not only the streams from classic springs, but the waters of

"Siloa's brook that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God."

They are pervaded in a wonderful degree with the beneficent and evangelizing spirit. They stand in closest connection with the ministry of divine truth. They utter, not as partisans and agitators, but as commissioned prophets, the sacredness of universal law guarding universal right. They strike thus at the root of all evil, and sow the seeds of all righteous reform. The work of reform may indeed seem to be a disturbing instead of a tranquillizing work, but it tends wisely and directly to abiding peace and solid security. For wrong is an element always of weakness and change, and nothing is settled permanently, under the reign of God, until it is settled right.

So do our colleges league the State with the ultimate issues of human progress, and with the immovable steadfastness of the throne supreme. They shine as shine the stars of night, not mere revelations of far-off, upper spheres, but as lamps of guidance to wanderers in the desert and on the sea. They shine as shines the sun by day, not to display his own royal magnificence, but to bless the waving corn and blushing orchards, to ripen golden harvests, and keep alive the cheerful hum of honest human industry.

A. L. STONE, D. D.

GARIBALDI AND REVOLUTION.

THE Right of Revolution, what is it? It vaguely claims to be a right, a principle; but is there really any settled or tangible principle in the case? Garibaldi, seizing this watchword, and backed by the power of Victor Immanuel, overthrew, not long ago all the existing governments of Italy except that of the Pope, and united them under his monarchy. It was all done avowedly in defiance of law, as a right of revolution that knows no law except sheer force in accomplishing its ends. In pursuance of the same principle and policy, Garibaldi has recently made a desperate effort to wrest Rome from the temporal sway of the Pope, and meets the strange inconsistency of this Italian government, created chiefly by his revolutionary sword, arresting him in his effort to finish and perfect the revolution he began years ago. Now, Garibaldi was criminal in all he has hitherto done as the Liberator of Italy, or he is right, and worthy of praise, in his late unsuccessful attempt upon Rome. If there is any principle whatever in armed revolution, it must apply to this case, justifying Garibaldi, and condemning the Italian government as inconsistent, ungrateful, and treacherous.

The truth, however, is that there is no real, settled, well-defined principle in what is called revolution. Here is the Italian government which owes its existence to revolution; but when the exercise of this revolutionary right thwarts its own ends, it brands the deed as felony, as the highest crime that can be committed, and sends Garibaldi, the father of this very government, to prison in chains. So with the offspring of every revolution. Our late rebels, just as soon as they formed a government of their own, put its heel on this right of revolution by passing and promptly executing the severest laws against treason. They turned at once upon the course they had taken themselves, and treated it as the climax of all crimes. Just so with our own government, itself born of rebellion changed by success into revolution, and with all governments the world over. Not one of them tolerates, or can with safety, the right of revolution, the right of its subjects at will to resist its authority, and violate its laws with impunity. Such a principle is fatal to all stable governments.

We should like to see this alleged right of revolution so reduced to principle as to be made intelligently, safely, and beneficently applicable in practice. How can it be? What is the real principle, if there be any at all, that underlies it? As hitherto put in practice, it has been so much a matter of prejudice, passion, and ambition, that we can discover little or no principle in it. Here is a government in regular operation; but a portion of its subjects, disliking it for some reason, attempt to overthrow it by force, and put in its place another one more to their liking. Such, in brief, is the outline of nearly all revolutions. They always begin with insurrection or rebellion, and in the end are

dignified, if successful, with the name of revolution. Whence is this alleged right derived? From the rights inherent in all governments? There is not among them a single one, whether despotic, monarchical, or democratic, that does not, in its own practice, condemn it, and on its statute-book brand it as the climax of all crimes. Does the Bible anywhere sanction the principle? No; all its teachings unite in enforcing obedience or submission, not resistance, still less revolutionary violence, to the "powers that be." Paul's exhortations (Rom. 13: 1—5.) to Christians at Rome, even under the despotism of Nero, would seem to be, if anything could be, a decisive veto upon all attempts at violent revolution. So with like passages scattered through the Christian Scriptures. They contain not one word in favor of such resistance to government, but repeated and most pointed rebukes of the principle. We see not how it is possible for any Christian, with the New Testament in his hand, to abet, justify, or excuse an attempt to resist or overthrow the government over him by violence. Nor, indeed, do we find in any respectable modern treatise on government formal, definite arguments in proof of the claim, that people, whenever dissatisfied with the government over them, are at liberty to overthrow it by violence, and construct another one in its place. Such, we know, is the theory, such the practice; but we find nothing in the Bible, very little in the essential principles of civil government, and not much, all things considered, in the nature of the case, to favor or tolerate the assumed right of revolution.

BRITISH REBELLIONS. — The British Government, which was so eager to abet the rebellion of our slaveholders, is likely to have the chalice put to its own lips. We regret it, yet think she well deserves such recoil of her own wrong. With Fenianism at home, in Ireland, and we know not to what extent elsewhere, and with the late report that even India is only waiting her opportunity to renew her attempts of some ten years ago, she is in fair way to feel some sympathy with ourselves. In one respect she suffers in comparison with us — we have not yet either hung or exiled a single man for treason or rebellion, though ours was a case of life or death to our government itself; while England seems determined to hang and exile we know not how many for attempts at rebellion that no one supposes can put her government in any serious peril.

COST OF A BATTLE TO A CONTINENT. — An English paper says the battle of Sadowa will add henceforth \$50,000,000 to the annual estimates of European governments; or, in other words, will increase their military expenses to that amount. Nor will the conjecture appear improbable, if we consider what an impulse it has already given to rivalry in military improvements and preparations. It is just in this way that the expenses of governments there have been so enormously increased during the last twenty or thirty years. Our own government, situated as it is, can have little or no excuse for entering upon such suicidal rivalry, and we trust that the good sense of our people, if not of our rulers, will always forbid the attempt. Once aboard on such a whirlpool, it would be difficult to calculate or conceive how many myriads of treasure would eventually be engulfed in it.

GOD OF ARMIES.

"Where should men, who love their country, turn, save to the *God of Armies?*" — BISHOP WILBERFORCE, OXFORD, ENG.

THOU man of war, whose priest art thou?
At whose great altar dost thou bow,
To learn His sacred will?
Is it before the God of Love,
Who spake that will from heaven above,
And said, "Thou shalt not kill"?

And wilt thou break his holy law,
Or license from his patience draw
To do as did the Jew?
Art thou that Jew of olden days,
That thou should'st call the God of grace,
The *God of Armies* too?

For ends unknown to man below,
He brought on guilty nations woe,
And spread his wrath around;
On their own sin he made them feed,
And doom'd their choicest ranks to bleed,
And smote them to the ground.

That awful work was his alone,
None shared with him his royal throne,
None moved his mighty hand;
Man stood and trembled as the God
Lifted on high his vengeful rod,
Or sped it through the land.

And now, O priest, wilt thou invade
His right by whom the worlds were made,
And claim his power to kill?
Hath he not bid thee feed the foe,
With all a brother's love below,
And be his brother still?

Hath he not taught thee how to pray
For murderers, in thy darkest day,
As did his dying Son?
Then canst thou his dread arm invoke
To aid the very murderer's stroke,
As battle-fields are won?

Go, learn his will, and teach it, too;
Go, yonder narrow path pursue,
That points to worlds above;
That narrow path the Saviour trod,
None other leads to heaven and God,
To God, our God of Love.

WAR EDUCATION. — Some of our public men seem to have well-nigh run mad with the idea of training the mass of our people in the art and habits of war as a safe-guard against future dangers. They are intent on riding this hobby on a full gallop through the land, and obviously expect, in doing so, great credit for patriotism and forecast! They would fain inoculate with the war-virus the whole rising generation in our seminaries of learning, and thus make us a nation of warriors ready, if not eager for actual war.

Here is a glance at the plan. A Major Whittlesey was sent to visit West Point, and various colleges, with a view of seeing how far it may be practicable to introduce a system of military instruction into our colleges. He drew up a plan which he submitted by circular to "all the colleges of the country;" and in his report he proposes to inaugurate in select, leading colleges a system of military instruction. "Military teachers are to be sent from the Army College; (West Point?) graduates who distinguish themselves in military matters are to have their names put into the army register, and one from each college to be commissioned each year as West Point graduates are. Provision is made for encouraging the disposition among army officers to fit themselves for military professions. All military students are to have their books and camp equipage free. A Director-General of military education is to be appointed with the rank and pay of a brigadier-general, and to exercise the supervision of the whole subject, and make annual reports to Congress."

A pretty scheme this for scattering everywhere the dragons-teeth of rebellion and war! It is wisdom very much on a par with that which should teach boys in all our schools, from the highest to the lowest, how to fight duels, and use with surest success revolvers and bowie-knives, as a means of general security to life throughout the community! No matter if this be in the teeth of all our laws which forbid carrying such weapons; our old legislation of this sort has become obsolete; our rebellion has taught us a higher wisdom; and now our chief, or highest duty is to learn how to fight, and then march, with fife and drum, straight into the millennium! It was thus the South acted in preparing themselves for the rebellion; and with what marvellous success to themselves and the whole nation, we all know.

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION. — We hardly need remind our friends that December is the usual time for contributions in aid of our cause. They all know well that we need in the prosecution of our work far more than they can do; and bearing this in mind, we hope they will, without further call, forward to our office whatever they have to spare for this object. We cannot send for their gifts; they must themselves forward them; and we trust they will do so at their earliest convenience, that we may see how much we can wisely attempt in our cause.

RECEIPTS.

Boston.			Lowell, S. G. Mack,	3 00
Geo. C. Beckwith,	300.00		Winchester,	2.50
Jacob Bancroft,	10.00—	\$310.00	Woburn, Mary B. Bacon,	5.00
Jollytown, Pa., Jno. P. Coss,	2.60		Thomas Richardson,	5.00—
Philadelphia,				10.00
Israel W. Morris,	10.00		So. Danvers,	
Howard Malcom,	10.00—	20.00	P. Sterofron,	3.00
Keene, N. H., E. A. Webb,	2.00		J. Proctor,	2.00
Nashua, N. H., Jesse Crosby,	1.00		others, 1.00 ea.,	4.00—
			Salem, Prof. Crosby,	5.00
				9.00

Salem, James Ropea,	2.00		New Bedford,		
J. P. Andrews,	1.00—	8.00	Samuel Rodman,	50.00	
Beverly, John Pickett,	3.00		D. R. Greene,	5.00	
H. Hooper,	2.00		W. P. Howland,	2.00	
Seth Dodge,	2.00		others,	3.00—	60.00
Samuel Ober,	2.00		Providence, R. I.,		
others 1.00 ea.,	2.00—	11.00	B. White,	3.00	
Abington, Josiah Shaw,	3.00		Gilbert Congdon,	5.00	
J. Whitmarsh,	2.00		A. S. Barstow,	5.00	
William Ripley,	2.00		W. S. Greene,	2.00	
Josiah Torry,	2.00		S. S. Wardwell,	2.00	
others, smaller sums,	4.50—	13.50	Friend,	1.00—	23.00
South Weymouth,			Slaterville, R. I.,		
J. Lord,	3.00		Geo. M. Holt,	5.00	
others, 1.00 ea.,	4.00—	7.00	A. Holman,	2.00—	7.00
Honeye, N. Y., R. H. Lee,	5.00		Uxbridge, W. Lackey,	1.00	
No. Bridgewater, W. Faxon,	4.00		A. C. Wheelock,	3.00	
Campello,	1.60		others, 1.00 ea.,	2.00—	6.00
E. Bridgewater,	4.50		Walpole, N. H., S. N. Perry,		40.00
East Weymouth,	2.00		W. Brookfield, (legacy of Baxter		
North			Ellis \$100) by D. W. Shep-		
Joseph Loud,	5.00		ard, less tax 6.00,		94.00
others, 1.00 ea.,	2.00—	7.00	Ladd Estate by H. A. Walker,		150.00
Weymouth Landing, E. Richards,	1.00		So. Dedham,		
Braintree, Alvah Morrison,	2.00		C. G. Morse,	10.00	
Reading,			Ezra Morse,	2.00	
William Parker,	3.00		E. F. Gay,	2.00—	14.00
J. Frost,	1.00—	4.00	Foxborough,		
Andover, John Dove,	10.00		L. Carpenter,	5.00	
Heman Abbott,	3.00		James Daniels,	2.00	
John Smith,	2.00		others, 1.00 ea.,	3.00—	10.00
T. C. Foster,	1.00—	16.00	Sharon, L. D. Hewins,		2.00
Methuen, John Davis,	2.00		Lewiston, Me.,		3.00
J. P. Ingalls,	4.00		Bath, Me., John Patten,	5.00	
S. Barker,	2.00		Geo. F. Patten,	5.00	
others, 1.00 each,	2.00—	10.00	G. W. Duncan,	5.00	
Lawrence, T. B. Coolidge,	2.00		J. P. Hitchcock,	5.00	
Fitchburg, Benj. Snow,	5.00		J. C. Jenks,	3.00	
T. R. Boutelle,	3.00		Charles Crooker,	2.00	
E. Torrey,	2.00		others, 1.00 ea.,	5.00—	30.00
Charles Fessenden,	2.00		Hallowell, Me.,		
W. H. Vose,	2.00		Simon Page,	3.00	
Samuel Dole,	2.00		others, 1.00 ea.,	5.00—	8.00
James F. Stiles,	2.00		Belfast, Me., Benj. Kingsbury,		2.00
others, 1.00 ea.,	6.00—	24.00	So. Berwick, Me., Jno. Plummer,		5.00
Leominster,			Winthrop, Me.,		5.50
Merritt Wood,	3.00		Gt. Falls, N. H.,		
Leonard Burrage,	4.00		O. H. Lord,	5.00	
Mrs. Henry Perry,	2.00		S. S. Rollins,	3.00	
Isaac Cowdry,	2.00		Charles E. Bartlett,	2.00	
Wm. Durant,	1.50		Moses Bates,	2.00	
others, 1.00 ea.,	5.00—	17.50	D. F. Buffum,	1.00—	13.00
Townsend,			Dover, N. H.,		
Eph. Spaulding,	10.00		A. A. Tafts,	10.00	
others, 1.00 ea.,	2.00—	12.00	W. Woodman,	2.00	
Clinton, D. Cameron,	5.00		P. Cushing,	2.00	4.00
Northborough, A. W. Seaver,	5.00		Exeter, N. H.,	5.00	
Stoneham, Silas Dean,	2.00		C. G. Odiorne,	6.00	
Elisha Greene,	2.00—	4.00	Friend,	1.00—	12.00
So. Reading, John Steele,	1.00		Knowlesville, N. Y.,		
Readville, James Downing,	5.00		William Knowles,		5.00
Sandwich,	7.00		Publications sold,		6.45

INDEX TO VOLUME FOR 1866-7.

- Aborigines, intercourse of Christians with, 338.
 Address of Dr. A. P. Peabody, 261, 267-72, 343.
 " from Birmingham, 350.
 Advocate of Peace, its circulation, 69.
 Angel, Franklin's story of, 291.
 Arbitration, offer of, 27.
 " international, 212, 253.
 " history of, 213.
 " special cases of, 217.
 " stipulated, 240.
 Arbitrament of war, 340.
 Army, expense of, 28.
 " ours still large, 52.
 " French, reorganized and increased, 225.
 " of Austria, 320.
 Armies, their reduction, 46, 271.
 " Dr. Peabody on, 267-72.
 " of Europe, 152, 323.
 Armaments, rivalry in, 47, 149-52, 323.
 Bankruptcy, Austrian, 360.
 Battle, cost of, 382.
 Battle-fields in Germany, 345.
 Battles, in Germany, 157.
 " after scenes, 159-60.
 Beecher, H. W., on peace, 161.
 Beckwith, G. C., 230, 398.
 " " Peace Manual, 230.
 Benezet, Anthony, 10.
 Bounties, soldiers, 89, 224.
 " " equal, 324.
 Bohemia, scenes in, 211.
 Bombardment, destruction by, 145.
 British, treatment of us, 26.
 Brown, H. S., speech of, 311.
 Brougham, Lord, 232.
 Brutality, Spanish, 201.
 " in ancient Rome, 202.
 Burritt, Elihu, speeches of, 297, 350.
 Burying the dead, 193.
 Burton, on war, 233.
 Catholics, against liberty, 22.
 Cecil, Richard, on war, 233.
 Chalmers, on peace, 23, 76, 302.
 Civilization, next step in, 203.
 Channing, W. E., on war, 233.
 Changes favorable to peace, 96.
 Christians, early tombs of, 226.
 " consistency of on peace, 357.
 " inconsistencies on war, 5.
 Christianity, true, 228.
 Church, her war-degeneracy, 193.
 Church-members in the union army, 306.
 Churches destroyed in the rebellion, 90.
 Clarendon, Lord, on war, 232.
 Clarkson, Thomas, 10.
 Code, international, needed, 173.
 Congress of nations, 15, 240, 254, 328.
 " at Geneva, 371.
 " of Paris, 254.
 Correspondence, 59.
 Crosby, Prof. A., 207.
 Dead, burying, 193.
 Death, records of in rebellion, 279.
 Debt, our national, 372.
 Debts, American in Europe, 219.
 " our national, 219.
 " of Europe, 319.
 " loyal states increased, 46.
 " assumed by U. S., 52.
 " war, magnitude of, 66.
 " Mexican, 84.
 " war, their rise, 180, 184.
 " British, 181.
 " of the South, 21, 46.
 Disarmament, 58, 255.
 " Girardin on, 256.
 Dream, about war, 187.
 Economy, political, 167.
 English views of us, 54.
 England, our relations with, 227.
 " dispute with, 32.
 Emigration to America, 155, 164.
 Erasmus, on war, 233.
 Example, ours abroad, 352.
 Excuses for war, 234.
 Expenses, military, 28.
 Exposition, at Paris, favorable to peace, 348.
 Fairbanks, Stephen, 227.
 Fenianism, 36.
 Field, David Dudley, on peace, 171.
 Finances, U. S., 21, 29, 194.
 Forgiveness and war, 353.
 Frauds on the government, 194.
 Franklin, Benj., 232.
 Friends of peace, conference, 188.
 Fry, Edmund, 323.
 Fund, permanent peace, 93.
 Garibaldi and revolution, 381.
 Gilbert, Timothy, death of, 93.
 Girardin, on disarmament, 256.
 Government, science of, 309.
 " ours, income of, 57.
 " acts of force by, 58.
 Governments, their folly and wickedness, 176.
 Grotius, on war, 253.

- Hall, Robert, on war, 64, 233.
 Histories, pacific, 228.
 Hobart, Lord, on Cobden, 245.
 Ignorance on peace, 222.
 Imbroglio, Mexican, 35.
 Insurance, Portland, 152.
 Indians, troubles with, 91.
 " our treatment of, 311.
 " treaties with, 313.
 " decay of, 341.
 " cost of fighting them, 341.
 Invention for killing, 370.
 Jenks, William, death of, 227.
 Jamaica, massacre in, 35.
 Jefferson, Thomas, on war, 232.
 Johnson, Dr., on war, 48.
 Judson, Adoniram, on war, 233.
 Law, higher, 48.
 " international, 171.
 Legislators, military, 341.
 Life, sacrificed, 22.
 " " in rebellion, 156, 227.
 " " by rebels, 70, 320.
 " " in war, 260.
 Losses of the North from the South, 219.
 Lord, Amasa, letter of, 209.
 Massachusetts, finances in 1855, 53.
 Militia, cost of, 54.
 " revival of system, 76.
 " in Vermont, 378.
 " " Virginia, 150.
 " trainings in England, 90.
 Ministers, appeal to, 44.
 " peace before, 293.
 " duty of on peace, 85, 153, 298, 307.
 " about in Germany, 320.
 " what can do for peace, 361.
 Mistakes, corrected, 221.
 Missions, cause of affected by war, 144.
 Monarchy, cost of 228.
 Movement, peace, in France and Europe, 289, 299, 303, 326, 350.
 Monroe doctrine, abuse of, 35.
 Muzzy, Dr. R. D., death of, 227.
 Napoleon, on war, 232, 372.
 " Louis, his gun, 352.
 " Louis, peace sentiment, 372.
 Nations, congress of, 15, 240, 254, 328.
 Neutrality, 171.
 New Testament on war, 62, 302.
 Non-intervention, 268.
 " our policy of, 27.
 Operation, peace, in England, 356.
 Patriotism, moral elements of, 205.
 Peace, cause, 12, its aim, 229.
 " convention on, 84.
 " conference on, 207.
 Peace, endorsement of, 231.
 " reform, 197, 229.
 " advancing, 156.
 " arguments against, 297.
 " attacks on, 315.
 " difficulties of, 220.
 " duty of ministers on, 85.
 " fund, permanent, 99.
 " encouraging facts about, 312.
 " hostility to strange, 332.
 " ignorance of, 222.
 " intercourse necessary to, 26.
 " influences favorable to, 296.
 " international, 293.
 " means of, 244, 253.
 " movement in U. S., 169.
 " need of the cause, 277.
 " not a failure, 295.
 " should have its place, 329.
 " society, what has it done, 204, 303.
 " society, American anniversary, 91, 277.
 " thoughts on, 220.
 " what might be done for, 297.
 " union in, 136.
 " pensions, cost of, 29, 227.
 " poetry, 343.
 " prejudice against, 222.
 " prayer for, neglected, 310.
 " preparations, cost of war, 319.
 " press on, 325, 332.
 " progress in, 293.
 " societies, 316.
 " London, 309.
 " radical, 143, 190.
 " men for rulers, 302.
 " sentiments in Europe, 146.
 Peabody, A. P., address, 261, 343.
 Peace Congress at Geneva, 37.
 " movement in Europe, 371.
 " society, London, address of, 376.
 " with Indians, 378.
 " pledge on, 375.
 " union necessary in, 363.
 Pensions, 377.
 Periodicals, utterances, 165-7.
 Population, world's, 348.
 " reduced by rebellion in South, 320.
 " dense, 34.
 President's message, 26.
 Pugilism and war, 318.
 Prentiss, John, letter from, 208.
 Priestman, John, death of, 323.
 Principles, test of, 77.
 Professions, learned, numbers, 353.
 Property destroyed by bombardment, 145.
 Protest against war, 365.
 Pulpit, delinquent, 331.
 Prize money, 22, how got, 32.

- Railways, earnings of, 22,**
 " in India, 152.
Radicalism defined, 321.
Rebel loss of life, 315.
Rebels, their dead, 70.
 " treatment due to, 49, 185.
Rebellion, soldiers in, 84.
 " life lost in, 22.
 " moral results, 66, 80, 335.
 " religious results, 31.
 " financial results, 53.
 " glorification, 317.
 " lessons from, 261.
 " statistics of, 149.
 " its after-claps, 133.
Rebellions, 382.
 " incidental results, 370.
Reconstruction, perils of, 36, 61, 192, 324.
Representative reform, 276.
Report of Am. Peace So., 93.
Reform, peace, 197.
Review, prize, of the Rebellion, 286.
 " North American on Peace, 212.
Revolution, 381.
Revolutions, 43.
 " their history, 314, 335.
Rivalry in armaments, 47, 149.
Richard, Henry, letters of, 289-91, 321.
Rome, gladiatorial brutalities, 202.
Royalty, what it costs, 179.
Science, social ass., on peace, 167.
Sherman, Gen., on the government question, 287.
Signs favorable to peace, 378-9.
Soldiers, treatment of their bones, 70.
 " hard to find, 204.
 " repeating Lord's prayer, 379.
Southerners, classified, 318.
South sick of fighting, 378.
Spurgeon, on war, 284.
Smith, Gerrit, letter of, 207.
Stebbins, Dr., on war, 244.
Stewart, W. M., letter of, 59.
Statistics of rebellion, 149.
 " Massachusetts, 171.
Stoddard, L. T., death of, 93.
Stone, A. L., on peace, 379.
Storrs, Dr. R. S., letter from, 208.
Substitutes for war, 238.
Surgery, moral, of war, 47.
Sword, value of its decisions, 228.
Tompkins, B. W., letter from, 208.
Tombs of early Christians, 226.
Thompson, Geo. W., letter from, 209.
Trainings in England, 91.
Upham, Prof. T. C., letter from, 207.
 " Poetry, 342.
Vattel, on arbitration, 255.
 " on war,
Want, great a, 328.
- War, a failure, 37**
 " abolition of, obstacles to, 75.
 " altered tone about, 144.
 " brought to judgment, 307.
 " effect on liberty, 178, 48.
 " debts, their magnitude, 64.
 " Franklin on, 291.
 " gains dearly bought, 78.
 " exhaustion by, 321.
 " German, origin of, 319; lessons from, 176, 322.
 " how to be done away, 40.
 " how good comes from, 25.
 " horrors of and fiendishness, 14.
 " a suicidal remedy, 83.
 " actual prevention of, 305.
 " arbitrament of, 340.
 " claims, 204.
 " cost of preparations, 319.
 " domestic, effect of, 224.
 " evils of, 340.
 " excuses for, 234.
 " and forgiveness, 353.
 " Indian, how produced, 312.
 " in miniature, 210, 349.
 " leaders in when over, 83.
 " legalized wrong, 10.
 " loans unprofitable, 386.
 " men deteriorated by, 333.
 " necessity for, 340.
 " not incurable, 245.
 " pagans on, 150.
 " pleas for, 286.
 " powers developed in, 179.
 " prevention of, 172.
 " and pugilism, 318.
 " prodigality of, 26.
 " provokes war, 318.
 " proclivities present for, 337.
 " recent, 156.
 " ships, 204.
 " substitutes for, 76, 157, 238.
 " sufferings of, 211.
 " surgery of, 47.
 " tests, Christian of, 33.
 " waste of, 223, 260.
 " weapons, 352.
 " Wellington on, 232.
 " wounded in, 82.
 " victims, chief of, 353.
 " foe to mental culture, 379.
Walker, Amasa, writings, 167, 180.
Ward, the missionary, on war, 233.
Warriors, rewards to, 91.
Wardwell, S. S., letter from, 209.
Warrior's profession, 373.
Wayland, Francis, death of, 93.
Wealth, national, 224.
Wellington on war, 232.
Wounded in war, 82.
Worcester, Jos. E., death of, 93.

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FOR

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CONTENTS.

Information on Peace.....	7	Negro Newspapers.....	22
Statistics of War.....	8	Havoc of War in China.....	22
Misconceptions on Peace.....	9	President's Message to Congress.....	23
Instruction on the Law of Nations.....	11	More about our Army.....	26
Professorships of International Law.....	12	Burial of Soldiers.....	26
Peace a vast Theme.....	12	Rebellion — Its Losses to the South.....	27
Cost of armed Peace.....	13	The Rebellion not over.....	27
The War-system — How it wastes		Colored Troops.....	28
Life in time of Peace.....	15	Perversion of Science to War Pur-	
War in Miniature.....	16	poses.....	28
European Armies.....	17	The Alabama Controversy.....	30
Cost of the War-System to Ourselves.....	18	EDITORIAL ITEMS.	
Funding our Debts.....	19	The Peace Movement in Europe.....	31
United States' Bonds.....	19	Increased Interest in Peace.....	31
Claims for losses in the Rebellion.....	20	Perils of Reconstruction.....	32
War means for Preventing War.....	20	Review of the Rebellion.....	33
How Goodness Protects.....	21	Newman Hall.....	33
Spurgeon on George Fox.....	22	Items of Correspondence.....	34

 See cover, last page. 

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THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JANUARY, 1868.

INFORMATION ON PEACE:

THE CHIEF MEANS THE PRESS AND THE PULPIT.

THE first want in any cause is a knowledge of the subject. Men will take no hearty, effective interest in what they do not well understand, nor appreciate fully the merits of any enterprise or question which they do not thoroughly examine. The cause of Peace is no exception to this rule of common sense. If men persist in their ignorance or misconceptions on the subject, and will not look fairly at its merits in the light of its facts and arguments, its aims, means and methods, we must expect from them only neglect, if not utter contempt of its claims.

We see not how any friend of God or man can excuse himself for treating the cause of Peace in this way. Yet how many indulge in just such ignorance and consequent apathy. They have learned scarcely the alphabet of the subject, and yet seem to think they know all about it, when they know hardly enough even to suspect their own ignorance and manifold misconceptions. How many persons, well informed on the current topics of the day, have little or no definite conception of what the cause of peace really means, what are its specific aims, or how it seeks to accomplish them.

We cannot well conceive any decent excuse for this ignorance or indifference; but if there has been any in the past, we would fain do all we can to prevent any in the future. We wish to have the subject brought fairly and fully before the whole community; but as we have not ourselves the means of doing this, we ask the aid of those who can with much ease and success. The Pulpit and the Press, the two great powers in modern society, so ubiquitous and mighty in their influence, can with moral certainty and perfect ease perform this service, and so keep

this great question, involving nearly all the chief interests of mankind for time and eternity, before the public as to insure and hasten that change of opinion in every Christian community which shall at length prevent all wars, and put an end to the war-system itself. Nor will we do them the injustice to doubt that most of the four or five thousand presses or our fifty thousand pulpits in this country will be glad, if they view the matter at all as we do, and as they will themselves sooner or later, to lend their habitual aid to this greatest and most beneficent reform ever attempted.

Precisely how this shall be done we do not care to suggest in detail. If there be a will, it will find its own way. If editors or preachers are really interested in the cause, there are numberless ways, both direct and indirect, in which they can easily and most effectually aid it. If they need or desire any hints or help from us, we shall be glad to furnish them on application with our organ, the *Advocate of Peace*, without charge, or any of our tracts, of which we have stereotyped nearly a hundred, to aid them in advocating the cause. We already send our periodical to a large number of our leading papers, as we gladly would to any others that may wish to copy from its pages, or to use it in any other way for promoting our great object. It will be found to contain a variety of short, pithy, suggestive articles likely to interest most readers.

☞ May we not urge another request? The *Advocate of Peace*, as the exponent of our cause, we wish to spread as widely as possible; and editors, by referring to it in their columns, and preachers by commending it to their people, might easily do much to extend its circulation and influence. Will they not do so? A glance at the last page of its cover will show how any one can secure it for himself and for others. Will not every reader help in this? The *Advocate* has at times circulated some 12,000 copies. The rebellion has of course reduced its circulation; but will not our friends help us scatter this year at least 10,000? Cannot every reader procure at least one new subscriber, and others perhaps ten, twenty or thirty? Try, and report the result soon.

STATISTICS OF WAR.—A German, M. Hausner, published not long before the late Austro-Prussian war, some remarkable statistics showing the waste of life and treasure in war. He says the European wars from 1815 to 1864, fifty years of comparative peace, cost the lives of 2,762,000 men, without including those who died from epidemics and other diseases occasioned by the war; the whole number of victims, direct and incidental, doubtless more than 3,000,000. He said the Crimean war destroyed more than half a million, and cost 6,000,000,000 francs. He thought the war then impending between Austria and Prussia, if continued three years, would nearly bankrupt half the European powers.

MISCONCEPTIONS ON PEACE.

THESE misconceptions, meeting us at every turn, we would gladly ignore if we safely could; but some of them are so flagrantly unjust, and all are so obstructive to the progress of our cause, that we shall be compelled to notice them just as long as they shall continue. They ought to have ceased long ago; for we have always been perfectly frank and explicit in stating our object, and the means we propose for accomplishing it. We see no valid excuse for these misconceptions, and cannot account for them without supposing a waywardness that refuses, or an indifference that neglects, to examine the subject with due care.

There are many misconceptions afloat in the community; but we will now refer to those only which respect the object of the Peace Reform. It is not, then, to inculcate the *strict inviolability of human life*. Whether true or false, this dogma is not now, nor ever has been, the basis or essential principle of any leading Peace Society. It is not in the American Peace Society, nor even in the London Peace Society, the most thorough and most efficient in the world. Individuals there doubtless are in every considerable Peace Society who hold fast to this principle, and are among the most devoted and active friends of peace; but it is not a condition of either co-operation or of membership, and probably is not believed by one in ten, if by one in fifty, that are interested in our cause. Even Quakers do not make it a distinctive article of their creed, though we presume it is held by nearly all their members; and when the "New England Non-Resistance Society" some thirty years ago broached extreme views, the Friends published, as a protest, their own views of civil government as an ordinance of God for the benefit of society.

Nor do we discard all physical force as necessarily unchristian. No government over men, human or divine, ever existed, if any ever can, without claiming the right to use such force at discretion; but to what extent, or in what ways, it may be properly employed, it is not ours as peace reformers to say. All must admit that this right has been woefully abused the world over; and our aim is to persuade nations to discard it entirely as the arbiter of their disputes, and to supersede its alleged necessity by adopting in its stead some peaceful, rational means of regulating their intercourse, and settling their controversies.

In doing this, however, *we do not interfere with the rights or the duties of government towards its own subjects.* Its domestic functions we do not touch. In many of these it may be grievously wrong; but it is not the business of the Peace Society to rectify such wrongs. They all lie outside of our proper sphere. We do not attempt to say what ought to be the form of government; what laws shall be enacted, or how they shall be enforced; what penalties shall be affixed to different offences, or in what way these shall be inflicted. We deal in this cause, not with

individuals or minor communities, but solely with nations, and simply insist that, whatever the form of their government, democratic, monarchical, or despotic, they shall adopt other means than the sword for the settlement of their disputes, and the regulation of their intercourse.

How far such a system of international justice may require or permit the use of force, it may be difficult to say before trial; but we insist that nations ought to adopt among themselves *some* system of peaceful justice analagous to what they have provided for their own subjects. We all know for substance what the elements of this system are; and foremost among them is the principle, a virtual condemnation of the whole war-system, that no man shall be judge and executioner in his own case, but when any dispute arises, the parties shall either agree between themselves, or appeal in the last resort to some court of law, and peacefully abide its decision. This dictate of common sense and universal justice, if honestly applied to nations, would put an end to the whole custom of war. It might not discard all force; for the common rights and interests of nations may require *some* force in carrying their laws into effect against piracy and similar crimes. Abolish the war-system, and most of these crimes would soon cease, or could be arrested or controlled almost as easily as our petty revenue cutters enforce our revenue laws. There would be no need of iron-clads or any huge and costly war-ships to roam over the ocean, or guard our coasts.

We are not sticklers for any specific mode of doing away war, and introducing permanent, reliable peace among nations. We suggest a variety of expedients for this purpose—Mediation, Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, a Congress of nations; but we shall be content if nations will adopt any system of means that shall actually prevent war among themselves, and put an end to that suicidal war-system which now hangs as a mammoth incubus upon them, turns Europe into a sort of perpetual camp, and keeps all its nations in constant jealousy and fear of each other.

Here is just what we seek by the cause of Peace; and we wish to keep the public eye fixed on this single issue. We ask, as a matter of common honesty and fairness, that we be held responsible for only what is involved in this simple but comprehensive programme. It may be open to objection; but, if you object, do not assail us for anything that does not belong to the great reform in which we are engaged. With capital punishment, or the strict inviolability of human life, or the propriety of force in human government, or the way in which mobs, and riots, and insurrections, and rebellions, or any other violations of law should be suppressed or punished, we have in the cause of peace nothing to do, and cannot fairly be required to meet any objections resting on such questions. If these outside issues were dropt, and only the real merits of our cause fairly considered, we should be saved nine-tenths of our labor in its advocacy; for we seldom hear a complaint or objection that does not turn on some of these false issues.

INSTRUCTION ON THE LAW OF NATIONS.

The English papers inform us that the celebrated Dr. Whewell, known everywhere as one of the great thinkers of the age, left by will a full endowment for a "Professorship of International Law." He seems to have been very careful and specific in designating the sort of men who are to fill the chair, and the character of his teachings. It is made the duty of the Professor, in all parts of his treatment of the subject, "to make it his aim to lay down such rules, and suggest such measures, as may tend to diminish the evils of war, and finally to extinguish war between nations." He requires also that admission to this course of lectures shall be forever perfectly gratuitous. Still more, he provides four scholarships for this department. As International Law does not constitute a profession producing a support, and as therefore the number of attendants on this course might be few, he thus provides for four at least. Two of these scholarships, or "foundations," are of \$500 each; and the other two \$250 each.

A writer in the London *Times* rather sneers, as we should expect, at the plan of Dr. Whewell, and does not see how the principles of the new school can be successfully disseminated. He cheerfully admits, however, that "a worthier object can hardly be imagined." It is certainly a very significant admission for such an index of popular opinion as the *Times* to pronounce efforts for the promotion of universal peace, second in importance to no others. It is more still to see Dr. Whewell, a profound writer on the law of nations, not only applauding efforts to abolish war, but having faith in their efficacy; nay more, bequeathing a large part of his fortune to secure a persistent continuance of such efforts. Such an event is both a proof of the wisdom and efficacy of Peace Societies, and an assurance of yet wider convictions. Who can compute the influence of a perpetual course of lectures at one of England's great colleges, in which the feasibility of absolute peace between nations, and the means of bringing it about, are to be forever specially inculcated? Lectures which will bring to bear on this horrid barbarism the force of logic, the interests of mankind, and the precepts of God.

But much as may be expected from Dr. Whewell's wise and generous bequest, how much greater results might we not see if the thousands of the clergy were to do their duty in this matter! Who hears a word on the subject from his pastor? What congregation is asked to contribute funds to print Peace publications? How dare a commissioned herald of the Gospel of Peace keep silent on this subject from year to year?

Nor are the teachers of Bible and Sunday-school classes excusable if they overlook or intentionally exclude such practical questions as slavery, intemperance, extravagance, and, above all, war. Nor, ye Fathers

and Mothers! should you not imbue your offspring, from their tender years, with the first principles of humanity and your peaceful religion? Give them not drums and tiny swords for toys. Send them not to schools to learn the science of murder and devastation.

How small will be the best possible results of Dr. Whewell's bequest, compared to what we should see, did all the clergy, and educators, and parents in Christendom unite in insisting on the *whole* counsel of God in such matters as these! O inconsistent mortals, horrified at a murder, indignant at an incendiary or a thief, yet patronizing a custom which produces in a few months more murders, conflagrations and robberies than would otherwise happen in centuries!

PROFESSORSHIPS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. — We know not that there is such a professorship in any of our hundred or more colleges; but there ought to be, or the means in some way of thorough instruction in them all on this great theme. In most of our colleges it is put down on the list of studies, but only, we think, as an incidental inquiry in the department of moral Philosophy. Vattel, Wheaton or some other writer on International Law may in some be studied as a text-book; but we are not aware that in any there is a professorship on this specific subject. We trust there will be soon, and we marvel that there has not been long ere this. A grander or more important field of inquiry and instruction we cannot well conceive; and there are few objects to which public-spirited men of wealth could more wisely devote a portion of their wealth than in endowing such professorships.

PEACE A VAST THEME. — Few suspect how vast it is, or how many questions vital to the world's highest welfare, are involved in its ultimate issues. A great deal has already been written on it by some of the ablest and best minds that ever lived; but none of them, nor all put together, have done much more than give a glimpse over the well-nigh boundless field which it covers.

Yet how often do even men of more than ordinary intelligence and culture wonder what can be said on a subject that seems to them so limited, barren and dry, just because they have thought so little about it. When one of our lecturers was announced to preach on Peace before a congregation composed largely of college students and professors, some of them wondered what he could find to say on such a subject sufficient for a whole sermon. The peace man preached all day upon it; and the wonder then was how a theme in itself so vast, and embracing in the wide range of its topics so many and so momentous interests, could be compressed into the two discourses that were delivered on the occasion.

Thus will any man feel who comes to take for the first time an earnest, comprehensive view of the subject. A loftier, grander, more interesting or more truly Christian theme cannot well be conceived. It embraces in its ample scope the largest and dearest interests of man-

kind alike for time and eternity. It cannot be that such a theme will continue always to be misconceived, undervalued or neglected. Should Christians continue their strange, inexcusable slumber over it, even self-interest among men of the world must at length seize upon it as a question vital to their own highest welfare. However thrown into the shade now, the day is coming when it will be regarded as second in importance and extent to no other, Christianity alone excepted, in the world's future history. We may have to wait long for such a consummation; but sooner or later, come it must and will. The absurdities, barbarities and demonism of war cannot continue forever under a religion of peace.

COST OF ARMED PEACE.

EUROPE is now one vast camp, and swarms with an expensive soldiery from the Ural mountains to the capes of the Atlantic, and the inlets of the Mediterranean. Not one nation has full confidence in the friendship of any other. If there is a State in Europe which, from its position, the character of its military geography, the strength of its natural and artificial obstacles, ought to feel the intense satisfaction of complete security, it is France. Combined Europe would find it almost hopeless to assail her; yet she thirsts for more soldiers, more armaments, more fortresses, and her action abroad stirs up doubt, apprehension, and, of course, counter armaments. If France would sit still, and mind her own affairs, her present host of soldiers would more than suffice her needs. At this moment she can put in the field five armies, each a hundred thousand strong; but a defensive attitude does not please her, and so her government demands the means of putting seven hundred thousand men in the field. Prussia, struggling to maintain her new gains, and found a real German Empire, is actually laying hands upon every effective male within her reach, moved thereto, partly by the influence of custom, but chiefly by dread of a coalition. Russia is fanning the fires of insurrection all through the East, and swelling to their full limit the enormous armies she has on foot. Even Italy, all but bankrupt, chin-deep in deficits, maintains a large public force; and Belgium, although styled neutral, in the language of diplomacy, feels bound to array scores of thousands more than she would need were it certain her neutrality would be respected. Austria trembles at every breath, runs forth to seek strange alliances, and spends on soldiering sums disproportioned to her means. When the cost of an armed peace is draining every exchequer, it is not surprising that capital should shrink back at the mere mention of loans.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the military peace establishment of Europe consists of 2,800,000 men, while the war establishment rises to the awful total of 5,000,000. The cost of the peace array of the European States does not fall far short of £80,000,000 annually. Austria keeps on foot permanently 278,137 men, at a charge of £8,876,300; Spain expends £4,200,000 upon 234,426 men; France maintains 404,000 men under arms, and pays £14,000,000 for the luxury (?) Italy, out of her well-drained treasury, devotes £6,603,444 to an army 222,321 strong; the peace establish-

ment of North Germany cannot now fall far short of 300,000 men, nor the cost fall much below £8,000,000. The huge Russian levy of 800,000 men extracts from the national chest £15,250,000; while our own Regulars, Militia, and Volunteers, are maintained for the trifling sum of £14,569,279. These are the principal items in the dread account, and the smaller States complete the full tale. Eight nations spend on their soldiers and establishments £72,000,000. These sums represent the annual rate at which we ensure an uncertain peace—a peace interrupted by three great wars in fifteen years, and now in extreme peril of a wholesale breaking up. But all this does not represent the total cost of the warlike machinery. Five States—Austria, Spain, France, England, and Italy—employ, in addition, 213,887 men for sea service, and spend upwards of seventeen millions on their navies. Including Russia and the smaller States, the total expenditure for military and naval purposes in Europe is not less than £100,000,000 per annum. The worst of it is, that when this vast outlay has been made, Europe is not one whit more certain of tranquillity, nor is any one of the several States assured that it will not have to fight for its life. That constitutes the “irony of the situation.”

But when we have summed up the actual cost of this array by sea and land, the total still falls short of the enormous penalty levied upon the nations. Who can truly estimate the additional loss arising from the forced abstinence of two millions and a half of men in the prime and vigor of life from reproductive labor. Suppose we estimate their probable earnings, if employed, at only one shilling per diem, the total loss per week of six days is no less than £750,000, or £39,000,000 per annum. To this we should add the difference between their wages and the value of their productions, and, if we only double it, the total exceeds the whole revenue of France. If we were to set down £200,000,000 a-year, as the total loss to Europe in hard cash, and as a consequence of compulsory abstinence from labor, we should not be far wrong, especially if we include the evil effect of insecurity upon enterprise.

No wonder that Governments require loans, that nations should vegetate for want of railways, that capital should be withheld even where it abounds. Here is the French Emperor proposing an elaborate plan for the spending of £8,000,000, upon parish roads, to be spent in ten years, and be repaid in ever so many more; yet, the other day, he did not hesitate to spend, it was said, £6,000,000, in less than ten weeks, upon warlike preparations, having for their object the eviction of Prussia from Luxemburg. Russia stands as much in need of roads and railways as Spain; yet behold her expenditure on warlike agencies. Prussia wishes to consolidate her power; and both Prussia and Austria desire to conciliate their people, and seem to think huge levies of men and money the best mode of accomplishing the end in view.

The French Revolution bequeathed to governments the fatal legacy of the conscription. This ready method of raising large armies was speedily adopted, and one great obstacle to carrying on war was removed—the difficulty of seizing on men. Except in moments of national passion, no government could raise and pay for huge armies by voluntary enlistment. But now Prussia has shown that a strong executive need only consider the effective male population the limit of military enrolments. While the system of conscription exists, all proposals for disarming are absurd delusions, since a State, under that system, may keep comparatively few men under arms, and yet be able to lay its hands on triple the number. No doubt a

great deal may be said for conscription; but it is not the least effective agent in augmenting the vast charges of an armed peace. — *Economist*.

These estimates, enormous as they seem and really are, fall much below the reality. The men kept in Europe ready to fight on land and sea doubtless exceed 4,000,000, with arrangements for increasing them in extreme emergencies to more than 6,000,000. To the \$500,000,000, a low estimate, which it costs to keep up this peace establishment, we must add the war-debts of Europe, now full ten thousand million dollars, thus making the annual outlay upon her war-system nearly, if not quite, \$1,000,000,000. The labor of the millions of healthy, vigorous, able-bodied men maintained in idleness, if not in vice, must surely be worth far more than a shilling a day, probably thrice this sum. It cannot well be less than fifty cents a day; and, at this rate, four million soldiers must lose to Europe, besides the cost of their support, more than \$600,000,000 a year.

THE WAR-SYSTEM — *How it wastes Life in Time of Peace*. — Two years ago, says M. Passy in a late pamphlet on War and Peace, I took the liberty of publishing this assertion, that fifty million hectolitres of corn destroyed, and 50,000 men carried off by an epidemic like the cholera, would not be for Europe a loss to compare with that inflicted annually by that regime of military expenditure and exaggerated armaments to which she is subjected. May I be allowed to bring again these figures to mind? The hectolitre of corn has not, for a very long time, exceeded thirty francs, and even this price may be called exceptional. Now, fifty million hectolitres of grain in dear times would represent at the most 1,500 million francs; and this falls far short of the avowed official expenses for their actual armaments, and still more so of the sacrifices.

With regard to loss of life, I open a work of an army surgeon justly celebrated, whose word is an authority. Here is what M. Michael Levy, Surgeon-General in the Crimean War, says: "Among men from twenty-five to thirty years, the annual proportion of deaths is 1.25 in the 100; and in healthy countries they scarcely attain to 1 in the 100. M. de Benoiston de Chateauneuf has found that the proportion for the army was 2.25. This figure is so much the more disproportionate, that it is furnished by *picked* men, that is to say, by men in respect to whom, in ordinary life, the natural chances of death would be exceptionally low. Again, the apparent disproportion is very much under the real disproportion; for the general average is increased by the military deaths themselves, and consequently exceeds the true figure of the purely *civil* mortality. Whence comes this enormous difference? Is it from home-sickness, suicides, duels, excesses? From all that undoubtedly and in by far too large a proportion. Nevertheless these are but the secondary influences; the principal are the sudden changes of climate, and over-fatigue of the daily exercises, manoeuvres, parades, nights of watching, that is to say, an expenditure of strength beyond what the constitution and the alimentary reparation is capable of. To the *freedom* of the individual, to the natural society of the family, to the variety of professional labors, succeed rigidity of discipline, factitious and compulsory barrack association, the dull round of exercises, of garrison drudgery. It is only by an energetic and violent effort that the constitution can adapt itself to such changes. From the moment of the first restraint, the first

home-sicknesses, to the time of the complete levelling of all the human individualities which a chance division has grouped in the same regiment, they undergo troubles, shocks, sufferings that may be compared to the modifications imposed on the settler from his landing in a tropical country to the time when even his outward aspect has almost merged into those of the natives. Decidedly, *the organic and physical revolution that takes place during the years of military acclimatization*, is not less stormy, not less deep than that of an adaptation to a climate the antipodes of one's native climate.'

Take now as the basis of your calculation this exceptional country, France ; take its own return of the special mortality among soldiers. You will find, applying this to Europe, that on a total of four millions of men, this augmentation of 1.25 for 100 gives exactly 50,000 deaths in excess of the ordinary rate, that is to say, 50,000 deaths *caused by military service* ; 50,000 deaths of *picked men*, men taken from among the strongest, most energetic, the most healthy. The result is continued impoverishment of the population. The result is to do with regard to the human race exactly the opposite to what is done when men wish to improve the race of animals ; it is withdrawing all that is healthy, vigorous, energetic, and allowing or forcing this reproduction to be effected with the weakest or most damaged elements."

WAR IN MINIATURE. — In California members of two families, four on one side, and seven on the other, lately met in the street with revolvers, guns and knives, to settle some quarrel, we are not told what, that had sprung up between them. The fight is said to have "lasted not more than a quarter of a minute," and yet all were seriously wounded, and most of them killed on the spot. The scene at the funeral is described as very affecting. "The parents, children, wives, brothers and sisters of the slayers and slain mingled their tears together over those who a few short hours before were grappling in fierce combat. The sobbing and wailing that rose from the numerous mourners were enough to melt the heart of flint. My father! My brother! My husband! My son! and similar expressions were simultaneously ejaculated. Few eyes were dry in the large assembly present. The funeral procession was three-quarters of a mile in length. All were buried in the same graveyard a few feet from each other."

A fair specimen of war. No trial, no argument, no proof, no inquiry to ascertain who was right or who was wrong in the case ; but each party proceeded to act as witness, judge and executioner against the other. In one respect they were more consistent and honorable than war-makers — they fought out their own quarrel. Rulers never do this now-a-days, but compel the people to do all the fighting, and then pay all the cost. The fighting in this case, as commonly in war, left the bone of contention just where the combatants found it ; and the chief result was the misery in which it plunged the survivors on both sides. Had these, instead of mingling their tears over the fallen, called a meeting to glorify the fight, and subscribe a fund to erect a monument to their memory and thus perpetuate the feud through all future time, they would have reached the usual climax of war.

EUROPEAN ARMIES — *France and Russia.* — It is somewhat difficult to keep pace with the changes going on in the governments of Europe. We have reports, now that some of its leading powers are reducing their forces, and anon that they are largely increased, particularly in their reserves. It is well-nigh impossible to get at the precise facts in each case; but it seems certain that they are all intent on keeping themselves ready for whatever emergencies may arise by increasing rather than diminishing the number of men they can muster to meet any sudden or perilous crisis. They may diminish the number in active service, while largely increasing the number of organized and partially drilled reserves.

This plan is persistently pushed by Louis Napoleon. The people may wince under it; but he seems not to relax or falter in his purpose. "The army is to consist of an active and a reserve force, with an effective strength of 800,000 men. The term of service is to be nine years, five in active service and four in the reserve. The men of the reserve who have not been called out for active service to serve five years, and four years more in the mobilized National Guard. The reserve is to be called out not by law, but by a *decree*. The men of the reserve may marry during the last two years of their service, if not called out! The standard height of the men is reduced from 1 meter 60 centimeters to 1 meter 54 centimeters."

Some of these statements are very significant. The standard height of recruits is reduced 6 centimeters, which means that war has to this extent dwarfed the mass of Frenchmen, and may in time make them pigmies. Their term of service is to be nine years, during seven of which they are not allowed in any case to marry, but may in the last two years, "*if not called out!*" Thus does the despotism of the war-system interfere with the dearest personal rights and interests of society at every turn. What should we in America think of such restrictions as these.

The Russian Army, since the Crimean War, seems to have been reconstructed and much increased. It consisted then of 28 divisions, but now of 47; and the number of troops in active service has risen from 580,000 in 1853, is now 800,000. This force may at short notice be increased to 1,800,000. Besides these there are 300,000 irregular troops, making the total of 1,500,000.

Such facts show how surely, if not rapidly the nations of Christendom are pushing their preparations for war to the utmost extent of their ability or their credit. It is a suicidal delusion common to them all, that their security against war is in proportion to their ability to carry it on with success. The very reverse of this we find from history to be true; for the nations most fully prepared for war, have uniformly been most engaged in it. Look at England and France in contrast with Switzerland and Portugal. If nations persist in this rivalry of armaments in a time of peace, we see not where it will end, but most likely in the overthrow of the governments by the people no longer able to bear the burdens and countless evils of this war-system.

COST OF THE WAR-SYSTEM TO OURSELVES.

THE economy of our national government down to our late Rebellion had been proverbial ; and yet few suspect how much we have lavished upon our own war-system even in peace. More than twenty years ago we spent three dollars for war purposes to one for the peaceful operations of our government. All this outside of our militia-system, the cost of which, even at that time, was still greater. "If we suppose," said a writer at that time, "that four trainings every year are necessary to keep the system in full vigor ; that the yearly expenses for equipment are only three dollars for each man, and incidental expenses barely fifty cents a day ; that every training absorbs one day and a half, each worth \$1.50 (less than the fine usually imposed for not training), that the number of spectators is equal to that of the soldiers, allowing to each one dollar a day for time, and fifty cents for expenses ; that the officers together incur half as much expense as all the privates ; we should make out a total of \$45,000,000 a year for the above items alone ! Add the cost of splendid regimentals, and fine clothes, and standards, and music, and cavalry, and artillery, and arsenals, and magazines, and the incidental destruction of property, and all the injury arising from the suspension and derangement of business, and vices contracted on such occasions ; and we shall not wonder, that one of our ablest and most candid writers (Hon. William Jay), should have reckoned 'the yearly aggregate expense of our militia,' even when their whole number was only 1,500,000, 'not much, if any, short of fifty millions !' At this rate, the present number of our militia would cost us more than \$100,000,000 a year.

"We boast, as well we may, of our pacific policy in comparison ; yet war has ever been the chief burden of our national expenses. In 1817, our war expenses were about nine times as large as those for all other purposes. We expended, in 1832, for civil offices, \$1,800,758 ; for intercourse with foreign nations, \$325,181 ; for miscellaneous objects, \$2,451,203 ; for the army, \$5,446,035 ; for the naval service, \$3,956,320 ; for revolutionary pensions, a war charge, \$1,057,121 ; for various other pensions, \$127,301 ; for the Indian department, \$1,352,420 ; for the national debt, the fruit of our last war with England, \$17,840,309 ; in all, more than thirty millions and a half for war, seventeen times as much as for the whole civil list, and about ten times as much as for all the other purposes of our government. From 1791 to 1832, a period of forty-one years, the aggregate of our expenditures, with only some two years and a half of actual war, was \$842,250,891, and of this sum at least eight-ninths were for war-purposes, and merely \$37,158,047, or about one twenty-third part of the whole, for the civil list ; one dollar for the support of government, to twenty-three dollars for war ! From 1816 to 1834, eighteen years, our national expenses

amounted to \$463,915,756; and of this sum, nearly four hundred millions went in one way and another for war, and only sixty-four millions for all other objects! Here we have, even in a time of peace, twenty-two millions a year for war, and about three millions and a half, less than one-sixth of the whole, for the peaceful operations of a government plunging itself on its pacific policy."

These illustrations of what the war-system costs ourselves, we take from a period long before the rebellion, which has poured upon us such a sudden and overwhelming flood of expenses. The two experiences are in striking contrast; but we see even from the former, always deemed a marvellous case of public economy, that we can have the war-system in no form without enormous expense. If our four years of death-grapple with slave-holding rebels were any true index to what our military expenditures are hereafter to be, we are doomed to war-burdens larger and more oppressive than were ever borne permanently by any people in all history.

FUNDING OUR DEBTS. — An unsuccessful effort was made at the late session of Congress to do this; and from an elaborate speech by Senator Sherman, we cull a few interesting statements: —

"All modern nations who have now a public debt, have reduced it as a matter of policy to some simple and tangible form, so that in every country there is a specified debt known to the people of that country, with a fixed rate of interest prescribed by law, and the whole of the public debt is put in that form as soon as possible. In England, both before and after the war of Napoleon, she had the same diversity of debt which we have, and it has been the policy of her statesmen, from William Pitt down to the present leaders of public opinion, to reduce this into some specific form, and the rule has been to reduce the debt, with the exception of a million of pounds, to a three per cent debt. In France the debt has been considered in the same way. In Russia it has all been funded into three, four-and-a-half and five per cent. stocks; so in every nation in Europe, when a public debt has existed, in some cases for centuries, they have adopted it as a principle to reduce the debt to as simple a form as possible, so that the interest on the loan should be chargeable to the treasury, and a sinking fund should pay off the principal, as far as policy would allow.

UNITED STATES' BONDS. — It seems from debates in Congress, that the amount of the government bonds is equal to one-eighth of our entire national property. This estimate does not include the sums already paid by individuals, municipalities and states during and since the rebellion, nor the losses occasioned by the suspension and derangement of business, and the death or permanent crippling of a million men in the full vigor of manhood, nor what the rebels spent, wasted or lost, nor the nameless, incalculable losses inseparable from the fierce, desperate struggles for four years of more than a million of troops to inflict on each

side as much mischief as possible. Taking all such facts into account, it would be a low estimate to suppose that *the rebellion wasted at least one third of our country's wealth.* — We are professedly a Christian people, believers in a religion of peace. Why did not the gospel prevent all this? The answer is at hand — *it had not been applied in season and aright to the case.* Had it been, the rebellion could never have come.

CLAIMS FOR LOSSES IN THE REBELLION. — We can never know the sum total of losses sustained, and expenses incurred by individuals during our late rebellion. Claims for damage and loss began at one time to be presented by individuals against the government, but were met in a way that seems to have prevented for the present their renewal. A Mr. Ames in Va. claimed \$9,500 for buildings destroyed for military purposes; and the claim was allowed in the Senate; but in the House of Representatives it was opposed on the ground, that it would introduce a precedent which would take from the national treasury "at least \$1,000,000,000, and some said \$2,000,000,000." A startling index to the losses to individuals on both sides. If so much was lost by loyalists, how incalculable must have been the loss sustained by rebels!

WAR MEANS FOR THE PREVENTION OF WAR. — The recent death of Dreyse, the inventor of the Prussian needle-gun, has drawn forth not only full accounts of the honors and emoluments heaped upon him, but some modes of reasoning that ought to be exposed and rebuked. One of our papers, perhaps a fair specimen of the whole on this point, says "Every new invention of this kind is really an argument *against war.* There are no more effective peace agents than new and terribly destructive implements of war; and it may well be questioned whether any European member of a Peace Society has been able, within the last two years, to do as much for the preservation of peace in Europe as Dreyse has by his invention of the needle-gun. There is no so good guaranty for the preservation of the public peace as the possession of these improved arms. The expenses of war in these modern times are enormous; and every improvement in the weapons of war enhances the expense of carrying on a campaign, and brings the world nearer to the time when the principles of peace shall be triumphant through the improvements in war. Had Prussia not been armed with the needle-gun, it is hardly possible that there would not have been war between her and France last spring; and now that France has the Chassepot rifle, Prussia will be as reluctant to fire the first gun of a war against France as was France against Prussia six months ago. All lovers of peace may well linger admiringly over the memory of Herr Von Dreyse, for it has certainly been in no small part due to his inventive genius that there has been peace on the continent of Europe since the memorable seven days' war which brought out the power of the Prussian needle-gun."

It is difficult for a thoughtful mind to repress a smile at the infantile simplicity of this logic. On this principle the nations best prepared for war must seldom be engaged in war, which all history proves to be notoriously untrue; they are much the oftenest at war. On this principle the needle-gun should have averted instead of provoking, as it did, the Austro-Prus-

sian war. If this logic be correct, our revolvers, rifles and bowie-knives should long ago have prevented all duels and bloody rencounters at the South; and well-trained duellists should have been entirely safe, while Quakers and men of like peaceful habits should have fallen at every turn victims to the suicidal folly of going habitually unarmed! The truth is, the ingenuity, science and treasure so profusely spent on what are called improvements in the armament and arts of war, are shown by the facts of history, to be worse than wasted. It is not the existence of these, but moral influences, especially better modes of reasoning, that hold nations back from actual war. One dollar spent in diffusing, with the aid and sanction of governments such moral influences, would, in the long run, do more than a thousand dollars lavished in rendering the weapons and processes of war more terribly effective. By the latter the custom *can never* be done away; but by the former it *would* in time and might be soon.

HOW GOODNESS PROTECTS. — John Kant was professor of divinity at Cracow, a pious, holy man, with a spirit peculiarly gentle and guileless. His head was covered with the snows of age, when he was seized with an ardent desire to revisit the scenes of his youth in his native country, Silesia. The journey appeared fraught with peril to one of his advanced age; but he set his affairs in order, and started on the way trusting in the protection of Him who cares for his children.

One evening, as he thus journeyed along through the gloomy woods of Poland, holding communion with God, and taking no heed of objects beside him, on reaching an opening in the dark forest, a trampling noise was suddenly heard, and he was instantly surrounded by figures, some on horseback and some on foot. Knives and swords glittered in the moonlight, and the pious man saw that he was at the mercy of a band of robbers. Scarcely conscious of what passed, he alighted from his horse, and offered his property to the gang. He gave them a purse filled with silver coins, unclasped the gold chain from his neck, took the gold lace from his cap, drew a ring from his finger, and took from his pocket his book of prayer, which was clasped with silver. Not till he had yielded all he possessed, and seen his horse led away, did Kant intercede for his life. "Have you given us all?" cried the robber chief threateningly. "Have you no more money?" In his terror, the trembling doctor answered, that he had given them *every coin* in his possession; and on receiving this assurance, he was allowed to proceed on his journey.

Quickly he hastened onward rejoicing at his escape, when suddenly his hand felt something hard in the hem of his robe. It was his gold, which, having been stitched within the lining of his dress, had thus escaped discovery. The good man, in his alarm, had forgotten this secret store. His heart again beat with joy, for the money would bear him home to his friends and kindred, and he saw rest and shelter in prospect, instead of a long and painful wandering, with the necessity of begging his way. But his conscience was a peculiarly tender one, and he stopped to listen to its voice. It cried in disturbing tones, "Tell not a lie! Tell not a lie!" These words burned in his heart. Joy, kindred, home, all were forgotten. Some writers on moral philosophy have held that promises made under such circumstances are not binding, and few men certainly would have been troubled with scruples on the occasion. But Kant did not stop to reason. He hastily retraced his steps, and entering into the midst of the robbers, who were still in the same place, said meekly, "I have told you what is not

true, but it was not intentionally ; fear and anxiety confused me ; therefore pardon me." With these words he held forth the glittering gold ; but, to his surprise, not one of the robbers would take it. A strange feeling was at work in their hearts. All were deeply moved. Then, as if seized by a sudden impulse, one went and brought him back his purse ; another restored the book of prayer, while still another led his horse towards him, and helped him to remount it. They then unitedly entreated his blessing ; and solemnly giving it, the good old man continued his way, lifting up his heart in gratitude to God, who brought him in safety to the end of his journey.

SURGEON ON GEORGE FOX. — George Fox left us his *Testimony* against the abomination of war. When I first read George Fox's Life, I could think of nothing but Christ's Sermon on the Mount. It seemed to me that George Fox had been reading that so often, that he himself was the incarnation of it ; for his teaching is just a repetition of the Master's teaching there, just an expansion and explanation of the primary principles of Christianity. I am always glad to hear of a soldier being a Christian, I am always sorry to hear of a Christian being a soldier. Whenever I hear of a man who is in the profession of arms, being converted, I rejoice ; but whenever I hear of a converted man taking up the profession of arms, I mourn. If there be anything clear in Scripture, it does seem to me that it is for a Christian to have nothing to do with carnal weapons ; and how it is that the great mass of Christendom do not see this, I cannot understand ; surely it must be through the blinding influences of the society in which the Christian church is cast. But Fox's singularly clear mental vision could see that, to buckle on the carnal sword was virtually to be disobedient to Christ. The Christian who enlists in the army of an earthly king forgets that they that take the sword shall perish with the sword, and that Jesus has said " Resist not evil ; but if any man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also. My kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight." May the day come when war shall be regarded as the most atrocious of all crimes, and when for a Christian man, either directly or indirectly, to take part in it, shall be considered as an abjuration of his principles. The day may be far distant, but it shall come, when men shall learn war no more ; and a right view of the true character of war may hasten that happy era.

NEGRO NEWSPAPERS. — It is a significant fact, that our colored people already publish at least eight newspapers, and some of them have a very respectable circulation. The New Orleans *Tribune* circulates 10,000 copies daily. Twenty years hence the negroes may furnish at the South more readers of newspapers than the whites do now, or may then.

WAR — ITS HAVOC IN CHINA. — Dr. Macgowan, a distinguished savan and traveller, makes estimates that seem quite incredible of lives lost by the Taeping war or rebellion in China. He puts the sum total at 25,000,000 ; but intelligent Chinese say that full 100,000,000 were killed, or perished from starvation. The victorious party, whether Imperial or Taeping, put men, women and children to the sword, until canals and rivers were red with the blood of the slain !

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

From this document and its accompanying reports we select some items bearing on our cause: —

OUR NATIONAL FINANCES. — Our Debt. — On the 30th of June, 1866, the public debt amounted to \$2,783,425,879; on the 30th of June last it was \$2,692,199,215; showing a reduction during the fiscal year of \$91,226,664. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1867, the receipts were \$490,634,010, and the expenditures, \$346,729,129, leaving an available surplus of \$143,904,880. It is estimated that the receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868, will be \$417,161,928, and that the expenditures will reach the sum of \$393,269,226, leaving in the Treasury a surplus of \$23,892,702. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1869, it is estimated that the receipts will amount to \$381,000,000, and that the expenditures will be \$372,000,000, showing an excess of \$9,000,000 in favor of the Government. It appears that the national debt April 1, 1865, was \$2,423,437,000 and increased Aug. 1 of the same year to \$2,845,907,626. Deducting \$88,218,055 then in the treasury, left the balance of \$2,757,689,571 as the highest point ever reached. This legacy from the rebellion is fast coming to be, as it must be for many years, perhaps for generations to come, a chief bone of contention, and source of peril, around which sections and parties will rally.

Our Currency — is another point of financial difficulty involving a still greater variety and amount of pecuniary interests. At the beginning of the rebellion the bank note circulation of the country amounted to not much more than \$200,000,000. Now the circulation of national bank notes and those known as legal tenders is nearly \$700,000,000. While it is urged by some that this amount should be increased, others contend that a decided reduction is absolutely essential to the best interests of the country. It may be well to ascertain the real value of our paper issues when compared with a metallic or convertible currency. For this purpose let us inquire how much gold and silver could be purchased by seven hundred millions of paper money now in circulation; probably not more than half the amount of the latter, showing that when our paper currency is compared with gold and silver, the commercial value is compressed into \$350,000,000.

The feasibility of making our currency correspond with the constitutional standard may be seen by reference to a few facts derived from our commercial statistics. The production of precious metals in the United States from 1849 to 1857, inclusive, amounted to \$579,000,000; from 1858 to 1860, inclusive, to \$137,500,000; and from 1861 to 1867, inclusive, to \$457,500,000; making the grand aggregate of products since 1849, \$1,174,000,000. The amount of specie coined from 1849 to 1857, inclusive, was \$439,000,000; from 1858 to 1860, inclusive, \$125,000,000, and from 1861 to 1867, inclusive, \$310,000,000; making the total coinage since 1849, \$874,000,000. From 1849 to 1857 inclusive, the net exports of specie amounted to \$271,000,000; from 1858 to 1860, inclusive, to \$148,000,000; and from 1861 to 1867, inclusive, \$322,000,000; making the aggregate net exports since 1849, \$741,000,000. These figures show an excess of product over the net exports of \$433,000,000.

1. **Public Frauds.** — These evils, not entirely avoidable at any time, are largely increased under the high taxes necessarily imposed to defray the ex-

penses of the war. It is well and publicly known that enormous frauds have been perpetrated on the Treasury, and that colossal fortunes have been made at the public expense. This species of corruption has increased, is increasing, and, if not diminished, will soon bring us into total ruin and disgrace. Public creditors and tax-payers are alike interested in an honest administration of the finances, and neither class will long endure the large-handed robberies of the recent past. For this discreditable state of things there are several causes. Some of the taxes are so laid as to present an irresistible temptation to evade payment. The great sums which officers may win by connivance at fraud create a pressure which is more than the virtue of many can withstand, and there can be no doubt that the open disregard of constitutional obligations avowed by some of the highest and most influential men in the country, has greatly weakened the moral sense of those who serve in subordinate places. The expenses of the United States, including interest on the public debt, are more than six times as much as they were seven years ago. To collect and disburse this vast amount requires careful supervision as well as systematic vigilance.

2. *Army.* — The aggregate strength of our military force on the 30th of September last, was 56,315. The total estimate for military appropriations is \$77,124,707, including a deficiency in the last year's appropriation of \$13,600,000. Payments at the Treasury on account of service in the War Department, from January 1 to October 29, 1867, a period of ten months, amounted to \$109,807,000. The expenses of the military establishment, as well as the numbers of the army, are now three times as great as they have ever been in time of peace, while the discretionary power is vested in the Executive to add millions to this expenditure by an increase of the army to the maximum strength allowed by law.

3. *Navy.* — The available resources of the Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1867, were \$117,944,066, and the expenditures were \$31,034,011. This unexpended balance and the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868, amounted to \$103,465,754. Of this, \$65,000,000 was returned to the Treasury Department in September last, leaving available for the current fiscal year \$38,465,754. The estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1869, are \$47,317,183. The naval pension fund now amounts to \$13,000,000, and there are 2478 pensioners whose annual pensions during the year amounted to \$319,828.

4. *Pensions.* — The amount paid to pensioners, including expenses and disbursements, was \$18,619,956, and 36,482 names were added to the rolls. The entire number of pensioners on the 13th of June last was 155,474. The number of patents and designs issued during the year ending Sept. 30, 1867, was 11,655, and at that date the balance in the treasury to the credit of the patent fund was \$286,607. It is estimated that \$33,000,000 will be needed the coming year in payment of pensions, nearly three times all the current annual expenses under the administration of John Quincy Adams forty years ago.

5. *Indians.* — The menacing attitude of some of the warlike bands of Indians inhabiting the district of country between the Arkansas and Platte rivers, and portions of Dakota Territory, required the presence of a large military force in that region. Instigated by real or imaginary grievances, the Indians occasionally committed acts of barbarous violence upon emigrants and our frontier settlements; but a general Indian war has been providentially averted. The Commissioners under the act of 20th of July, 1867, were invested with full power to adjust existing difficulties, negotiate

treaties with the disaffected bands, and select for them reservations, remote from the travelled routes between the Mississippi and the Pacific. They entered without delay upon the execution of their trust, but have not yet made any official report of their proceedings. It is of vital importance that our distant territories should be exempt from Indian outbreaks, and that the construction of the Pacific Railroad, an object of national importance, should not be interrupted by hostile tribes. These objects, as well as the material interests and the moral and intellectual improvement of the Indians, can be most effectually secured by concentrating them upon portions of country set apart for their exclusive use, and located at points remote from our highways and encroaching white settlements.

6. *Foreign Relations.* — The re-establishment of peace at home, and the resumption of extended trade, travel and commerce abroad, have served to increase the number and variety of questions in the department for foreign affairs. None of these questions, however, have seriously disturbed our relations with other States. The republic of Mexico, having been relieved from foreign intervention, is earnestly engaged in efforts to re-establish her constitutional system of government. A good understanding continues to exist between our government and the republics of Hayti and San Domingo, and our cordial relations with the Central and South American States remain unchanged. One thing more seems to be needful to assure a rapid and cheering progress in South America. I refer to those peaceful habits, without which States and Nations cannot in this age well expect material prosperity or social advancement.

Dispute with England still unsettled. — No arrangement has yet been reached for the settlement of our claims for British depredations upon the commerce of the United States. I have felt it my duty to decline the proposition of arbitration made by her Majesty's government, because it has hitherto been accompanied by reservations and limitations incompatible with the rights, interests and honor of our country. It is not to be apprehended that Great Britain will persist in her refusal to satisfy these just and reasonable claims which involve the principle of non-intervention, a principle henceforth more important to the United States than all other commercial nations.

Conflict of laws about Citizenship or Allegiance. — The annexation of many small German States to Prussia, and the reorganization of that country under a new and liberal constitution, have induced me to renew the effort to obtain a just and prompt settlement of the long-vexed question concerning the claims of foreign States for military service from their subjects, naturalized in the United States. In connection with this subject the attention of Congress is respectfully called to a singular and embarrassing conflict of laws. The executive department of this Government has hitherto uniformly held, as it now holds, that naturalization, in conformity with the Constitution and the laws of the United States, absolves the recipient from his native allegiance. The Courts of Great Britain hold that allegiance to the British Crown is indefeasible, and is not absolved by our laws of naturalization. British judges cite courts and law authorities of the United States in support of that theory, against the position held by the executive of the United States. This conflict perplexes the public mind concerning the rights of naturalized citizens, and impairs the national authority abroad. I called attention to this subject in my last annual message, and now again respectfully appeal to Congress to declare the national will unmistakably upon this important question.

MORE ABOUT OUR ARMY. — Its Present Number. — The army, as now authorized by law, embraces 60 regiments of 1,196 and 1,770 men each, with 752 engineers, which, at the maximum, will be 75,282 men as the highest number now allowed, and more than ten times as great as before the rebellion. The minimum strength, contemplated by the present law, is 54,302 men, while the number actually in the army October 1, 1867, was only 38,545.

Our Troops at the close of the Rebellion. — It seems that no less than 1,023,021 volunteers were mustered out up to November 1, 1866, leaving still in the service, white and black, only 11,043 volunteers. The work of disbandment began in a fortnight after the collapse of the rebellion, and some 800,000 were sent, in two or three months, back to their homes without resistance or complaint. We cannot now state the precise dates when the successive "musters out of service" occurred; but the last Report of the War Department gives the numbers up to the following dates: —

January 20, 1866	918,722
February 15, 1866.	952,452
March 10, 1866	967,887
May 1, 1866.	986,782
June 30, 1866	1,010,670
November 1, 1866	1,023,021

BURIAL OF SOLDIERS. — The world never witnessed such expense, care, and anxiety as our government and people have shown for those who fell in our struggle to suppress the late rebellion. The work, begun more than six years ago, is not yet completed. It has become a department of the national government. "There are already 41 national cemeteries either located or established and in operation. They contain now 104,528 graves. Ten more are to be established, and the whole number, 51, are expected to contain 249,397 graves when finished. A large number of United States soldiers are also buried in 412 local cemeteries scattered over the country. The total number of Union soldiers reported as buried throughout the United States is 241,679. The number of the same which can probably be identified is 202,761, or about three-fifths of the entire number. The number of bodies reported as reinterred up to date of report, June 30, 1866, is 87,664. The number proposed to reinter hereafter is 135,881. The total number reinterred in all, thus appears to be 223,545, or about two-thirds of the entire number. — The aggregate of expenditures, so far as reported, on account of cemeteries and interments, up to the 30th June, 1866, is \$1,144,791 61. The expenditure required for this purpose for the next fiscal year is estimated at \$1,609,204 48. The estimated aggregate amount of expenditures on account of cemeteries and interments, past and future, so far as reported, thus appears to be \$2,754,086 09, or about eight dollars to each body buried." It is impossible to conjecture the sum total already spent by individuals, towns and cities in bringing home and otherwise honoring chiefly the privates, who sacrificed their lives to save our government from being overthrown by the rebels. Hundreds of dollars were often paid by persons in moderate circumstances to bring back the bodies of their friends for burial. In such ways doubtless many millions of dollars in the aggregate have been spent.

These statistics go far to prove that nearly, if not quite, half a million loyal lives must have been directly lost in putting down the rebellion; and if we include the rebel dead, the total on both sides cannot fall much below

a million victims, direct and indirect, sacrificed in this fratricidal conflict. If it be said that the object gained is worth all it cost, the opinion, if entirely true, cannot disprove the appalling facts in the case, nor ought it to lessen our regret that the end could not have been secured without such a fearful waste of treasure and life. It might and would have been secured in time if our people, South as well as North, had been trained aright in the principles of that peaceful religion which both parties alike profess. What a tale for our missionaries to tell the heathen, 'the religion of peace that we bring you, has not restrained its votaries in our native land from killing each other by scores of thousands in 600 battles to the number of nearly a million victims, and inflicting in other ways an amount of evils which no arithmetic can compute. The professed followers of the same Prince of Peace on both sides *conscientiously* did this, might and main, during more than four years of mutual slaughter and devastation. As yet our religion has secured nothing better than this for its votaries.' Is it not time for us to learn and put in practice a kind of Christianity that shall prevent such evils among ourselves?

REBELLION. — *Its losses to the South.* — A Conservative Convention, held in South Carolina in November, 1867, issued an address, from which we quote a statement of what they conceive the South to have lost from their rebellion, *besides all it cost them in treasure and blood to carry it on* : — "The government of the United States has enforced against the Southern people the most stupendous act of confiscation (in emancipating their slaves) that has ever been enforced in the history of nations. Their property in slaves has been confiscated to the amount of \$3,000,000,000. Other personal property, in the shape of cotton, provisions, stock, plate and money, has been captured or destroyed to the value of \$1,000,000,000; and from these causes their land has deteriorated to the extent of \$1,000,000,000, making in the aggregate the enormous sum of \$5,000,000,000." Partisans of our ex-rebels have sometimes spoken even in Congress of eight or ten million dollars as the total loss to the South of their rebellion; and here leading representatives, in a public, well-considered address, put the amount at \$5,000,000,000, *in addition* to their pecuniary losses in carrying it on, which must have been not less than \$3,000,000,000. Even the latter estimate is very low, for the lives lost were more than 300,000, and the actual expenses could not be less than \$1,500,000,000 or \$2,000,000,000 more.

THE REBELLION NOT OVER. — Its spirit and its principles still live; and until the former shall be exorcised, and the latter renounced in exchange for habits of an honest loyalty, we can have no reliable security against a series of rebellions in the future. It is an hydra you cannot kill by cutting off its head. You must quench its spirit, and eradicate its principles from the community. The Union Congressional Committee, familiar with all the main facts in the case, told the country in October, 1867, that "nothing more is required than the belief that they (sympathizers with the late rebellion, the President at the

head') are sustained by the public opinion of the conquering States, to adventure another conspiracy, and to demand, if necessary by force, their restoration to the power they once wielded at so terrible a cost to the public peace."

We fear there is too much truth in this charge, and certainly it is strikingly confirmed by a speech of J. D. Bright, (expelled for disloyalty from the U. S. Senate in 1861,) which he delivered last autumn in Kentucky, where he now resides. Its substance was 'that the war was unconstitutional; Congress was an unconstitutional body; its acts are null and void; the national debt is not binding; slavery is not abolished; slaves must be returned to their masters; Southern men must be paid for all losses sustained during the war; and they must be governed by the principle of State rights.' And he closes by advising the people 'not to pay another dollar of taxes to the National Government.'

COLORLED TROOPS. — Of these 123,000 were at one time in actual service, the highest number; but the whole number amounted at different times to 186,000.

PERVERSION OF SCIENCE TO WAR-PURPOSES.

FROM the Universal Exhibition at London in 1851 to that at Paris in 1867, science made great progress; but in what direction have its triumphs been the most signal, and its results the most complete? We have not yet found a cheaper and more manageable agent than steam, nor invented a safer and steadier illuminating power than gas. We cannot steer a balloon; the Board of Trade has given up predicting the weather; fire and shipwreck and pestilence still claim their heavy toll of our population notwithstanding chemistry, life-boats and medical congresses. We seem on the very verge of great discoveries; but coy nature eludes our grasp, and leaves us still shivering on the threshold of truth.

In one class of subjects, however, our labors have been unremitting, our progress continuous, our success uninterrupted. In the arts which embellish, cheer, comfort, and lengthen human life, our success has been moderate; while in the art of maiming, wounding, and destroying our fellow-creatures, it has been all, and more than all that could be desired. During the period we have mentioned, the English and French navies have, with vast labor, expense, and ingenuity, been completely transformed, once from sails to screws and again from wood to iron. Turrets and broadsides have raised a sort of mechanical war of their own; and the human mind has been tasked to the utmost in the attempt to estimate and compare the solidity of different targets. In ordnance a boundless field has been open to the ingenuity of our Whitworths and Armstrongs, Pallisers and Frazers. Bolts, bullets, and cones have striven for the mastery. Powder and gun-cotton have their fanatical

supporters. The very names of the different kinds of rifles that have been invented would fill a dictionary ; and the last agreeable novelty is a cannon framed on the principle of the old Balearic sling, which did such good service in the hands of Hannibal's soldiers. These have been the philanthropic studies in which the mind of Europe has been immersed for the last ten years ; and these are the results to which she may with most justice point as the triumphs of her industry and the landmarks of her civilization ! If man was sent into the world to plot the destruction of the human race, nobody can doubt that we are on the right track at last. Even the Emperor of the French, who has seen war on a large scale, stands aghast at the potency of the machinery which mankind seem never tired of constructing for their mutual annihilation.

But, after all, the insensible and inanimate instruments of destruction are not the worst of it. They may rust in vaults and arsenals, hurting nobody and costing nothing. It is the living arm that is to wield them that we complain of and pity. In every country in Europe, and with gradually increasing stringency, as small States are absorbed into larger ones, the flower and strength of the population are kept continually under arms. The youth of the nation wastes its golden hours in garrison towns and dreary barracks far away from all civilizing and humanizing influences, and whiles away its dreary existence in a round of monotonous exercise and stale and wearisome dissipation ; while women perform the labor that nature designed for men, and the fields are left half cultivated because the hands that should till them are perpetually grasping the rifle or the sabre. In these vast armies grow up a race of officers who know no home but the camp, no trade but war, and who have little connection with the remainder of the human race, except an odious skill in their destruction. In a vast transmarine Empire like our own the soldier is brought in contact with different nations, climates, and productions. He sees and subdues new races of men, and is often a sort of auxiliary to the extension of civilization and the foundation of States. At any rate, he escapes the dreary *ennui* that spreads its wings over Lyons or Mayence, where the soldier vegetates for years in listless inactivity and uselessness, in order at last to be led out to shed his blood on some of the well-known battle-fields of Europe, which seem to have been selected as theatres for the misery and destruction of the human race from the first dawning of modern history to the present time. The evil is not stationary, it is rapidly increasing. The increase of population and the centralization of Government have given to the conscription a terrible efficiency, so that it seems as if the insatiate maw of modern warfare would be contented with nothing less than the whole manhood of a nation. Compared with the armies that contended in Bohemia last year, the mighty hosts of Napoleon's earlier campaigns were mere diversions ; and compared with the carnage of Solferino or Sadowa, Lutzea was a petty skirmish, and Waterloo itself an affair of outposts." — *London Times*, July, 1867.

THE ALABAMA CONTROVERSY :

OUR DISPUTE WITH ENGLAND NOT YET SETTLED.

WE supposed it was on the way to a sure and satisfactory settlement ; but we now learn that there is a hitch in the case that may prolong the controversy for years, and keep alive much of the dissatisfaction and bitterness felt among us towards England during the rebellion. We deplore this, but rest in the full confidence that the matter will never lead to war. It would be a crying sin and shame if public sentiment in either country should allow their rulers seriously to think of ever pushing such a dispute to the blind, brutal arbitrament of the sword. If Christians will in season do their duty in the case, such a result will become morally impossible.

We would not, however, keep the question, if we could, from being fairly and fully discussed. Indeed, no other peaceful resort is now left. Since diplomatists cannot or will not agree, the people must examine the case for themselves, and let public opinion indicate what is to be done. In time they will do so, if rulers will only resolve to have the dispute adjusted at all events without a resort to the sword. We should regret such a discussion, because it would be sure to stir up a great deal of bad blood ; but it would be incomparably better than a suicidal attempt to settle the matter by lead and steel, grape and canister.

The points of practical difficulty still pending seem quite intelligible. " We are now distinctly informed by Lord Stanley," says Mr. Seward, Nov. 29, 1867, " that the limited reference of the so-called Alabama claims which Lord Stanley proposes is tendered upon the consideration that the United States shall waive, before the arbitration, the position they have constantly maintained from the beginning, namely, that the Queen's proclamation of 1861, which accorded belligerent rights to insurgents against the authority of the United States, was not justified on any grounds, either of necessity or of moral right, and therefore was an act of wrongful intervention, a departure from the obligations of existing treaties, and without the sanction of the law of nations. The conditions being inadmissible, the proposed limited reference is therefore declined."

Such closure of the discussion by diplomatists leaves it open of course to the people at large. " The questions involved are referred to the judgment of Congress and the American people. Each party has stated the case on its side. They are like the pleadings in court on which issue is joined. Lord Stanley distinctly refuses our principle of arbitration as applied to the whole case. Mr. Seward will not arbitrate unless the *whole case* is submitted. Under these circumstances all the merits of the case are opened anew ; and it is probable that the subject will occupy the serious attention of Congress, and it may even enter into the Presidential election. People anxious for peace regret

much that Lord Stanley did not accept the proposition from the United States for arbitration, as that would have taken the question out of Congressional or popular discussion. As it is, the discussion must proceed."

We shall be sorry to see such a question agitated, especially in a presidential canvass. As an electioneering issue, it must work only mischief. Nearly all the Irish and our ex-rebels will be sure to go, right or wrong, in favor of violent measures against England, to wreak vengeance — the former for what she is now doing in Ireland, and the latter because she did no more to help them in their rebellion. These two classes are now, as they always have been, the chief war-dogs of the land, and may perhaps take this way to weld together the disloyal and factious elements North and South in a party designed to stir up the country with a sort of reckless frenzy. The dispute with England, if thus pushed before our people in the coming presidential canvass, may be brought into complications from which it could not be extricated for years; and even then it would not be in half so fair a way as it is now for a satisfactory solution. We deeply regret that the British government will not join our own in frankly submitting the *whole* question to arbiters mutually chosen. That would end the controversy, but it seems to us that nothing short of this ever will. We think the people in the two countries would acquiesce in this; and we see no good reason why their rulers should not.

EDITORIAL ITEMS.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE — continues with favorable auspices. We have just received from France (Havre) two numbers (Sept. and Oct.) of a periodical devoted to our cause, entitled *Union de la Paix*, a monthly octavo sheet. The first number is occupied with an exposition of the movement, of which we suppose F. Santallier, a literary gentleman of note, to be the master-spirit. The second number is wholly filled with the names (more than 800 in all, and these only part) of adherents and contributors to the cause, with their residences and various employments, as merchant, physician, advocate, laborer, and the like, showing that individuals from nearly all classes in society take an active interest in the movement. On the general movement in France and other parts of Europe, we hoped, but have not space at present, to give a brief but comprehensive statement of the special agencies and influences now at work there in favor of Peace. From what is transpiring especially in France, we think the friends of peace in England and America may gather some valuable hints and facts.

INCREASED INTEREST IN PEACE. — We have given in some late numbers a variety of facts showing how the popular mind in the most enlightened parts of Europe is waking on this subject as never before; and as the war feeling

aroused during the late rebellion cools off, we find among ourselves proofs of a revived and steadily increasing interest in our cause. Some of our journals, both religious and secular, are coming to treat it with more favor, and occasionally to publish articles quite decidedly in its support. These are found in widely distant parts of the country. At Elkhart, Indiana, is published the *Herald of Truth*, a strong advocate of Peace; at Columbia, South Carolina, is to be issued this month the *Christian Neighbor*, a weekly paper opposed to all war; and from the capital of Tennessee we have just received several numbers of the *Gospel Advocate*, a monthly that inculcates the same views. Like proofs of interest in this cause are doubtless to be found here and there all over the land. It is a curious and significant fact, yet not at all to be wondered at, that even in the heart of rebellion there is rising among the common people a spontaneous interest never before known on the subject. From the late much lamented Dr. T. E. Bessley, of Philadelphia, we learned last June that in a then recent visit at the South, he found large numbers inclined to show their abhorrence of war by joining the Society of Friends. Such in time will everywhere be the recoil of our late domestic conflict, and will act as a strong protest against war. We cannot expect this result at once, but sooner or later it will assuredly come.

The New Movement of the Quakers on Peace — is also full of new hopes for our cause. Not long after the collapse of the rebellion, they held conventions on the subject; and the result is that they have resolved to raise \$10,000 for the prosecution of this work, chiefly, we believe, by the delivery of lectures, and the circulation of publications. May God speed this effort. We shall watch its progress with much interest and hope. The Friends have fairly earned the right to lead the van of this great Christian reform, and have, in proportion to their numbers, far more power than any other denomination to aid it.

PERILS OF RECONSTRUCTION. — We are in a sure way to learn what these are; but what the final result will be, no man can foresee. Clouds and darkness hang over the future; and it is yet to be seen whether all that has been sacrificed on both sides of the late terrible conflict, will not prove well-nigh a dead loss. When rebellion, drunk with the blood of more than half a million victims, sheathed its sword in 1865, most of our people shouted as if we had got fairly "out of the woods;" but we thought then, as we do now with a conviction doubly confirmed, that we were just entering on the most perilous part of our crisis. We never doubted that rebellion would ultimately succumb; but when we should have to decide what should be done with ex-rebels, we feared that the loyal North, so well united during the conflict of arms, would be hopelessly divided, and might thus lose no small part of the fruits of the great victory they had won. Everybody now sees that there was, as there still is, much reason to fear such a result. Our hopes still prevail over our fears; but all that we have seen since the rebellion, as well as during its progress, just shows more and more strikingly how uncertain, perilous and suicidal a process is war for deciding any question of right, or for securing any good end. We await as patiently and hopefully as we can the final issue, but still expect to see it confirming with a terrible emphasis all the protests, arguments and warn-

ings that we uttered from the first against appealing to the sword for the decision of such questions. The sword itself, in this case as in every other, decided only which side was strongest; and now comes the main question, underlying this whole struggle, which side is right, and has the favor of God, and the common sense of mankind for its support? No battle, not even the six hundred fought during the rebellion, can ever answer this question.

REVIEW OF THE REBELLION. — Some ten months ago a friend of our cause offered \$1,000 for the preparation and wide circulation of a review from our stand-point, provided an equal amount should be pledged by others for the same purpose. We announced at the time merely the fact, with no expectation that the way would at once be opened for successfully accomplishing the object sought. We have by no means forgotten or given up the plan, but only kept it in abeyance, and trust it will in due time be carried into full effect. The time has not yet come for such a review; but it is clearly coming, and may come sooner than we expected. And when it does come, we shall find this strange and terrible episode of blood in our country's hitherto remarkably peaceful history one of the strongest arguments ever known against war, and in favor of our cause.

NEWMAN HALL. — This distinguished preacher, so well known as a steadfast friend of our country during our rebellion, is thus noticed in the Boston Congregationalist as a friend of peace: — "Mr. Hall deserves all honor as a peace-maker. Feeling himself charged with a mission of reconciliation between Great Britain and the United States, he is perfectly confident of being able to convince all candid minds that the people of that country, in distinction from the aristocratic classes, were American in sentiment during our great struggle, and that those who were opposed to the North, were largely so from a misconception of the facts in the case. At an immense meeting of the influential citizens of Boston and vicinity, held in the Music Hall on the evening of the 12th inst., he discussed the international question in a masterly speech of two hours' duration. The effort was certainly happy and exceedingly adroit. No man who heard him doubted on which side were the sympathies of Newman Hall. He deftly relieved his argument of a load of odium by admitting, out and out, the whole list of our grievances. He was only surprised that our indignation against the mother country was so light. He even took our vexation as a compliment, and a proof that we affix a high value to English opinion. With the utmost good humor he went through a long catalogue of explanations, mingling pathos with argument, correcting misapprehensions, softening asperities, adducing new and modifying facts and views, telling us of noble helpers whose names we had never heard of before, but who had spent thousands of pounds in aid of our struggle, deprecating our wrath against England that she was so slow to perceive the merits of our cause, begging us to pardon her too stiff and selfish bearing towards us, and appealing to us by all that is stirring in our history, and valuable in our own language and literature, to keep peace between the two countries, to display our glorious banners in fraternal union, and let our only rivalry be the rivalry of love. The address was a noble one, worthy of the man, of the subject, and of the occasion." — A fair

and well-merited notice. We wish that a journal now edited with so much ability, so correct on most subjects, and so earnest and effective in its advocacy, would henceforth turn its attention to the cause of Peace which it so worthily commends in the person of Mr. Hall.

ITEMS OF CORRESPONDENCE. — We seldom report from the private letters of our friends, but will now give a few extracts : —

Mass. — I believe the cause of Peace is of God, and destined ultimately to prevail, and that the Christian community, and all well-wishers of our race ought to aid it along with other benevolent enterprises of the age, as one important means by which God will bless the world, and bring on the millennium. \$3.00. J. M. L.

From Mass. we have several other letters of like import, and one declines to give, thus : —

I have not much faith in the operations of the Peace Society. Since it was established, we have had the most destructive war that has been for more than 3,000 years. I am not in favor of war ; it costs too many valuable lives, besides a vast amount of money. We are taxed for everything that a poor man has or needs, even to a match to light his candle, or a plaster to put on his back or side. * * I am discouraged, as my taxes are abominable, and it takes everything that I can raise to pay taxes, and support my family, &c.

All these facts our friend (for such he *has* been, his last contribution \$5.00) *ought* to regard as just so many reasons, clear and strong, for largely increased liberality and zeal in support of our cause. Our late war cost and wasted on both sides not less than four million dollars a day, and the bare interest on a single one of these four millions if only used in season and aright in the cause of peace, in efforts to change the war habits of our people, especially at the South, would have saved eight or ten thousand millions' worth of property, and more than half a million lives directly sacrificed in our fratricidal strife. We *would* not give in season *one* dollar for peace ; and now we must, whether we will or not, pay ten thousand in war.

Conn. — As surely as this world is to be redeemed from sin, so surely must war cease ; but how soon we cannot foresee. Duties are ours ; events are God's. He has wrought wonderfully in the removal of slavery from over our land ; * * and from henceforth let no man who has a good cause to advocate, or any way to sustain, be discouraged. * * What is before the friends of Peace we cannot tell ; but it is to be presumed that they will have enough to try their faith and patience. Well, *that* is useful to the individual. What costs little is generally worth little. (\$3.00.) A. L.

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pare for War, by Hon. Amasa		Cause of Peace; Why no more accom-	
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April 17 THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

MARCH AND APRIL.

CONTENTS.

Too much Spent on our Navy.....	35	Peace Precarious.....	57
Our Navy: Facts and Queries about it	39	Our Principles Spreading....	58
What need of our Iron-Clads now?..	41	Competition in Iron-Clads	59
Financial Recoil of War.....	42	War can be Abolished	60
The Military Epidemic.....	43	Destructiveness of Raids.....	60
Starving and Arming.....	46	Gospel Obstructed in India..	61
Law of Menace.....	50	War-way of Spreading the Gospel...	61
Treatment of Indians.....	51	Connivance at Crime.....	61
Our New Indian Policy.....	54	New Peace Periodicals.....	62
A Statesman's Views	56	Annual Meeting	62

 See cover, last page. 

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ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MARCH AND APRIL, 1868.

TOO MUCH SPENT ON OUR NAVY.

A YEAR ago, this subject came up for discussion in Congress, and A. H. Rice, Chairman of the Naval Committee in the House, made an elaborate speech in favor of increasing appropriations for the Navy. The following is the substance of a letter to him on the subject, furnished at the time, but not then published. It is now quite in point; for the Secretary of the Navy wanted some \$47,000,000, which we are glad to see Congress trying to reduce as low as \$17,000,000; quite a stride from \$47,000,000 to \$17,000,000. We are improving a little.

The whole country rejoiced to hear the President say, in his Annual Message, that, "while at the commencement of the present year (1865), there were in commission 530 vessels, of all classes and descriptions, armed with 3,000 guns, and manned by 57,000 men; the number of vessels at present in commission, is 117, with 830 guns, and 12,128 men." Here is a reduction of more than 400 per cent in a few months; and the announcement of this wholesale economy was gladly welcomed as an index to the future policy of the government in this branch of the public service. The House of Representatives showed a disposition to carry out this economy in detail by cutting down appropriations recommended by the Committee of which you are chairman; and these reductions, as in your view extreme, you resist on grounds to which I take leave respectfully to object as wrong in themselves, and at variance with our past, well-approved policy.

Let us analyze your argument. You resist the proposed reduction of expense because "it will materially change our naval policy, and the position of the United States among the other first-class powers of the world. During the progress of the war, this government has assumed a high position among the nations of the earth as a naval power; and the results we have attained in that direction have been such as any American citizen may be proud of. They are such as have commanded the respect and admiration of mankind everywhere. They are the most gigantic achievements on the face of the earth, in the length of time; and if our territory were to be invaded today, and we were to wage a war at home, we are pretty well provided with iron-ships and heavy ordnance to defend our territory. But we are very poorly prepared to go into a general war upon the ocean with any first-class power."

Now, supposing these boasts to be fully justified by facts, does it follow that it would be wise for us, in the flush of victory over a gigantic rebellion, to reverse our whole past policy? You know well what that policy has been from the first. We have carefully shunned the practice of European nations, keeping themselves continually on the brink of bankruptcy by their enormous preparations for war in a time of peace, and have gone, all along, on the principle of having in readiness for whatever emergencies might arise, at home or abroad, only a small nucleus of either an army or a navy. For whatever more we might need, we have relied on the people to furnish when wanted, as they always have done. Such is the course we have pursued for nearly a century, to the great satisfaction of our people, and the admiration of the world. Is there any good reason for changing it just now? With a debt upon us of more than \$2,500,000,000, and with the expenses of our government more than ten times as great as they were thirty or forty years ago, shall we start upon a race of competition with the leading powers of Europe in prodigal expenditures upon either our army or our navy?

We know well the arguments for such a change in our policy. 'We have reached a high position before the world as a first-class power; and this prestige we ought to retain by maintaining a navy somewhat like that of England and France.' But is there any real need of altering our policy for this purpose? Did we not attain our present eminence by this very policy? Will it not suffice as well for the

future as it has in the past? Shall we not lose, rather than gain, in the respect of the world by changing our hereditary policy, and aping in this matter that of European nations?

I confess, Sir, I look with some alarm on the logic that runs through your speech. You seem to think that we are going to be drawn, *against our will*, into the maelstrom of European complications; that the surest, if not the only way, to avoid such a calamity is to be found in large preparations for war; that if we do not thus prepare ourselves, we shall be in constant danger of losing our rights, if not our very existence, as a nation; and that these evils can be averted only by keeping ourselves armed to the teeth. You appear to be harrassed with the idea that England, France, or some other formidable power on the other side of the Atlantic, will be ever on the alert to rob us of our rights, and prey upon our interests, if not to sweep us from the earth. Is there any good reason for indulging such fears? If really liable to such evils, would an attitude of menace and defiance be the best way to avert them? Would they be provoked or aggravated by our continuing the just, liberal, and peaceful policy inaugurated by our fathers? If we carry out that policy in good faith, what nation would be likely to assail us, or to involve us in any disputes that could not be adjusted without the sword? Nations, like individuals, will of course be always liable to conflict of opinions and interests; but there can surely be devised a far better way of dealing with such conflicts, than mutual wholesale butchery. We deem it the special duty of rulers to seek the adoption of such expedients; and the merest fraction of the zeal, talent, and money spent on military preparations might, in nine cases out of ten, avert the alleged necessity of appealing to the sword, and in time supersede altogether its blind, brutal arbitrament.

I know well that such a consummation is not to be reached at once, and that meanwhile nations will retain their war-system; but it is not necessary, even on the current theory of preparing for war in a time of peace, to squander such vast sums as are now spent for such purposes. If we have a navy, we must of course have navy-yards, and these must be kept from decay; but what is the real use of sending forth our war-ships, at immense cost, to cruise all over the world? You say "they are scattered wherever our commerce goes;" but why should our ships of war go wherever our vessels of commerce go? Commerce is a

mutual interest, and, if let alone, would protect itself without any convoy of war-ships. With civilized governments, we have treaties for their protection. Will not these suffice? Is there any need of war-ships to convoy our merchantmen to England, France, or Russia? Why, then, send squadron after squadron roving, like so many Don Quixotes of the ocean, all over the globe? What is the necessity or use of such displays? You may say, they are needed as exhibitors of our power and purpose to protect our rights everywhere; but this object can be gained as surely without as with these enormous demonstrations. Our claim to the world's respect comes from our numbers, our wealth, and our character; and these, whether with or without a powerful navy roaming over the world, would secure all the respect we now have, or can ever gain.

This plea for expenses upon our navy, as an insurance of our commerce, seems to us suicidal. It is not necessary for this purpose; and, if it were, it costs more than it is worth. I cannot now consider this subject in its details; but I think you will find, on thorough investigation, that it is the most costly insurance ever known, and would not be tolerated by shrewd men in the management of their own affairs. The navies of Christendom cost more than the profits of her whole mercantile marine; and, if so, is it wise or right to tax millions to protect and insure the business of a few?

I grant that law must be enforced on sea as well as on land, and hence the necessity of an Ocean Police, to be sustained jointly by all maritime nations. This purpose, however, will require no iron-clads, costing each a million sterling. The cost of one such sea-monster might suffice to build half the vessels needed as an ocean police for the world. Piracy is a spawn of war; and whenever the custom of war shall cease, there may be wanted only a light, cheap craft for the simple enforcement of revenue-laws. Should these laws be superseded by universal free trade, — a consummation sure to come sooner or later, — there will thenceforth be no need of even revenue-cutters, and probably little of an ocean police.

MEMENTOS OF WAR. — We see them at almost every turn in our cities, permanently crippled soldiers. In 1862, Congress offered them artificial limbs; and long ago, arms, legs, feet, and *hands*, to the number of more than 6,000 were furnished. In a single month 2,255 widows' claims were presented, and 1,948 invalid claims; in all 4,203.

OUR NAVY:

FACTS AND QUERIES ABOUT IT.

I find, from the "U. S. Navy Register for 1868," that there are six squadrons on foreign service, comprising 51 vessels, with an aggregate of 438 guns; and in special service, 7 vessels, with 66 guns. Thirty-three iron-clads are laid up at various naval stations at home; and at the Naval Academy, Annapolis, are stationed 9 vessels, not included in the above lists. From the President's last Annual Message, moreover, it appears that "the available resources of the navy for the last year were \$38,465,754, and the estimates for the ensuing year are \$47,317,183.

Now, I would like to put a few questions on this subject, and ask answers from those in the public service who ought to know:

—1. What excuse can there be for so vast an expense? Here we find, for two years, an average expenditure of about forty-two millions a year, while we are at peace with all the world; more than three times as much as the entire annual expenses of our government for all purposes some forty years ago, under the administration of John Quincy Adams.

2. What need of such expenses? We have no occasion for a single war-vessel, either iron-clad or sail, to guard our own coast or harbors. We must, of course, have revenue-cutters to enforce our revenue-laws; but no fighting ship, like our monitors or any of our iron-clads, is required for this purpose.

3. Of what use are the "six squadrons on foreign service?" I would thank anybody to tell me. "They go roaming around the world, at an expense of perhaps one or two millions a month; but what conceivable service do they render to ourselves or the world? If any, just tell us what. Do you say, they protect or promote our commerce? In what way? Specify instances in which they are doing so, or ever have. Would our commerce, rightly conducted, need or ask any such favors? If it should, are we bound to give it? *The expenses of our navy, the part spent for this purpose, are more than the entire profits of our foreign commerce thus protected.* Is it right to exact from the mass of our people so many millions, for the special benefit of a few traders in distant parts of the earth? If they desire insurance, let them pay for it to insurance companies. We might, with equal propriety, ask the National Government to insure our houses or stores against loss from fire. Do you say, these squadrons abroad are of great service by showing other countries our naval power? Men of intelligence already know this well enough; and it can be of little use to conciliate or impress the ignorant masses. It is not these roving holiday-shows of our

power and resources, but our established reputation as a people, and the impression we make by our commercial exchanges with the various nations of the earth, that give us respect and influence. Our merchants, left to their own honesty, tact, and fair dealing, would protect themselves in the long run quite as well without these costly displays of our pride and power.

The navy, as a guardian of our commerce on distant waters, would seem a great financial blunder. It costs far more than it comes to. A gentleman of intelligence, himself a merchant and ship-owner, wrote, more than twenty years ago, an able and elaborate document, to show of how little use our navy then was for any purpose whatever. I will quote a few of his statements: —

“The average expense of each gun in the navy for one year, amounts to about \$15,000. Now, admitting the profit of an American ship to be \$4,000 per annum, — and this rate of profit would cover the ocean with ships, — it would take one year’s earnings of 100 ships to pay the expenditure necessary to have a sloop of war, and to use her for one year, 150 for a frigate, and nearly 300 ships for a line-of-battle ship; that is, it would require 550 ships, doing a profitable business, in order to earn enough in a year to build, repair, and sail this little fleet. Thus, 1700 merchant ships, even if every one clears \$4,000 per annum, must be employed every year to earn the annual expenses of our navy!

“We have about 1,000,000 tons of shipping engaged in the foreign trade. The cost of this shipping is \$60 per ton. The actual value of our mercantile marine is about \$40 per ton, taking them together, new and old. This would make the value of our shipping to be \$40,000,000, about five times the annual cost of our navy. The ship-owner does not, upon an average, one year with another, earn five per cent beside the interest on the capital employed. * * There are nations now enjoying a profitable navigation, who have not a single vessel of war.”

I do not attempt anything like a full discussion of this subject; but such facts and views as the foregoing must, I think, make it imperative on our Congress, before voting any more millions for our navy, to inquire, and let the mass of our people know, what real need or use there is for it, and what important end it is likely to secure, that might not be gained without it. Is it not \$42,000,000 a year, or even a tithe of this sum, “paying too dear for the whistle?”

FRANKLIN.

WHAT NEED OF OUR IRON-CLADS NOW? — We find, just on going to press, some thoughts in the *Springfield Republican*, on the late "*Sale of the Iron-Clads*" by our government, that evince much more good sense than is common on such subjects. We should be glad to copy more than our space will now allow : —

The policy of the government in disposing of a considerable part of its iron-clad navy, has been made the subject of much unfavorable criticism. It happens to be one of those matters on which it is easy for journalists to be very sharp, easy to make good hits at the administration, easy to quote old saws, and look exceeding wise. But the best reason of the case, and the maturest judgment of our military authorities, as well as the largest considerations of statesmanship, combine to urge the reduction of the fleet.

The great reason for this step is, that nobody wants to fight us anyhow. There is not an important nation on earth, except Russia, that does not fear a collision with the United States. Prussia has just surrendered to us the whole question of expatriation, without a murmur, almost before our demand. England would be delighted to pay the Alabama claims (simply) today, to call it square with Brother Jonathan. France withdrew from Mexico, and left Maximilian to his fate, because she saw the uselessness of keeping up a contest with the young giant of the West. Austria, Italy, Spain — are such as they likely to get across our path?

It is all nonsense, this talk of preparing for national defence, in the position we hold to the world. It is the glory of that position that we are above offence. Why should we voluntarily adopt the system which is ruining the peoples of the old world, and from which they would gladly free themselves? There are nations which would fight us to the last, before they would submit to outrage or insult; but there is not one which would not take mighty reasonable views of its own claims in a controversy with ourselves. We shall get our rights; never fear. As to our keeping an immense fleet, every ship of which eats up as much as it is worth every few years, merely that we may be in condition to bully or browbeat our neighbors, at the pleasure of Congressional demagogues, — this is a course that not only is unchristian, but that will be very likely to secure us a good thrashing from some quarter, some time. We are strong enough to be let alone, if we mind our own business: that is all any nation ought to wish. If we set up for gamecocks we shall probably get our comb cut, and our tail-feathers pulled — and serve us right. If one can't do it, two will. The best way we can take to prepare for war is to practice the strictest economy, relieve our industry, straighten out our finances, get our credit in good order, put our spare iron into railroads, instead of monitors; and then we may be sure that none of the effete and beggared monarchies of the old world will dare to measure swords with us. The United States government has no more need to maintain a great fleet, than John Morrissey has to provide himself with a Gatling gun, or stock his person with pistols and bowie-knives, to protect himself from personal violence at the hands of Mr. Stevens or Mr. Baldwin.

FINANCIAL RECOIL OF WAR.

WAR is a great disturber of all human affairs ; and it takes a long time to recover from the recoil of its malign influences. These are more clearly seen or more easily measured in financial and business matters, but not a whit more real nor more deplorable, than in other things. Every war is preceded, accompanied, and followed by such results in numberless ways. Some of these are well sketched in the following extracts from the *N. Y. Post* :—

The distress and lack of employment now so general in England, and indeed all over Europe, as well as in our Atlantic States, appear to extend even to California, one of the newest States, where, in San Francisco, relief committees have been formed to supply the wants of destitute mechanics and their families. That all California should be overstocked with skilled labor does not seem probable, though it is not unlikely that in some branches in San Francisco, as here, there is a dearth of employment.

It is a curious question, to what causes are owing the general and very serious derangements of industry in Europe and America. In this country, we are paying the penalty of a season of extravagance, and of indulgence in the most crude and wasteful tax system known to the world. *We are poor, because, during four years of war, we destroyed enormous amounts of property and the lives of half a million of producers ; and because all this waste was aggravated by a depraved currency, which led to extravagance, and by a tax and tariff system which exacts dues on sixteen thousand articles, when we might raise the whole revenue from a hundred.*

But why is England worse off than the United States ? Why are France and Germany suffering as much as England ? In England, we find that a considerable part of the destitution and suffering is found among the workmen, who, *during our late war, were engaged in building blockade runners, and preparing materials of war to be sold to the rebels. It seems that this business was so enormous as to draw to it many thousands of workmen, skilled and unskilled, who, when the war ceased, suddenly found themselves without employment.*

But this is only one of several causes for the prevalent distress in England : it relates to only certain branches of industry. The chief causes of distress all over Europe are, the excessive burdens laid upon industry *by the vast armaments kept up by all the great powers, who fear Napoleon, and the feeling of distrust respecting the future which has taken possession of all minds.* There is a general belief that war may break out in Europe at almost any time ; a general European war has been expected for a year or two ; and the fear of it has made capitalists refuse to put out their money in any but the most temporary loans. Thus enterprise is checked, while industry is more and more severely burdened by the extravagant armaments and vast armies.

Nor should it be forgotten, that the inability of our people to buy as largely as in more prosperous times affects, in a very important degree, a considerable part of the population of Europe. We are the most important customers of many hundred thousands of Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen. When we are able to buy largely, they are prosperous and happy ; when we cannot or will not buy, they are depressed and poor.

For the present, Europe and America are suffering from a similar depression in all industries ; but it is satisfactory to reflect, that while the jealousy of the different European governments compels them continually to increase their armaments and armies, and exposes them to the constant fear of war, thus perpetuating the main causes of the present distress, with us the case is very different. We do not fear our neighbors, and can therefore afford to reduce our armies to a degree which will make their cost unfelt. Already the estimates for the ordinary expenses of our government, including army, navy, and civil government, have been reduced by Congress to ninety millions ; a sum absolutely less, if reckoned in gold, than the administration cost in the first year of Mr. Buchanan's term. The total expenditures also have been reduced by more than a hundred millions from last year's.

THE MILITARY EPIDEMIC.

THE mania of preparation for war, as the only means of preventing it, seems to be seizing on the governments of Europe, with a sort of blind, resistless fury. One of its leading journals predicted, at the time, that the battle of Sadowa, won by the Prussian needle-gun with such signal success, would increase the annual war-budgets of Europe \$250,000,000. It was a startling prophecy ; but facts seem to be more than justifying it.

Let us condense a few of these facts. "We are overwhelmed," says the *Economiste Belge*, a very able, progressive journal, "with militarism. All the nations of Europe are occupying themselves more actively than ever in perfecting their implements of war. Austria is in train to reorganize her army at the rate of a million men ; Prussia can henceforth dispose of an effective force of 1,250,000 ; and the French Government is about to raise hers to 800,000 soldiers, supported by a movable national guard of 400,000 or 500,000, in all about 1,250,000, the same as Prussia. The *Invalid Russe*, the organ of the Czar, represents Russia as having diminished her active army to 700,000 men, but with a reserve so immense as to make her army, on demand, amount in fact to more than 1,300,000, the largest in Europe. Italy, while going constantly in her expenses beyond her income, and depending on loans obtained at ruinous rates to keep the ship of state afloat, is said to be organizing an army of nearly a million men. Here are five governments in Europe that are raising, or preparing to raise, no less than 5,800,000 troops ; and should the others, as they must or will, follow their example, we may see Europe, ready on emergency, bristle with some seven million bayonets !"

We may well stand amazed at this gigantic folly and crime of rulers. We deem it both ; for it puts the iron heel of war on the bosom of millions, sacrifices their lives by scores and hundreds of thousands, withdraws one-fifth of their able-bodied laborers from productive industry,

compels the others to support these in enforced idleness, and thus keeps vast multitudes continually on the verge of starvation. On all these points, Europe is at this hour teeming with a superabundance of proofs. How long humanity, pressed to the earth, if not bleeding at every pore, will submit without resistance to this accursed war-system, we know not; but if pushed much farther, we shall expect at length a recoil and explosion, as in the first French Revolution, that will convulse all Europe, and shake, if not overthrow, every government not more strongly enshrined than most of them are in the affections of the people. Such a system of oppression and outrage upon the masses cannot last forever.

VIEWS OF THE PRESS ON THE SUBJECT.—“It is a curious phenomenon,” says *The London Daily News*, “that while all the governments of Europe are proclaiming their desire for the continuance of peace, the preparation of arms and armed men was never so active as it is at present, on almost every side. Prussia, Austria, France, Italy, and Russia, are making the same pacific declarations. But unfortunately, the acts of the governments do not harmonize with the official and semi-official announcements in favor of peace.” After quoting what preparations Italy, Spain, Prussia, and Russia, are making, it adds that “even the Sovereign Pontiff of Rome is studying the art of maintaining peace by increasing his army to 25,000 men!”

“It is a truism,” says the *Boston Journal*, “that the weakness of a nation can never be a guarantee for its security (?); but is it equally true that national peace can only be placed beyond the risk of disturbance by the maintenance of immense and costly military armaments? The French people, acting through the Assembly of their representatives, have yielded to Louis Napoleon’s demand for an army of 800,000 men in time of peace, and the establishment of a system that will enable him to bring into the field a force of one million and a quarter of soldiers in time of war. As an inevitable consequence, the other European nations are to go on in what seems to us an endless and insane competition in military expenditure and armaments. Under the reign of Louis Philippe, France contented herself with an army of 300,000 men; under Louis Napoleon, until now, she has borne the burden of sustaining the subtraction of 400,000 of her male citizens from the pursuits of industry and production; and now, at one step, this immense force is to be doubled. Out of a population of 38,000,000 souls, 800,000 ‘bread-winners’ are to be taken for nine years, one-half of whom will be for five years in the active army, and the other half for four years in the reserve. Before the war in the Crimea, 80,000 men were annually conscripted for the army in France; during that war, this number was raised to 140,000 men; then it was reduced to 100,000 men, at which figure it has since remained until now. To supply these conscripts, 300,000 young men are annually obliged to take part in this singular lottery; and of the 100,000 who draw the fatal ‘black bean,’ about 73,000 are really obliged to become soldiers. To keep our army in the field during the late rebellion, an army which varied in nominal strength from 75,000 to 1,000,000 men, rolled up that gigantic debt under which the people of the United States are now groaning. But France must make up her mind to be reconciled to the necessity of furnishing a permanent standing army of 800,000 men, at a cost that must seriously increase the financial troubles

of the State,—an army that must turn away from all the productive occupations of life the flower of her children in the best days of their life, making them forever after unfitted for these pursuits, and at once a menace to other countries and a burden and danger to their own. This is only the regular army; but in addition to this, there are to be about 460,000 ‘mobile’ National Guards, whom the Emperor may summon to his aid in time of war.”

In some valuable statements we have copied above, we find, expressed or implied, such mistakes as the following relative to the views of peace-men:—

1. “That as nations become wealthy, they will grow peaceful, and that free trade is the most potent foe of war.” The cause of Peace does not make itself responsible for any views, *pro* or *con*, on such questions. So far as free trade favors Peace, as most men think it does and must, we rejoice in this result, but without making our cause responsible for the general views on that subject. The increasing preparations for war, amid strong protestations *against* war, may all be *in spite* of free trade, rather than one of its results.

2. As to the “wisdom taught by the Peace Society,” what do we actually teach? (1.) That nations ought not to fight about the matters in dispute between them. We deem it morally wrong, and contrary to their own interests. (2.) That there is seldom, if ever, any real need or use of fighting. They could, if they would, settle their disputes much better without fighting. Fight ever so long, they must, after all, sheathe the sword, and then settle their differences just as they might have done without a blow or even a menace. The only *good* effect of a hundred battles would be to make them willing to use at last these rational, peaceful means for adjusting their disputes. — (3.) That nations, like individuals and minor communities, ought to devise rational, equitable means for a peaceful settlement of their controversies. They can, if they will; they will whenever public opinion shall become right on the subject; and hence the friends of peace are trying as far and fast as they can, to create everywhere such an opinion as will lead nations to adopt some system, more or less like what every civilized government provides for its own subjects, that shall settle their controversies, regulate their intercourse, and guard their rights and interests without the old blind, brutal arbitrament of the sword. — (4.) That some such system of international justice and security is reasonable, desirable, feasible, and likely to become in time successful. — (5.) That until nations shall adopt some such system, they will of course continue their present war-system with all its follies, crimes, and boundless evils. A relict of ancient pagan barbarism, it is a libel on the Christianity, civilization, and common sense of the age.

STARVING AND ARMING:

EFFECTS OF THE WAR-SYSTEM BEGGARING THE PEOPLE.

ON this subject our able coadjutor, HENRY RICHARD, Secretary of the London Peace Society, lately furnished to the *London Star*, a letter of which we copy nearly the whole, as of great interest and value.

"There are two series of facts that in these days force themselves on our attention from all parts of Europe, though there are very few who reflect upon the close connection which exists between the two. The first relates to the terrible distress which prevails among large classes of the people in almost all European countries; the other to the enormous and ever-increasing extension which the governments are giving to their naval and military armaments.

For many years past, there has not been so general and bitter a cry of suffering, ascending to Heaven from all parts of the world, as we find today. Of the wide-spread destitution and misery in our own country, we need say nothing. Men and women and children dying of famine in the midst of us; thousands of honest and industrious working-men,

"Who beg their brothers of the earth
To give them leave to toil;"

and failing to procure that leave, are forced to parish relief, or the doles of charity, to keep on a lingering and miserable existence; skilled artisans fain to earn sixpence a day at the stoneyards as their only alternative from starvation!

If we go to France, the same scenes of distress meet us everywhere. I say nothing of the dreadful state of disease and famine which prevails in Algeria, of which the Archbishop of Algiers declares that "calculations which are not exaggerated bring the number of victims within the last six months to above 100,000." In Paris, we read of twenty charity soup-kitchens, distributing daily from 40,000 to 50,000 portions, and of the authorities of the city doling out fuel and bread in large quantities, to save the people from utterly perishing. The managers of the "public relief" for Paris have received a subsidy of nearly 400,000*l.* from the Minister of the Interior, and they are at their wits' end to make it go far enough. In the provinces, it is no better. The *Avenir National* says: "Most distressing news reaches us from the north, centre, and south of France. It is no longer Lyons, Nantes, Rouen, and Roubaix alone that are besieged by misery. The *Gironde* tells us that at Bordeaux, the number of the poor who publicly clamor for bread or work has assumed most unexpected proportions; it has been thought necessary to double the sentries at the Hotel de Ville, and to place a strong body of police at the main entrance, which is constantly encumbered by a famished crowd. At

Lille, Auxerre, Limoges, and many other places, the *bureaux de bien-faisance* have been driven to resort to exceptional measures."

Let us, then, pass on to Prussia, held up to the admiration and envy of the world, as having by its wonderful system of popular education almost banished ignorance and misery from its borders; and what do we find? The last tidings from Eastern Prussia says: "The most horrible distress prevails in the towns and rural districts of this country; and if the State does not come to the aid of the populations who are suffering from hunger, the greatest calamities are to be feared. At Conitz, Buchens, and Bockun, the want is also terrible." The *Cologne Gazette* mentions that the number of families in Eastern Prussia which require relief, is 3,500, spread over thirty-five districts: "The misery is indescribable; men, women, and children are huddled together, completely destitute, in the forest, on litters of straw. Many are attacked with typhus fever, and the greater part are dying of hunger." The *Zukunft* of Berlin, says: "The distress of East Prussia is not an isolated phenomenon. It prevails more or less in the various provinces of the monarchy. In the richest regions, in the most populous towns, there are murmurs which have not been heard for a long time. The communes are struggling against deficiencies which are crushing them. Business is at a stand-still; employers dismiss their workmen, or reduce their wages; families are driven to inferior lodgings; the number of servants is diminishing; privation, misery, are words which are heard everywhere!"

In Russian Poland, it is no better. "By private communications we have received from Lublin," says the French journal *La Liberté*, "we learn that in that country the famine is yet greater than in Eastern Prussia. Overwhelmed by heavy imposts, the unfortunate Poles see their land become every year less and less productive. This year, the kopa of wheat, which yields usually from twenty-four to thirty-two garnicks, yields only from three to six. The Polish peasants are not happier than our Algerians, and that is not saying a little."

Of Finland, Mr. Campbell, the British consul at Helsingfors, says: "The harvest throughout the grand duchy has this year been a perfect failure; and I assure you no words of mine can describe the misery, suffering, and sickness at present prevailing from one end of this unhappy famine-stricken country to the other. Iceland moss, pine-tree bark, and pea-straw, ground up together, and mixed with a little flour, is the only food wherewith the mother can now feed her child, and the only food on which thousands will be dependent for many months to come."

These examples of extreme distress are only the outward symptoms of the general condition of discouragement and depression which exists throughout Europe. Everywhere, we hear of enterprise paralyzed, commerce languishing, credit failing, securities depreciated, and all "men's hearts failing for fear, and for looking for the things that are coming on the earth!"

But, meanwhile, what are the governments of this distressed, paralyzed, famishing Europe doing? Oh, they are in full and feverish activity, organizing their armies, navies, and militias, forging rifled cannon, manufacturing minie-rifles and chassepots by the million, building iron-plated ships, constructing new fortifications, stimulating, with lavish rewards, the inventors of infernal machines, and giving the utmost possible development to the art of destroying life and property. The people ask for bread, and they give them bullets. They cry out for education, and they offer them the universal military drill. Whatever trade languishes, the trade of blood is flourishing and luxuriant. While millions of the people are perishing, or nearly perishing, of cold, nakedness, famine, disease, and despair, the treasure wrung from their toil and industry for the maintenance of large armies and the manufacture of murderous weapons, must be had at any hazard, and be lavished without stint. If the peasants of Eastern Prussia are lying on litters of straw in the forests, and dying of hunger and fever, Bismarck can tell them, for their consolation in their last moments, that he is rapidly furnishing the Prussian army with the new chassepot rifle. If the people in Southern France are crowding around the Hotel de Ville, clamoring for bread in such menacing crowds that they have to be kept back by a double force of police, Marshal Niel can inform them that the dignity and glory of France is provided for by a measure which will compel nearly every able-bodied young man in the country into some form of military service.

The mere pecuniary cost of the European armaments is now so prodigious as to be almost incredible. In a very able article which appeared in the *Economist* a few weeks ago, the writer estimates that cost, including the loss from the forced abstinence of the men engaged in them from reproductive labor, at \$1,000,000,000 a year. Enormous as this sum is, I believe it is considerably understated. Dr. Larroque, who has been carefully studying this subject for many years, calculates in his work on *War and Standing Armies*, the amount at more than \$1,500,000,000 a year.

I suppose no man in his senses will doubt that there is a close connection between the two series of facts which I have thus noted; that, apart from the distrust which these vast military preparations inspire, and the disastrous effects of that distrust on commerce, enterprise and industry, the withdrawal of such immense sums of money from the floating capital of Europe, to be expended upon non-productive employment, must have largely to do with the present wide-spread misery throughout all European countries. A perception of this fact is slowly forcing itself upon some who have hitherto shown themselves singularly indisposed to admit it. The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, in reply to the Rouen Chamber of Commerce, inquiring into the causes and remedy for the commercial crisis existing in Europe, among other causes gave great prominence to this as one: — “The unsettled state

of Europe, and the apprehension so widely entertained of the imminence of war; an apprehension materially strengthened by the enormous military preparations everywhere made, notwithstanding the pacific assurances of governments. The apprehension of war is fraught with evil second only to that of its actual existence. Much of the capital which should be employed in ordinary and reproductive industry is diverted into unusual and exhaustive channels. The labor which not only supported itself, but has added to accumulated wealth, is withdrawn from its normal occupation to be supported by the community at large. Europe is at this moment maintaining unproductively millions of soldiers, whose reproductive employment would largely add to accumulated wealth."

The Berlin *Zukunft* says: "The failure of the crops is the direct cause of the distress in East Prussia; but the source of the general distress lies deeper. It is to be traced to the augmentation of the military burdens. For long years past, Prussia has had to endure military burdens beyond the resources of the country; but under the new army organization the strain has been constant, and the existing distress is the result of this excessive tension."

And what prospect is there of any improvement hereafter? From the governments, none whatever. Their insanity is increasing, instead of decreasing, year by year. They are all pretty much alike. An attempt is now made to saddle the responsibility of the ruinous rivalry in armaments, which is exhausting Europe, upon the Emperor of the French. And no doubt the new bill for the reorganization of the army is a monstrous project. But we ought to remember, that a few years ago it was England that gave the evil example to Europe, by rushing frantically, under the influence of a disgraceful panic, into all sorts of warlike preparations, calling out the militia, increasing the army, reconstructing the navy, organizing the volunteers, and advancing our military expenditure to more than £30,000,000 a year.

Nor is there much hope of a practical remedy for the madness I have described from the influence of the commercial classes. They are so soon frightened into acquiescence in any military expenditure, however extravagant, by those panics which the governing classes are skilled in exciting when they have a purpose to serve, that we cannot look to *them* for deliverance from this hideous incubus which is squeezing their life out of the nations. Our principal hope, I believe, is from the movement on this subject which is beginning to arise among the working classes throughout Europe. The addresses exchanged between the workmen of France and Germany last year, when the intrigues of diplomacy had brought about the danger of war between the two countries, were highly significant, quite as much by what they implied as by what they expressed. And lately, we have seen the working-men meeting in large numbers at Brussels, Ghent, Stuttgart, and elsewhere, to protest in very plain and energetic terms against the military meas.

ures proposed by their governments; those of Belgium declaring, in language of unmistakable explicitness, that "if the project of law presented without their consent, and opposed to their interests, is voted, they will not recognize this pretended law, and will refuse to submit to this fresh iniquity."

LAW OF MENACE.

The Emperor of the French does not seem to have much credit, either for disinterestedness or sincerity; and yet circumstances make it probable, that he is wrongly estimated in those respects. He is making perpetual declarations of his desire for peace, and at the same time increasing his military forces; and this apparent inconsistency of his acts with his words, gives rise to the suspicion, that, with pacific professions, he really meditates war. But there is reason to believe that his declarations in favor of peace are sincere, and that his invitations to other sovereigns to a general conference or congress, were given truly for that object. Is it asked, Why then does he keep up and augment these enormous and expensive armaments? The answer will be found in that fallacious maxim, which has deluded the minds of rulers for ages, that, "to preserve peace, they must be prepared for war." He sees the martial ambition of Prussia, and ascribing to that power a readiness to assail his own dominions on any favorable opportunity, endeavors to avert such an occurrence by a display of force. It is probably only defence which is intended, but the measure of defence relied on, is, as usual, intimidation.

This principle of overcoming by menace, is maintained in inconsistent defiance of the most obvious dispositions of the human mind and the unvarying teachings of history. Men in power are ever more guided by pride than fear. There is no sovereign, or indeed nation, who does not spurn with indignation the imputation that they are disposed to aggression on others, and are only deterred from it by view of their defensive armaments. Yet each nation acts on the belief of this timidity in others. In the midst of the most flattering professions of friendship and mutual confidence, each views the other as intent on unprovoked invasion, to be prevented only by such display of force as to inspire dread of it. The idea seems never to occur to them, that this defensive force may be a defying provocation, rather than a terrifying restraint, upon ambitious designs.

In ages of ignorance and barbarism, the impression was not wonderful. It was natural that evil must be corrected and wrong redressed by force, or the menace of it. It is the usual resort of brute animals, the inherent propensity of the animal mind. But Christianity rectifies this almost universal sentiment. Its language is, submit to evil, return good

for evil, and to all hostility oppose the defence of kindness. And we have the warrant of celestial wisdom, that this is the most complete victory, the surest method of a real enduring peace, a tranquility of spirit which no invading power can assail. Men do not believe this. Though it is the voice of God, they still assert, that competent physical force is always requisite to subdue moral evil. How is this known? It is not from experience; the experiment has never been tried, except in some few individual instances, and in them it has invariably met with a success which no physical force could obtain. Once, indeed, it has been attempted on a somewhat larger scale (the original government of Pennsylvania), and the result evinced undeniably the superior power of kindness for defence over that of force or menace.

The principal endeavor of Peace Societies is to reproduce this true Christian policy, as announced by Christ in his sermon on the Mount of Galilee, and elsewhere, — the substitution of the power of love for that of terror, — which, if the doctrine of heaven is to be believed, would be far more certain and effectual, and far less costly and destructive. The spirit of malignity, fostered by preparation for martial defence on one hand, or the insincere and unwilling resignation to it on the other, are vastly greater evils than all which could be endured by non-resistance to aggression. Could sovereigns and warriors learn this Divine lesson, what enormous aggregates of crime and misery would be banished from the world!

J. P. B.

TREATMENT OF INDIANS.

BY J. S. GREEN, SANDWICH ISLANDS.

The enterprising spirit of the age is bringing sections of the world, once remote from each other, so near, that it may be said, without much exaggeration, that the ends of the earth are meeting. Now, this is well, as it should be, provided all men breathe the right spirit, love as brethren, “seek the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.” Few men have greater occasion to rejoice in the increased facilities of communication with other parts of the world by steamboats, railroads, and telegraphs, than we, who, for Christ’s sake, have been living, the last forty years, voluntary exiles from our country, at the Sandwich Islands. On arriving at Honolulu, March, 1828, we found that our friends of the mission had not received communications from their friends of the United States during the then last eighteen months. I recollect, also, how my heart bounded with joy, when, February, 1829, I approached a ship from Boston, just anchored in the outer harbor at Honolulu, bringing us the first intelligence we received of friends from whom we sailed November, 1827. Now, we receive letters and periodicals every

month; and items of intelligence, by means of the telegraph, reach us much oftener; so that we are occasionally only ten or twelve days behind the rest of the world in our knowledge of matters and things pertaining to our own and other countries. We bless God for this increased facility of communication with the world, and feel that we are not, as once, living at the ends of the earth, but that the spirit of scientific improvement has drawn us into the very neighborhood of continents and islands, from which we had long been separated by oceans and seas. We have much occasion of gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, for what, in this respect, He has wrought in our behalf.

Nor is this all. To human appearance, things will become still better. The Pacific Railroad is in process of construction, which, when completed, will greatly shorten the distance between us and our early New-England home. This, and the telegraphic wires, which with lightning speed bring to the doors of our San-Francisco neighbors, in the evening, the news of the morning, and thence to us at the Islands, as speedily as the new steamers can reach us, — say, in ten or twelve days, — give us intelligence so quickly, that we may well be content; and we should be ungrateful in a high degree were we to murmur and complain of this arrangement. Still, as human nature is, there is danger that dissatisfaction will be *felt* among us, on the Pacific side of the *world*, if it is not *expressed*. This will arise, in part, from what is now experienced in the destruction of the telegraphic wires by the Indians, at or near the Rocky Mountains; but more from what it is feared these wandering tribes will effect by interfering with our railroads. Many are so alarmed already, that they are suggesting, as a remedy, the destruction, even to annihilation, of all the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains! This would be a remedy with a vengeance; but one, I submit, worse than the disease, and which, I pray God, may never be applied. For, much as I desire the speediest communication possible with the Eastern States, I desire it only as it may be had with the blessing of the Lord which maketh rich, and to which He addeth no sorrow. I am sure that the curse of the Lord will rest upon the whole enterprise of communication of the East with the West, by means of telegraphs and railroads, if it be baptized with the blood of the poor Indian. For one, I solemnly declare, that, rather than see the enterprise pushed forward to completion, at the expense of annihilating these tribes, I would joyfully forego all the benefits which would accrue from railroads and telegraphs, and let our communications with the East revert back to the method of 1827, when we forwarded our letters and received our replies and our periodicals by the way of Cape Horn. Such an idea, I well know, will be scouted by most men here, and with you, as simply ridicu-

lous ; but it ought to be cherished by every follower of Christ ; and such an one here, at California, and in all the Eastern States, should refuse any and all complicity in the insane and cruel design of destroying the untaught and abused Indians who roam our continent, and who, in nine cases in ten, are ill-treated, and thus provoked to destroy our telegraphs, and murder our travelers on their way to the Pacific coast.

When I speak of such a retrograde movement, as the sending of our communications by the way of Cape Horn, I am fully of the opinion, that there is no necessity of so doing,—no need of abandoning the work of building railroads and telegraphs. Let justice be done to the Indian. Let our government see to it, that the men, vicious whites, be removed from the Indian country, that nothing intoxicating shall be allowed to be sold to these men ; and we should soon see a change for the better—should seldom hear of loss of life or property on the way from the East to the West, or from the West to the East. But if it cannot be expected that our government will take hold of this work, let the friends of the Saviour see to it, that the Gospel be brought to bear upon the tribes who now threaten to do us so much mischief, by destroying our means of communication with our loved ones at the East. Oh, that the church would awake to the duty and privilege of yielding a prompt obedience to the Redeemer's last command, to "preach the gospel to every creature !" It is not only an imperative duty, but it is, of all things, the most economical. This is capable of the clearest demonstration. It has cost more, a thousand-fold, to conquer the tribes of Indians on our borders,—and thus to send polluted men to the world of woe, with many of our own people, as disqualified for heaven as the heathen themselves,—as it would to have sent them the Gospel, and thus, with the highest benefit to our own countrymen, have qualified many of them for heaven. And, oh, how much sin and wretchedness, how many precious lives, would have been saved, had the church shown as much zeal in the conversion of souls on the Northwest coast, as the men of the world have exhibited in search of otter skins. The cost of christianizing and saving the nations, when weighed with the cost of slaughtering them, is like the drop of the bucket compared with the mighty ocean ; and the Christian nations which have neglected the ascending command of their Lord, have done so at a fearful cost. When will the church learn, that the only sure way to prosperity is found in obeying God ? Let all who desire to see the East and West portions of our American continent united by a grand trunk railroad, pray for the speedy christianization of every tribe of Indians on that part of our land, and do all in their power to secure an answer to their own petitions.

OUR NEW INDIAN POLICY.

THE Report of the Commissioners appointed last year, to treat with the Indian Tribes, has been presented to Congress. It is a very long, very important, and very interesting document, but one which every right-minded American will blush to read; for it recounts a series of cruel wrongs and outrages, perpetrated by government agents and by white pioneers upon a race of people who have never, as our history attests, waged war upon the whites, except for causes which have always been held to justify war between civilized communities. If war is ever justifiable, it is so when waged in defense of country against foreign encroachments, to repel invasion of recognized rights, to protect homes and firesides from threatened destruction; and it appears, from the testimony of the Commissioners, that the Indians have always had this justification. In every instance, hostilities on the frontier have commenced in outrages on the tribes. Their lands have been overrun by white settlers, their game driven off, their fields devastated, their villages burned, and their people massacred in cold blood.

Nothing is easier than to charge the Indians with cruelty. They are cruel, when their blood is up; but when we see the means taken to provoke them into hostilities, we wonder only that their barbaric instincts of revenge have led them into no greater excesses. According to the Commissioners' Report, the usual method of bringing on an Indian war, for the purpose of getting possession of lands, is for the white settlers to commence a series of outrages on the tribes, robbing them of stock, hunting on their grounds, not stopping short even of murder (an Indian life being considered of no value at all), until they were roused to retaliate. Of course, the white outrages were carefully concealed from the public; but as soon as the Indians commenced operations, a whole army of newspaper correspondents is busily engaged in working up the country to the proper degree of horror and indignation against the savages. The telegraph is employed to spread the news of every actual outrage; and, in addition to this, the Indians are held responsible for many deeds which they have never committed. The moral code of the frontiersman recognizes crimes against Indians as positive virtues.

This is the way that all Indian wars originate — in the cupidity, injustice, and cruelty of the white settlers and the government agents. We have not space to follow the Commissioners through their able Report; but this is the tenor of the whole. Unflattering to our pride as the record is, we are compelled to acknowledge its correctness, and the justice of the conclusions therefrom deduced by the Commissioners. These gentlemen spent months on the Great Plains, conferring with many tribes or their representative chiefs, and patiently investigating the causes of our Indian troubles. Both sides were allowed to speak for themselves, and to make their own defense. It is not to be supposed, that a soldier like General Sherman went out with any strong prejudice in favor of the Indians, or that his practical, calculating mind was likely to receive one-sided impressions; his testimony is, therefore, conclusive as to the criminality of the whites in bringing on wars with the Indian tribes. In answer to the question, whether the government treatment of the Indians has been just or otherwise, he replied that it has been "uniformly unjust," and that the whites have to thank themselves for all the sufferings they have undergone in consequence of Indian wars.

The Commissioners justly conclude that, while this state of things is permitted to last, there can be no peace on our borders. Just as long as the whites are permitted, on any or no pretext, to make war on the Indians, drive away their stock, burn their villages, and take forcible possession of their land, the Indians will make bloody reprisals. The Report makes no attempt to smooth over the atrocities committed by the Indians at Fort Phil. Kearney, and other places, nor to palliate the frightful barbarities of the Cheyenne massacre. It considers the whole question in a calm, judicial spirit; and, after weighing the statements of both sides with strict impartiality, considers what measures are necessary to bring about a just and permanent settlement of the difficulty. The Commissioners do not for an instant entertain the extermination theory so vehemently urged by many land-hungry settlers and army contractors. Indian wars are proverbially expensive and barren of good results. Our last campaign on the Plains resulted in the killing of about twenty Indians, at an average cost of more than one million of dollars for each; and still the wretches decline to be pacified!

The whites having "uniformly treated them unjustly," never honestly fulfilling the treaties made with them, it is now proposed to try the effect of justice on them. The Commissioners propose that reservations shall be made, on which shall be gathered all the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains; that a territorial or military government be established, in each district of these reservations; that agriculture and manufactures be introduced and encouraged among the tribes; that schools be established in which the young can be taught the English language. In short, the Commissioners propose to civilize them, and to make them our friends by kind and just treatment. In very severe language, the Commissioners denounce the agents who have heretofore been sent among the tribes, and recommend that the greatest care be exercised in future in the selection of men for this important post.

The country has reason to feel high gratification with the results of the Commissioners' labors. They have placed us in possession of a full knowledge of the causes which have led to Indian wars, and of the way to avert them. They have shown that every war has been brought on by the rascality of the white settlers, who have violated every treaty ever made with the tribes. In addition to this, great practical results have been achieved. Satisfactory treaties have been concluded with four of the principal tribes — the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes — and arrangements have been made for perfecting treaties with other tribes next Spring. Hostilities have been checked, and the long lines of travel across the Plains rendered secure. Let us hope these results may be permanent, and that we have seen the last of our iniquitous Indian wars. — *Independent*.

No small part of the above reasoning is fairly applicable to difficulties between civilized nations. If they would treat each other as the Gospel requires, as individuals do in their ordinary intercourse, nearly all wars between them might be avoided. There are few, if any, cases in which the existence of wars between nations, does not prove that both parties are not in yet suffering, more or less, punishment for their own wrong. War is God's chief *nemesis* for national wrongs.

A STATESMAN'S VIEWS.

IN a speech of Alexander H. Stephens, delivered recently in Georgia, on the state of the country, we find the following just views of the folly of a resort to arms instead of moral suasion and lawful political action. All history confirms his utterances :—

“ Instead of bettering our condition, instead of establishing our liberties upon a surer foundation, we have, in the war that ensued, come well-nigh losing the whole of the rich inheritance with which we set out. This is one of the sad realizations of the present. In this, too, we are but illustrating the teachings of history. Wars, and civil wars especially, always menace liberty; they seldom advance it, while they usually end in its entire overthrow and destruction. Ours stopped just short of such a catastrophe. Our only alternative now is either to give up all hope of constitutional liberty, or retrace our steps, and look for its vindication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice, instead of on the arena of arms; in the courts and halls of legislation, instead of on the fields of battle.

“ The truest friends of liberty in England, once, in 1642, abandoned the forum of reason, and appealed, as we did, to the sword, as the surest means in their judgment of advancing their cause. This was after they had made great progress under the lead of COKE, HAMPTDEN, FALKLAND, and others, in the advancement of liberal principles. Many usurpations had been checked, and many of the prerogatives of the Crown had been curtailed. The petition of right had been sanctioned, ship-money had been abandoned, courts-martial had been done away with, *habeas corpus* had been reestablished, high Courts of Commission and Star Chamber had been abolished. Many other great abuses of power had been corrected and other reforms established. But, not satisfied with these, and not satisfied with the peaceful working of reason to go on in its natural sphere, the denial of the sovereignty of the Crown was pressed by the too ardent reformers upon CHARLES I. All else he had yielded; this he would not.

“ The sword was appealed to to settle the question. A civil war was the result. Great courage and valor were displayed on both sides. Men of eminent virtue and patriotism fell in the sanguinary and fratricidal conflict. The King was deposed and executed; a Commonwealth proclaimed. But the end was the reduction of the people of England to a worse state of oppression than they had been in for centuries. They retraced their steps. After nearly twenty years of exhaustion and blood, and the loss of the greater portion of the liberties enjoyed by them before, they, by almost unanimous consent, called for restoration.

“ The restoration came. CHARLES II. ascended the throne, as unlimited a monarch as ever ruled the Empire. Not a pledge was asked or a guarantee given, touching the concessions of the royal prerogative that had been exacted and obtained from his father. The true friends of liberty, of reform, and of progress in government had become convinced that these were the offspring of peace and of enlightened reason, and not of passion nor of arms. The House of Commons and the House of Lords were thenceforth the theatres of their operations, and not the fields of Newberry or Marston Moor. The result was that in less than thirty years, all their ancient rights and

privileges, which had been lost in the civil war, were reëstablished, with new securities, in the ever-memorable settlement of 1668, which, for all practical purposes, may be looked upon as a bloodless revolution.

“ Since that time, England has made still further and more signal strides in reform and progress ; but not one of these has been effected by resort to arms. Catholic emancipation was carried in Parliament after years of argument, against the most persistent opposition. Reason and justice ultimately prevailed. So with the removal of the disability of the Jews ; so with the overthrow of the rotten borough system ; so with the extension of franchise ; so with the modification of corn-laws and restrictions on commerce, opening the way to the establishment of the principles of free trade ; and so with all the other great reforms by Parliament which have so distinguished English history for the last half century.”

We are glad to see such proof as this of returning sanity. It is a wisdom that might and should have been learned in season to avert the rebellion that swept its besom of fire and blood for four years over our land. We tried hard to dissuade them from their suicidal purpose ; but the madness that ruled the hour forbade all hope of success in the appeal we made. Our principles, and nothing else, would have saved both parties from the vast and terrible evils inflicted on each other, and likely to be felt for many ages to come. Until these principles shall be adopted in practice, we can have no reliable safeguards against future rebellions without end. Peace is the only sure or safe pathway to the political as well as social reforms so much needed in all countries.

PEACE PRECARIOUS. — Nearly every month furnishes fresh proof of how little reliance we can have of permanent peace in any part of Christendom. About two years ago (April, 1866), editors were congratulating the world on the profound and general peace then prevailing. “ All nations,” said the *N. Y. Times*, “ are now in a state of profound peace. War, worthy of the name, does not exist in the wide world. In Central and South America there are, or have been lately, certain petty squabbles ; there is occasionally a skirmish in Mexico, and it may be that a few hundred New Zealanders are still behind their pahs fighting as many English red-coats. But this is all. The great powers of Europe are not only at peace, but *there is no cause of quarrel apparent among them*. Austria and Italy may not love each other, and the Pope may be a bone of contention ; but the signs of difficulty are fewer, and the prospects of pacifying difficulties better now than ever. As regards the relations of America to Europe, they are likely to remain perfectly peaceful. When our war began, the great Chinese rebellion, which had been in progress for over ten years, still ran its bloody course. After the commencement of our war, there was the war of Russia against Poland, the war of Austria and Prussia against Denmark, the war of the French against Mexico, the miserable war of

Spain against San Domingo, and several affairs less even than the last named. Now that all these wars are closed, and our poor old blood-thirsty world enjoys peace, let it keep the peace."

Such was the prediction or hope; but what were the facts that followed? In June, within less than three months, there were mustering nearly two million of troops for mutual slaughter, did and it with such effect, that Austria alone was said to have lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, no less than 100,000 men. In a month or two, what was supposed to be a profound and assured peace, passed into the beginning of a war that threatened for a time to be as extensive and destructive as Europe ever saw.

How shall we account for all this? We have at present no real safeguards against war, no reliable guarantees of peace; and the provisions made for this purpose at such vast expense in the war-system, are very like combustibles collected to prevent or extinguish a conflagration. *They are the grand provocatives of war*; and so long as this suicidal system shall continue, nations can never repose in anything better than an armed truce. They must constantly sleep with their armor on, and be ready, at tap of drum or bugle-blast, to rush at once to the work of slaughter and devastation.

OUR PRINCIPLES SPREADING.

AN eminent writer in the London *Times*, whose signature is "Historicus," has been contributing some articles in which he proposes that an International Congress be invited by Lord Stanley, consisting of "representatives from the principal Powers, to meet in conference, to discuss and settle principles important to the amicable relations of all; and in respect of which it is most desirable that there should be a common rule."

He names as topics to be at once discussed and agreed upon, "Naturalization, Expatriation, Criminal Jurisdiction over Aliens, Extradition, and the rights and duties of belligerents and neutrals, in respect to such matters as those out of which the Alabama Claims have arisen." Such a Congress, he insists, "would make diplomacy a blessing to mankind, instead of being, as it often is, a curse."

He winds up one of his articles by this strong appeal:—"When will governments learn to be wise in time, and to settle in peace questions which would otherwise be solved by the sword, and to anticipate, by argument and negotiation, causes of discord, before they reach the stage of intimidation, when it is impossible either to resist with justice, or retire with dignity. It seems to me, that to take the lead in such a proposal would be worthy of the place of England among nations. It would be the proper answer to the sneers which are levelled at her

selfish isolation and insular pride. The statesman who had magnanimity to inaugurate such a transaction, and conduct it to a successful issue, would earn the guerdon of a name second to none upon the roll of the benefactors of mankind. He would have done more than all the speculations of philosophers and the dreams of philanthropists to give reality to those 'projects of universal peace' which have too long been deemed to belong to the commonwealth of Utopia."

Courage! ye advocates of Peace, who have spoken and printed, till now the echoes come back from the halls of legislation, and the great powers of the secular press. Your utterances are respected in cabinets, and proclaimed by a few of the mighty. Who that marks these evidences of progress, will regret the money and time he has spent in bringing about THE PACIFICATION OF THE WORLD? H. M.

We thank our friend for the above extracts, as well as for his comments, and would remind our readers that our publications have been for nearly half a century full of just such plans and arguments. Not only the points suggested by *Historicus*, but scores of others, may be found in volumes issued by us more than a quarter of a century ago, and republished in England and on the continent of Europe. We may well thank God, and take courage, to find more and more of such proofs as these, that the seeds so long sown in *seeming* general neglect, are likely to yield in time a rich harvest of good.

COMPETITION IN IRON-CLADS. — It is amusing, if it were not so terribly serious in its results, to see the eager, anxious, feverish, competition in naval preparations for war. We had made no *special* preparations in this respect before our late rebellion; but the exigencies of that conflict evoked such an amount of scientific and mechanical ingenuity as seems, in this matter, to have put us at once in the van of the world. England, France, and other countries had been for some time at work in multiplying and perfecting these floating hells of war; but America is now admitted to have distanced them all. "The English," says one of our journals, "have backed down squarely in regard to their iron-clads. The new monster, Hercules, was launched recently; but as she is a broadside ship, and can carry only three days' coal, nobody has any faith in her. The *Times* now comes out fairly in favor of the American turret-system, and calls upon the Admiralty to build *scores of such vessels*." And what does this advice mean? It means an expenditure of five or ten million dollars on every one of these "scores of such vessels." At this rate, how long would it take, in the rivalry of such enormous expenses, to beggar every government in Christendom?

WAR CAN BE ABOLISHED. — Tell me not of impossibilities when human improvement is the theme. Nothing can be impossible which may be effected by human will. See what *has* been effected! An attentive reader of history must perceive that the gradual improvement of his own condition upon earth is the inextinguishable mark of distinction between the animal man and every other animated being. Yet this animal is the only one in the visible creation who preys upon his kind! The savage man destroys and devours his captive foe. The partially civilized man spares his life, but makes him his slave. In the progress of civilization, both the life and liberty of the enemy vanquished or disarmed are spared; ransoms for prisoners are given and received. Progressing still in the paths toward perpetual peace, exchanges are established, and restore the prisoner of war to his country, and to the enjoyment of all his rights of property and person. A custom, first introduced by mutual special convention, grows into a settled rule of nations, that persons occupied exclusively upon the arts of peace shall remain wholly unmolested in the conflicts of nations by arms. We ourselves have been bound by solemn engagements, with one of the most warlike nations of Europe, to observe this rule, even in the utmost extremes of war; and in one of the most merciless periods of modern times, I have seen, towards the close of the last century, three members of the Society of Friends, with Barclay's Apology and Penn's Maxims in their hands, pass, peaceful travellers through the embattled hosts of France and Britain, unharmed and unmolested as the three children of Israel in the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar.

“ War, then, by the common consent and mere will of civilized man, has not only been divested of its most atrocious, but for multitudes, growing multitudes of individuals, has already been and is abolished. Why should it not be abolished for all? Let it be impressed upon the heart of every one of you, impress it upon the minds of your children, that this total abolition of war upon earth is an improvement in the condition of man *entirely dependent on his own will*. He cannot repeal or change the laws of physical nature; he cannot redeem himself from the ills that flesh is heir to; but *the ills of war and slavery are all of his own creation* JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1837.

DESTRUCTIVENESS OF RAIDS. — It is difficult to conceive the amount of property they must have destroyed. It seemed a slight affair if less than \$100,000 was wasted or robbed; and sometimes they reached several millions. The damage done by Gen. Averill in one of his raids was estimated at more than \$5,000,000; and Gen. Grierson, in one of his plundering and devastating excursions, was reported, we believe, to have destroyed, in all, more than \$10,000,000. Some of these estimates were doubtless exaggerated, but the sum-total must have been an amount of loss, havoc, and devastation from which it will take at least one generation to recover.

GOSPEL OBSTRUCTED IN INDIA. — How can we expect the gospel to prevail in India so long as we set at defiance all its precepts of charity, forgiveness, and mercy? What hope can there be of convincing the natives of the purity, morality, and heavenly origin of the Christian faith, as long as the Indian press is breathing fire and sword against the people of India, and reviling their government because it does not permit a dragonade against the Hindoo and the Mahomedan? There are some here who seem to think that we, the English, in India, are the bearers of this ark of the Covenant, and that our mission is to smite the Canaanite, hip and thigh, from the morning to the setting of the sun; to go forth and spare not; to hurl down every idol, and to force every Mahomedan — he has no idol to overthrow — to abjure his faith; but heaven has not given us power for this mission, nor did we come into the land proclaiming ourselves the chosen people of the Lord, who were to deprive the heathen of their inheritance. Others there are whose brains have been affected by Thomas Carlyle, and who preach a Puritan crusade, who believe that Oliver Cromwell was the true type of an Indian legislator, and who would apply to all our subjects the same recipes which had such singular success in converting the people of Ireland, at Drogheda and elsewhere, from Roman Catholicism to the faith of the Old Testament. — *Mr. Russell, the Times India Cor.*

WAR-WAY OF SPREADING THE GOSPEL. — An English war-ship (Curracoa,) cruising on the South Pacific, some time ago, shelled some villages, near where it had been lying, as a punishment for the alleged ill-treatment of sailors and missionaries. No less than twenty-six natives were *ascertained* to have been killed. The English missionary, Bishop Patterson, on board his missionary schooner, accompanied Admiral Wiseman a part of the time, and fully approved this indiscriminate, wholesale massacre.

What a way of converting heathens to a religion of peace! Yet nearly all Christendom have silently tolerated, if not loudly applauded, just such outrages upon ignorant, defenseless pagans. It is thus that nearly every nook and corner of paganism was for ages either shut against the Gospel, or filled with such prejudices as neutralized its saving power, and made its progress very difficult and slow. The military power of Christendom, on which so many Christians have seemed to rely very much for the spread of Christianity, has been, on the whole, a serious hindrance, almost everywhere, to its progress in its true, saving efficacy. The apostles spread it in its full power in *spite* of the sword, not by its use or protection.

CONNIVANCE AT CRIME. — We are hardly aware how far a wrong or dormant public sentiment, not only tolerates, but implicitly sanctions and abets both vice and crime. Thus persecution, knight-errantry, and duelling continued for centuries in the most enlightened and virtuous

countries of Christendom to receive general sympathy and support. So demoralized had public opinion become in England, that John Newton remained, after his conversion, commander of a slave-ship, apparently without the slightest compunctions of conscience; and even after he became a preacher of the Gospel, he consoled himself by saying, as he does in his autobiography, "it was *always* deemed a *genteel* employment!" He even went so far as to enumerate some of the advantages he derived from that infernal business as special means of grace; and had not the labors of such men as Clarkson and Wilberforce brought the trade effectually under the ban of public opinion, he might perhaps have gone down to his grave with as little self-reproach as our own slaveholders did for ages, and his example have been quoted by our Tract and Sunday-school societies in justification of slave-trading, as they now publish the memoirs of Col. Gardiner, Capt. Vickers, and Gen. Havelock, to glorify the custom of war, or at least to prove how compatible this legalized trade of human butchery is with our religion of peace!

NEW PEACE PERIODICALS. — We are glad to notice the fact that, since our last issue, two journals devoted to our cause have been started, the *Herald of Peace*, at Chicago, Ill., and the *Bond of Peace*, at Philadelphia, both sustained chiefly by Quakers. We rejoice in such proofs, that the Friends, so long and fairly entitled to take the lead in this cause, are waking anew to its special claims upon themselves. We hope they will not confine their efforts to their own church or society, but will spend them mainly upon persons outside of their communion, where they are far more needed. Indeed, we think it should be a chief part of their mission to leaven thoroughly all other denominations with the true principles of Peace. If they will undertake this in earnest, they will bring all Christendom, if not the whole world, under large and lasting obligations to them.

☞ The Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society, for business, will be held at the Society's Office, 40 Winter Street, Tuesday, May 26th, at 3 P. M. Of the public exercises, due notice will be given at the time in the daily papers. W. C. BROWN, *Rec. Sec.*

P. S. It is expected, that, at our coming anniversary, there will come up for discussion some practical questions in which our members and friends will be likely to feel a special interest. From JUDGE UPHAM, our Commissioner, in 1853, for the adjustment of claims and difficulties that had been accumulating for forty years between ourselves and England, we have an account of that effort, so entirely and signally successful, to settle, by peaceful means, international disputes, and this, along with the larger and more perilous controversy born of our late rebellion, will call up for discussion some of the chief measures we urge for superseding all appeals to the sword.

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22. Views of War, by Robert Hall..... 4	Stebbins, D. D. 4
23. Early Christians on War, by Thos.	54. Grimke on Peace..... 12
Clarkson 12	55. War as a Judicial Redress..... 4
24. War Debts of Europe..... 4	56. War and Missions..... 13
25. Results of One War..... 4	57. Causes of War, by Jonathan Dy-
26. Neckar on Peace..... 8	mond 8
27. Peace Practicable..... 4	58. Moral Results of War, by J. Dy-
28. Substitutes for War..... 4	mond 8
29. Arbitration as a Substitute for	59. War Unlawful for Christians, by
War..... 8	J. Dymond, 24
30. A Congress of Nations..... 24	60. Efficacy of Pacific Principles, by
31. Extinction of War, by Hon. Josiah	Jonathan Dymond..... 4
Quincy 4	61. Rights of Self-defence, by Jona-
32. War Unchristian..... 12	than Dymond..... 4
33. Insensibility to the Evils of War,	62. War a Trial by Battle, by Hon.
by Dr. Channing..... 12	Charles Sumner..... 4
34. Claims of Peace on all Christians..... 12	63. True Grandeur of Nations, by
35. The only Remedy for War, by Dr.	Hon. Charles Sumner..... 24
Channing..... 4	64. Claims of Peace on Literary Men ..
A Sketch of the Cause of Peace..... 4	How to Aid the Cause of Peace..... 4
A Remedy for War..... 4	Requests to the Cause of Peace..... 4
Way to Peace..... 4	Peace Themes..... 4
Success in the Cause of Peace..... 8	Funds Necessary in Peace..... 2
Le Monde; or, in Time of Peace pre-	Money a Divine Trust..... 2
pare for War, by Hon. Amasa	Cause of Peace; Why no more accom-
Walker..... 24	plished..... 2
The System of Means in Peace..... 4	How to Prevent Rebellion..... 4


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THE *June 12*



ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

MAY AND JUNE.

CONTENTS.

Arbitration instead of War.....	63	The Cause in our own Country....	74
First Commission for the Adjust- ment of Claims.....	63	Peace Periodicals.....	75
Second Commission for the Adjust- ment of Claims.....	64	Our Publications.....	76
Claims Merged in, and Terminated by War of 1812.....	66	Our General Operations.....	76
Third Commission for the Adjust- ment of Claims.....	66	Review of the Rebellion.....	77
Commissions as to Boundaries.....	68	Agencies.....	78
General Remarks.....	68	Our Finances.....	78
Annual Report.....	70	Loss of Friends.....	78
Increased Interest on the Subject..	70	Our Civil War—its Moral Evils.....	78
Signs of the Passing Hour.....	71	Anniversary Proceedings.....	79
Preparations Useless.....	72	Letter from Mr. Coan.....	82
The Financial Results Ruinous.....	73	The Flag of Peace.....	84
Uprising of the People.....	73	A Glimpse of Camps.....	85
Indications of Success.....	74	Missionary Success.....	
		In China.....	87
		In India.....	88
		National Debts. — Gladstone's Views.	89
		Receipts.....	90

 See cover, last page. 

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THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MAY AND JUNE, 1868.

ARBITRATION INSTEAD OF WAR.

*Commissions for the Adjustment of Claims between the United States and Great Britain.**

BY HON. N. G. UPHAM, LL.D., CONCORD, N. H.

There have been, at different times, three several Commissions for the adjustment of Claims between the United States and Great Britain. We propose to give a brief account of them.

FIRST COMMISSION FOR THE ADJUSTMENT OF CLAIMS.—By the fourth article of the Treaty of Peace, entered into between these countries, on the 3rd of September, 1783, "It is agreed that creditors, on either side, shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted."

By the sixth article of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, entered into between these governments, on the 19th of November, 1794, it is alleged, that debts, to a considerable amount, *bona fide* contracted before the peace by citizens or inhabitants of the United States with British merchants and others, his majesty's subjects, still remained owing to them; and that, by the operation of various lawful impediments, since the peace, not only the full recovery of the said debts has been delayed, but the security and value thereof had become so impaired, that by the

* This comprehensive and very valuable article was kindly prepared at our special request by Judge Upham. — Ed.

ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the British creditors could not now obtain full and adequate compensation for the losses and damages they had sustained.

Provision was, therefore, made for the adjustment of these claims by a Commission, consisting of two Commissioners, to be appointed by each government, who were empowered to select a fifth, who should constitute a Board, whose sessions were to commence at Philadelphia, for the adjustment of all claims arising under said articles.

Further difficulties having occurred, in the settlement of these claims, arising from diverse legislation in different States, and difficulties in the construction and practical operation of their laws, the action of the Commission was suspended for a time, until by Convention of January 8th, 1802, a stipulated sum of £600,000, in three yearly annual payments, was agreed to be made to the British government in full adjustment of all such claims. — 1 *Laws United States*, 225 (ed. 1815); see, also, *President Washington's Message*, March 29, 1802, 10 *American State Papers*, 469 (ed. 1817).

SECOND COMMISSION FOR THE ADJUSTMENT OF CLAIMS. — By the seventh article of the same Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1794, a like Commission was provided for, to be holden at London, to make compensation to citizens of the United States, for illegal captures or condemnation of their vessels and other property under color of authority of commissions issued by his Majesty during the war in which Great Britain was then engaged with other nations; and also for the adjustment of claims against the United States for loss and damage alleged to be sustained by captures, made by such other nations, of British vessels or property within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States, or by vessels of such nations *originally armed in the United States*.

Under the very important provisions of this article, WILLIAM PINCKNEY, of Maryland, and CHRISTOPHER GORE, of Massachusetts, were in 1796 appointed Commissioners, on the part of the United States, for the adjustment of these claims. Two Commissioners were appointed on the part of Great Britain, and the four were to select a fifth Commissioner, the whole of whom were to form a Board having jurisdiction and a power of decision by a majority vote, in all cases submitted to them. The Commission entered upon the duties assigned them, in 1796, and were diligently engaged in their discharge, for the term of

eight years, until 1804, when the Commission terminated its labors. Their duties were arduous and laborious, and were ably and satisfactorily discharged to the great public advantage of both governments.

It is a matter of regret that no published report of the proceedings of the Commission was made. Some record of its proceedings, and the principal decisions, in manuscript, are on file in the Library at Cambridge, deposited there by Mr. Gore.

It will be seen that a portion of the claims submitted to this Commission were precisely of the character of those now made for the depredations committed on our commerce by the Alabama and other cruisers fitted out in British ports during the treasonable war made by the Confederates on this government.

A letter of Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, to the British Minister, dated September 5th, 1793, bearing on Article seventh, and defining what was held to be the reciprocal rights and duties of governments in such circumstances, was deemed so important as to be appended to the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, and made a part of its provisions.

In this letter, it is alleged that "measures were taken for *excluding from all further ASYLUM* in our ports, vessels, armed in them, to cruise on nations with which we are at peace." — 1 *Laws United States*, 221 (ed. 1815); 1 *American State Papers*, 165 (ed. 1817).

The Alabama was built and fitted out under various pretences, at Liverpool, to prey on our commerce, and, after all the facts were fully known as to her fraudulent evasion of the English neutrality law, she continued to receive "*the asylum*" of British ports and marked approbation and sympathy of British officials. They thus aided and abetted the work of destruction of a marauder, brought unlawfully into being on their own shores, with new comfort and efficiency, in her work of spoliation, while she had no home, or port of her own, where she could show her flag in safety.

It will be seen then, that, as early as 1794, difficulties of this kind were provided to be settled by Commission. It is now proposed, by this government, that existing claims be settled in the same manner. It has thus far been rejected by the British Government, except with conditions that have been deemed inadmissible, for their just settlement.

President Washington in his message to Congress of December 3rd,

1793, says, "he has caused prizes to be restored, taken by vessels, commissioned or equipped, in a warlike form, within the limits of the United States."—1 vol. *American State Papers*, 40 (ed. 1817).

CLAIMS MERGED IN, AND TERMINATED BY WAR OF 1812.—In unhappy contrast with this system of adjustment by Commission, new collisions and claims, from time to time, arose between the governments from orders in Council calculated greatly to impair and embarrass our commerce; illegal captures of American vessels; impressment of seamen, &c., which, in 1812, culminated in war, and were merged and forfeited under the results of such collision, after great loss of life, and expenditures of treasure.

THIRD COMMISSION FOR THE ADJUSTMENT OF CLAIMS.—Again, from time to time, for a long term of years, captures and condemnation of vessels on the coast of Africa; and of fishing vessels in the vicinity of the British Provinces; lawless proceedings in Oregon and in various quarters of the globe; assessments of duties in violation of Treaty stipulations through ignorance of their true effect, or disregard of the same; controversies as to vessels driven into British ports by stress of weather with slaves on board, and the numerous grievances likely to occur in the conflicting intercourse of two great commercial nations, had arisen.

At length, after all other modes for the settlement of these difficulties had failed, a Commission was entered into for their adjustment on the 8th of February, 1853. The jurisdiction of the Commissioners extended to all cases remaining unsettled, which had been presented to either government for its interposition with the other, since the signature of the Treaty of Peace, on the 24th of December, 1814; and such other claims, subsequent to that time, as might be presented to the Commissioners within six months from the day of their first meeting, thus extending the term to March 15th, 1854, a period of forty years in all. These claims were to be impartially and carefully examined by the Commissioners "according to their best judgment," and their decision was to be a "full, final, and perfect settlement of every claim arising out of any transaction of a date prior to the exchange of the ratifications of the Convention." One Commissioner was to be appointed by each government, and the two were to name some arbitrator or umpire to act in cases in which they might differ in opinion.

The Commission consisted of NATHANIEL G. UPHAM, of New Hampshire, on the part of the United States, and EDMUND HORNBY, of London, on the part of Great Britain. They met at London, on the 15th of September, 1853, and after various conferences, on the 31st of October agreed on JOSHUA BATES, of London, as umpire. JOHN A. THOMAS, of New York, was agent of the United States, and JAMES HANNEN, of London, was agent of Great Britain, to present the claims made in behalf of their respective governments.

Many of the cases submitted had been the subject of laborious investigation, and frequent discussion in Congress, and had been argued, with eminent ability, by Messrs. Everett, Stevenson, Bancroft, and other American Ministers to Great Britain, and by various members of the British ministry, through a series of years, without a satisfactory result; and this Convention was entered into for the adjustment of these claims, with the belief, as expressed in the Convention, "that their settlement would contribute much to the maintainance of friendly feeling between the two countries."

The Commission was closed on the 15th of January, 1855; and Congress and Parliament early made appropriations for payment of the several claims in behalf of the citizens or subjects of either country against the other, in conformity to the awards of the Commissioners.

Those gentlemen most conversant with the troubles and difficulties attending these claims, have expressed in strong terms, their views as to the importance of this result. Mr. Buchanan, then minister to England, in his letter addressed to Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, at the close of the Commission, dated London, January 26, 1855, states that "the Commission for the settlement of outstanding claims between the United States and Great Britain had just terminated," and that "the relations, which the instructions from the Secretary had established between himself and the American Commissioner and the agent rendered it proper for him to express an opinion of the manner in which these gentlemen had performed their duties."

"This," he says, "is a pleasing office; because it would scarcely be possible for any individuals to have discharged these duties in a more satisfactory manner. The business of the Commission was conducted with much ability, as well as indefatigable industry and perseverance. The action of the Commission will be a great relief to the two governments. All the claims of the citizens and subjects of each, on the

government of the other, which had been accumulating since the date of the Treaty of Ghent, in 1814, and had given rise to so much diplomatic correspondence, have happily now been decided, and can no longer become subjects of discussion. These claims, in number, exceeded one hundred, and, in amount, involved millions of dollars. The sums actually awarded were about six hundred thousand dollars, of which the American claimants will receive considerably more than one-half."—*See Records of Commission, p. 4.*

It is believed the results of the Commission have been equally to the relief and satisfaction of both governments. A Report of the principal decisions in these claims and the documents connected with it, was published under a Resolve of the United States Senate, passed March 3d, 1855, making a volume of four hundred and seventy-six pages.

COMMISSIONS AS TO BOUNDARIES. — Various Commissions have been had for defining Boundaries agreed on by Treaty; such as determining the Head Waters and Central Line of the River St. Croix; the head sources of the Mississippi; the Line, along the Highlands, between the United States and the Canadas, and farther West to the Pacific; and the present Line defining the relative rights as to the Fisheries along the British and American coasts. Adjustments of this character sustain the principle of friendly reference and arbitration, and manifest its value in the settlement of national difficulties.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The brief notice we have given of the settlement of Claims between two of the principal governments of the nations, will show the advantage in similar circumstances between enlightened Governments.

War is a barbarism, and every thing tending to avoid any supposed necessity, or assumed occasion for its existence, should be strenuously inculcated. Times may now and then arise, when owing to long oppression, a huge crime, like slavery for instance, continued without hope of national repentance, may be thrown off by some great convulsion, marked, in all its features, as a judgment of God. So it may be, perhaps, where peoples of the same kin and language have been cut up into little feudal principalities, and have been domineered over and controlled by foreign and alien powers, until, by a common effort, they have hurled their oppressors from them, and have become reinstalled in

the bonds of a common kindred and country. Such cases may form exceptions against the influence of any power we may be able to exert; but it is not so in the ordinary cases of controversy arising between nations. These can be settled by commissions, arbitrament, mediations, or other means than war. It would be a reproach to religion, civilization, and humanity, if it were not so.

The present seems to be a very favorable time for special efforts on the part of the friends of Peace. There is a cessation of actual bloodshed. But public sentiment should be aroused to a point deeper than this.

If war, in its extremity, does not exist, all through Europe the burdens of the war-system hang upon the people with a crushing weight. It is hardly a figure of speech to say, that the great armaments of Europe constitute perpetual war. What shall be done by the friends of Peace in such case? Is it not our duty to move against this organized battle-array, as part and parcel of war, until it assume some proportion to its actual necessity?

Formal addresses to the rulers of Europe will be of little avail. The sure remedy is the general enlightenment of the people on this subject. When Cobden and his associates demanded the repeal of the corn laws, they went to the people; and when the people of Europe demand a just and proportional reduction of the warlike armaments of its different nations, it will be done.

Any one people, that should take the lead in its fraternizing addresses to another for this end, or any one ruler of Europe that should demand a speedy and earnest attention to this subject, would go far in ensuring its success. Had Louis Napoleon, instead of including in his call for a National Congress the consideration of the Papal question, called a Congress to consider solely or chiefly the question of a just and proportionate reduction of the forces of the nations of Europe, he would have struck a chord in the public mind no ruler would have dared long to neglect.

The friends of Peace have every encouragement to hope on, and energetically work on, by every just means to secure the great end of Peace. Now is the time to abridge the means of war, so that the labors of all may tend to the work of production, rather than destruction, and the blessings of Peace may be so enhanced that war shall become an impracticability.

ANNUAL REPORT.

It may well seem strange, that a cause confessedly so good and important as that of Peace, should have called forth so little interest and support. For more than half a century has it been before communities reputedly Christian, that applaud its aims as vastly important, admire its spirit as eminently Christian, and approve in the main its principles as true, and its measures as wise. The custom it seeks to do away, everybody deplores as an evil hardly second to any other in the world's history, the climax and concentration of human folly and crime, mischief and misery. For more than four thousand years it has prevailed all over the earth; and now near the close of this nineteenth century in the Christian era, it still continues its malign influences throughout Christendom, as her chief crime and curse.

There seems, indeed, a strange delusion on this subject. While deploring the custom, every nation still clings to it as the sheet-anchor of its safety. Even professed followers of the Prince of Peace go for the most part with the multitude, and so far ignore the principles and promises of their peaceful religion, as to preserve little distinction on this question between themselves and men of the world. While religion, humanity, patriotism, liberty, common sense, all the great interests of mankind, plead trumpet-tongued against this master sin and scourge, it is still allowed, with little resistance or rebuke even from our best men, to continue with more vigor, on a vaster scale, and with a far larger outlay of science and skill, wealth and moral power in lands nominally Christian, than in those unblest with the light of the Gospel.

INCREASED INTEREST ON THE SUBJECT. — Thank God! such inconsistencies cannot continue forever; and already is the process begun, though so little heeded now by the million, which will one day lead nations to beat their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and cease from learning war any more. This cause of God and Humanity is beginning to attract more attention, and to call forth more effort for its advancement. At no time, indeed, has it ever been without some proof of progress; and for more than half a century has it borne its faithful, unfaltering testimony against this great evil. Its success, however small as yet, in comparison with the magnitude of its aims, has nevertheless been much greater than could have been expected from the pittance of means hitherto employed; and when means fully adequate to its exigencies shall be furnished by Christian communities awaked at length to its vast importance, we may calculate on its rapid progress to a signal and glorious triumph.

Courage, then, ye pioneers in this cause. Let patience, faith and perseverance have their perfect work. Hope on, hope ever; your time

for victory, however long delayed, will assuredly come at last. Wait and work on, nor ever dream of giving up the bark that floats such millennial hopes of our race. Hold on your march under the banner of the Prince of Peace, and keep step to the music of the angels over the manger of Bethlehem. Stand firm to your colors. You hold the moral Thermopylæ of the world's glorious future; and here, God grant you may have strength to stand, and beat back that flood of evils, those pagan barbarisms, those gigantic forms of crime, mischief and misery, which, under the name of war, have so long overwhelmed the whole earth. Bide your time; and fear not, doubt not. You may die unhonored; but your cause shall live; and when the custom of war, so long the chief terror and scourge of our race, shall have given place, as one day it must, to peaceful, Christian substitutes, to laws and courts for the settlement of disputes between nations, as now between individuals, future generations will look back with gratitude to the first half century of this cause as the starting-point of a social reform, the most comprehensive and important that the world has ever witnessed.

SIGNS OF THE PASSING HOUR.—On this subject, the signs of the times are variously significant. The last year or two have seen some strangely conflicting developments of governments on one side, and of peoples on the other. The rulers of Europe in particular seem more bent than ever on a suicidal rivalry in preparations for war. While proclaiming a strong desire for peace, they have been, or are now, increasing their fleets and armies to an enormous extent. They betray a sort of mania, a military epidemic far worse than cholera or plague. Well do the progressive journals there complain of being “overwhelmed with *militarism*.” Apparently alarmed by the success of Prussia with her needle-gun, in her decisive triumph at Sadowa over Austria, the governments of Europe, by increasing their troops, and perfecting their warlike implements, are straining every nerve to keep themselves in the fullest, largest possible preparation for war.

We are startled at the figures reported. Prussia is to have an effective force of 1,250,000 men, France about as many more, even bankrupt Austria a million, and Italy, already up to her chin in debt, nearly an equal number, while Russia holds no less than 1,300,000, or 1,400,000 ready at call for any special emergency. Here are five governments that together are trying to keep some seven million men, the very bone and sinew of their prosperity, in constant readiness for the work of mutual slaughter and devastation.

How far the military epidemic may spread among other governments in Europe, we know not; but very probably they will all catch more or less of the general contagion. Even the Pope is said to be raising twenty-five thousand troops; and we shall expect, of course, to see Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, to say nothing of England, drifting, sooner or later, into the same maelstrom of ex-

pense for war preparations as the most urgent of all their necessities. If they should, the result will be the mustering of eight or nine million men, in readiness at call, for the wholesale butcheries of war, by nations professing the same religion of peace, and leading the van of the world's civilization and progress.

THESE PREPARATIONS USELESS. — What, after all, is the value of such immense preparations, as guaranties of peace and safety? The plea is, that they prevent war; but, do they, in fact? Are nations exempt from war in proportion to the completeness of their preparations for it? Let facts answer. The late WILLIAM JAY, a name preeminent in the annals of Christian patriotism, philanthropy, and reform, and remarkable for the accuracy of his statements, came to the conclusion, after a wide and careful collection of historical facts, that the nations of Europe, for more than two hundred years before the downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo, had been engaged in war very much in proportion to their ability to wage them. "From the commencement of the eighteenth century," he says, "Great Britain, France, and Russia have been the most formidable powers in Europe, while Holland, Denmark, and Portugal have ranked among the minor States. From 1700 to the general peace, in 1815, these countries have been engaged in war as follows: — Great Britain, sixty-nine years; Russia, sixty-eight; France, sixty-three; Holland, forty-three; Portugal, forty; Denmark, twenty-eight. Thus their wars have been pretty much in proportion to their military strength.

Nor is this strange, but just what we find in the experience of individuals. It is not the feeble, peaceful man, but the brawny bully; not the unarmed Quaker, but the man who carries his revolver and bowie-knife, that is the oftenest involved in bloody strife. Everybody knows this; and just so is it with nations. Nearly all rumors of war come from those which deem themselves best prepared to wage it with success. Their vast preparations for war are so many provocatives to war. Probably nine-tenths of the danger comes from this source. It makes Europe one immense powder-house, in which a single spark may set a continent on fire. There is, there can be, no real security for peace, but an incessant, universal fear of war as liable to arise at any time. The train is all laid; and any hand, either in malice or mistake, may apply the fatal torch. Her war-system makes all Europe one vast political volcano. Her peace is at best only an armed truce; and her governments must sleep with their armor on. A bugle-blast, or tap of drum may wake millions of warriors to a conflict that shall cover or convulse a continent. All is uncertainty and unrest, if not anxiety and fear. No political seer can tell what is coming; and sometimes the same month brings alternate promises of peace and forebodings of war.

THE FINANCIAL RESULTS RUINOUS. — This policy is working, with the certainty of fate, financial ruin to the governments of Europe. They must stop their present course, or they will all ultimately drift into hopeless bankruptcy. Their competition in armaments must necessitate a perpetual increase of their war expenses. Those of England have more than doubled in twenty or thirty years; and it was well said, at the time, that the triumph of Prussia at Sadowa would add \$250,000,000 to the war-budgets of Europe. What are her war-expenses now? Her war-debts are some \$12,000,000,000, the interest on which, at only four per cent, would be \$480,000,000. Her naval and military budgets amount to \$552,000,000, her interest on property employed in war to \$152,000,000 more, and her estimated loss of labor alone to no less than \$661,000,000. These figures, which are not random conjectures, but the result of careful, patient investigation, reach the astounding total of \$1,845,000,000 as the cost and waste of her war-system to Europe, even in a time of peace.

UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE. — Against this ruinous prodigality of the war-system, we cannot wonder that the people of Europe have at length entered a loud and vehement protest. Efforts on the subject had for some time been quietly in progress, especially in Holland, Belgium, and France; and about a year ago, on what was called the "Luxembourg question" between France and Prussia, it reached a degree of interest and power that attracted general attention. The people of the two countries, alarmed at the danger of war, held meetings to enter their protests and interchanged addresses in favor of settling all such disputes by peaceful means. Peace societies were organized, especially at Paris and Havre, with a large membership that included some of the most distinguished names in France. Like associations have been formed in Belgium, Holland, and some other countries. One has a central committee at Antwerp, with auxiliary committees at Berne, Geneva, Turin, Naples, Madrid, Alexandria, and other places.

We know not precisely how far these efforts have yet extended in the Old World; but such a spontaneous wide-spread uprising of the people on the subject is certainly a singular and very hopeful sign of the times. Nothing like it was ever before seen there, and should it continue with the promise of its beginning, we may hope for a sure, if not rapid, undermining of that war-system which now hangs, as it has for ages, like a mammoth incubus on the people. The pioneers in this work there will doubtless meet many formidable difficulties, some of them peculiar to that continent; but we trust they will have courage and faith, zeal and patience, sufficient to surmount them all, and will hold on their course without faltering till they reach at length a decisive triumph.

INDICATIONS OF SUCCESS.—We see already some special pledges of success in this movement. One is, the interest spontaneously taken in it by the periodical press. We cannot say how far the popular progressive journals of Europe have favored this movement, but we have learned the names of not a few among the most influential that have given it their sanction and active support in France, Belgium, and Holland. We presume the same is true of like journals in Germany, Switzerland, and other parts of Europe.

Along with these journals, scientific associations are taking up the subject as one of great practical interest. The Social Science Association of England, in particular, has begun to investigate and discuss its manifold bearings on the welfare of society. At an annual meeting of the association in England, some time ago, one of our ablest lawyers, present on the occasion, read an elaborate essay, embodying some of the practical views which the friends of peace have long been laboring to diffuse. Such discussions are multiplying; and the last month we found in the London *Herald of Peace*, a very able paper that had been laid before the Social Science Congress in London, on "*Standing Armies*, especially their influence on the industrial, commercial, and moral interests of nations." Even the London *Times*, always careful not to go ahead of general opinion, is beginning to endorse and circulate similar views. Thus is the leaven of our cause gradually pervading, more or less, the whole civilized world, and diffusing facts, principles, and influences that must, in time, undermine the war-system, and supersede it with peaceful expedients far better for all purposes of either justice or safety.

THE CAUSE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.—We did hope that the collapse of our rebellion would lead at once to a spontaneous interest in our cause much wider and deeper than we had ever witnessed. In this we have thus far been disappointed. The war-gangrene had, in four years of bloody conflict, struck too far into the public mind to be cured so soon. It could not at once recover the better tone of preceding years. Nor did the sheathing of the sword really end the struggle. It only gave place to another sort of conflict that has ever since kept the public mind stretched on tenter-hooks as truly, if not as intensely as in years of siege and battle. There has been no real suspension of the old conflict of mind, nor ever can be until the long-pending controversy between Freedom and Slavery shall be finally settled and settled aright. When that will come, we know not, but hope it may soon; and when it does, we may expect our people, after their terrible experience in the rebellion, will spontaneously take on the question of Peace an interest far deeper than ever before.

Meanwhile we see slowly increasing around us omens of hope, and proofs of progress. Prejudice and misconception respecting our cause

created or intensified by rebellion, are gradually relaxing, and yielding to a more favorable consideration of its claims. The pulpit and the press are beginning to lend their vast, ubiquitous influence in favor of our cause. Clouds, many and dark, still lower over it; but we can discern at length the dawn of a brighter day.

We think, indeed, that the results it has already reached in our own country are by no means fully appreciated. Because it did not prevent our rebellion, an evil outside of its sphere which it never undertook to prevent, not a few strangely concluded it must be a failure. As well might we complain of the Temperance or the Missionary cause for not averting that rebellion. It was outside their sphere. Its prevention or suppression was the business, not of the Peace Society, but of Government. When our principles shall pervade and saturate the public mind, they will, as one of the incidental results of our cause, render such evils morally impossible. Even in this case they have doubtless exerted a silent influence far beyond what is generally supposed. Without such influences could so huge and atrocious a rebellion have been crushed in some six hundred battles with so little malice or bitterness, with so much forbearance and kindness, not one rebel yet executed for his rebellion, nor a single act of wholesale confiscation passed? How different from the treatment England gave ages ago to her own rebels at home, or a dozen years since in India. How unusual, too, the close of our rebellion. An army of nearly a million flushed with a signal triumph, leaving half a million comrades buried in rebel soil, yet sent at once back, without a murmur, to their former peaceful pursuits! Did the world ever see the like? What secured so safe and speedy escape from such perils? Had the war-spirit and war-habits of other times and countries prevailed here, should we meanwhile have kept peace unbroken with all other nations? Our escape from perils so manifold and imminent is due, under God, very much to those peaceful influences which have for more than half a century been silently permeating and leavening the mass of our people.

PEACE PERIODICALS. — Not only have some of our old presses begun to renew their former utterances in favor of peace, but we find several recently established for the express purpose of advocating its claims. Even in South Carolina, where rebellion was hatched, a weekly paper, called the *Christian Neighbor*, is now published, that frankly and earnestly pleads our cause, and opposes all wars, disclosing in its columns an amount of pacific sentiment that we little expected to find in any part of the South. Nor is this a solitary case; we have lately learned, strange as it may seem, others in rebeldom. Several Christian sects, like the Mennonites, Moravians and others, issue as their organs periodicals that advocate openly our views. We need not say this of the Quakers, to whose periodicals, the *Friend*, and the *Friends' Review*, has lately been added another, called the *Herald of Peace*,

started at Chicago last January. It is a denominational journal, and used as the organ of those special efforts which the Friends have recently undertaken to give a wider and more effective diffusion of their well-known "Testimonies against War." Nearly all their Yearly Meetings united in raising the first year ten thousand dollars to be expended under a joint general committee in diffusing the principles of peace by the press, by lectures, and in various other ways. It is too early to predict the result; but we shall be disappointed if this special effort does not give a new and marked impulse to our cause. God speed the effort, and incline them to extend it where most needed, outside of their own denomination, among those who have scarce begun as yet to embrace their views of peace. In Philadelphia, the *Bond of Peace*, a monthly sheet, has recently been started to advocate our cause.

Of the more radical movements lately revived, we need not speak. Of such movements we say now, as we said of them when first started by the "New-England Non-Resistance Society," in 1838, that the men engaged in them we regard as fast friends of peace; and we shall rejoice in whatever aid they may render towards our great object, the abolition of war, while we abstain from endorsing extreme views likely to create unnecessary prejudice to our cause, and thus obstruct its progress.

OUR PUBLICATIONS. — The public mind, when once roused on this subject, will find the elements of a Peace Literature ready for its use. Our Society, when its bureau was removed in 1837 to Boston, had only one or two stereotyped tracts; but it has since published six volumes — one an octavo of more than 700 pages on a Congress of Nations, two Reviews of the Mexican War of some 350 pages each, of which more than 30,000 copies were circulated, and three smaller popular volumes, besides eighty-seven tracts stereotyped, chiefly duodecimo, and eight or ten octavo, some of them large enough to make quite a volume.

Here are instruments enough to set our whole country at work in this cause. We have in these an ample storehouse of facts, statistics and arguments; and what we now need is a wide circulation of these documents, with the living voice to enforce them. The way on our part is well prepared to start a grand, ubiquitous agitation just as soon as the public mind shall be ready for the work. We cannot do it ourselves; the great public, the Christian Church and her ministry in particular, must do it. Means are just as indispensable in this cause as in any other; but hitherto not a tithe, scarce a hundredth part of what is needed, have as yet been used. There ought to be an average of at least one man to superintend this work in each State, and keep the facts and arguments of our cause before the people in every city, town and hamlet.

OUR GENERAL OPERATIONS — have been during the year very much as usual, but on a somewhat larger scale, in issuing our periodical, the *Advocate of Peace*, and circulating new editions of our smaller tracts.

Of the former we have published several thousands every month, and given them a pretty wide circulation through the land.

The use of the Periodical Press, our chief instrument from the first, has come to be, and it must continue to be more and more, a great power in setting the public mind right on this subject. We have always sought to enlist it as widely as possible in the advocacy of our cause; and during the year we have sent our periodical to nearly a thousand of our most influential journals.

To our *Young Mens' Christian Associations*, also, we have begun to send our *Advocate of Peace*. Looking on them as our country's hope in the coming ages, we are anxious to bring this great practical question before them; and for this purpose we are now sending it gratis to some 300 of these associations.

To *Ministers of the Gospel*, also, a select number among the forty or fifty thousand in our land, we forward our organ in the hope of thus enlisting them in its behalf. They have great power, more than any other class, to aid our cause, and might, if they would, and would if duly roused on the subject, educate the mass of the rising generation in the principles of Christian peace. They are, or should be, our chief allies and coworkers; and we seek to aid and stimulate them in this part of their ministerial work by sending our periodical to a select number. For the same reason, we send it, as we have long done, to our *Higher Seminaries of learning*, especially our colleges and Theological Schools. The young men in these institutions, while on their way to their future professions, or other spheres of influence, ought to have before them the various aspects and bearings of such a question as this.

What use has been made of the publications thus circulated, we know not; but we may reasonably hope that some seeds of truth will be found to have fallen on good ground, and will in time bring forth more or less of Christian fruit. For that we must trust God. If such men cannot be reached and influenced aright, few, if any others can be; and as this cause of God and Humanity must, in fulfilment of his clearest, most glorious promises, yet go hand in hand with his gospel of peace through every Christian land, and ultimately over all the earth, we ought, whether now in success or failure, to hold on in our work till our power to work shall end in the rendering up our account to our final judge, himself the Prince of Peace.

REVIEW OF THE REBELLION. — The friend who offered more than a year ago *Five Hundred Dollars* to aid in procuring and circulating such a review, has not withdrawn his offer; but the public mind still continues in such a state of excitement and conflict about what shall be done with our late rebels, that it has been thought best to do nothing on the subject until the community shall be in a calmer and kindlier mood. We devoutly hope that may come soon; but until it does come, our richest

pearls of truth might be worse than wasted. Sooner or later, however, a right review of this strange and terrible episode in our country's history, will furnish a most powerful argument in favor of our cause, as all its evils came from war usages, war principles and war habits.

AGENCIES—have not been extended beyond the services of our Corresponding Secretary, a single lecturer now in the field, and some appointments for circulating our publications. We have been negotiating for several others that are much needed; but our success must depend on the means attainable for their support.

OUR FINANCES — continue very much as the last year — receipts, \$3,184.69; expenses, \$3,047.33; leaving in the treasury, \$137.36.

LOSS OF FRIENDS. — Among those lost during the year, such as JOSEPH B. COLLINS, New York; THEOPHILUS E. BEESLEY, M.D., Philadelphia; GEORGE SHEPARD, D.D., Bangor, Me.; SAMUEL BOYD TOBEY, M.D., Providence, R. I., we ought to make special mention of ISRAEL W. PUTNAM, D.D., who lately died at the venerable age of 82, in Middleborough, Mass., a member of our Society nearly from its origin, and who had been a life-long intimate friend of its founder, WILLIAM LADD.

OUR CIVIL WAR — ITS MORAL EVILS. — It was perhaps as terrific, for the numbers engaged on each side, as embittered by malignant passions and as destructive, for the time it lasted, as any history has recorded; and we fear it has been equally as prolific of evil, and that its moral taint is as traceable throughout the community as that of any war that has preceded it. The daily papers teem with accounts of murders, robberies, and arson, in astounding numbers, and perpetrated under circumstances which show that the lessons of cruelty and dishonesty, learned in the camp, and on the battle-field, are not forgotten amid scenes of more peaceful life. Aside from the recital of deeds which shock the moral sense of all, the general tone of the press is not such as gives ground to believe there has been much change for the better in the opinions or the pursuits of the great body of the people. There is no little boasting of the power of the United States, much congratulation on the success that has crowned the efforts to subdue the rebellion, and glowing predictions of the future wealth and power of the great republic. Gigantic schemes for the development and accumulation of wealth, are urged almost constantly on the attention of the people, and much is written to excite their cupidity, and stimulate the unwary to embark in adventures, doubtful as to their intrinsic honesty, as well as their ultimate success. Material prosperity is held up as the principal good, the grand goal toward which the multitude is taught to struggle; but little is ever said inculcating the necessity for amendment of life, to remind the nation of the punishment it has suffered, because of its disregard of the requirements of the religion it professes, or to cherish a sincere and practical observance of the great truths inseparable from that religion.

ANNIVERSARY PROCEEDINGS.

The American Peace Society held its Fortieth Anniversary, May 26, 3 P.M., at its rooms, 40 Winter Street, Boston. In the absence of its President, Hon. AMASA WALKER, one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair, and Prof. ALPHEUS CROSBY chosen Recording Secretary *pro tem*. The Treasurer's Report, which had been duly audited, was presented and accepted. Messrs. Angier and Eastman were chosen a committee for the nomination of officers for the ensuing year. The Annual Report of the Directors was laid before the Society by the Corresponding Secretary and adopted. On the recommendation of the nominating committee, the officers were elected in the usual form for the ensuing year. See last page.

The subject of the condition of the burial-place of the founder of the Society, WILLIAM LADD, was introduced by Mr. Charles Tappan, and, after remarks by Messrs. Tappan, Beckwith, Leavitt, Trask and the President, in which it was shown that the Society had at the time taken prompt measures to render all due honor to the memory of its founder, the subject was referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Beckwith, Tappan and Walker, for such action as the case might seem to demand.

The following series of resolutions, which had been offered, was then read by the Recording Secretary and adopted, after which the Society adjourned.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That the distinctive object of the American Peace Society, vast as it is, is eminently simple and practical: viz., *to prevent war, and secure peace among nations*; to prevent war with its untold woes, to secure peace with its inestimable blessings.

2. *Resolved*, That thinking men, however they may differ upon incidental or theoretical points, must recognize this object as a *truly good one*, as one that ought to prevail, and, for the best good of the world, *must prevail*, and as one which, to the extent of their ability, they are bound to help forward. The cause of peace is the cause of Christianity; and it is intimately related to every other good cause. War has been a great promoter of intemperance, licentiousness, profaneness, irreligion, disorder, crime, disease, orphanage, want, oppression, despotic government, slavery, — may we not say, of every form of evil and sin? The friends of every other good cause, then, should rally round the cause of peace.

3. *Resolved*, That the American Peace Society, imposing no test upon its members, not engaging in theoretic disputes, entangling itself with no sect or party, but welcoming the cooperation of all, whether they say *sibboleth* or *shibboleth*, who sincerely desire the prevalence of peace, exemplifies signally the great principles upon which it is founded, and offers a most unexceptionable channel for the onward flowing of the united efforts of Christianity, patriotism, and philanthropy.

4. *Resolved*, That there has been no period in the whole forty years of the Society's history, which has held forth stronger motives, or presented more abundant opportunity and encouragement for exertion in its cause, than the present. The especial time for activity in its behalf is the lull after the tempest of war; when the clash of arms no longer drowns the "still, small voice" of peace, and when yet the recollection of the evils of war is too fresh to permit the community to be indifferent to them.

5. *Resolved*, That special efforts should now be made for increasing the membership of the Society; for the formation of auxiliary or fraternal associations; for obtaining larger pecuniary means of usefulness; for adding to our publications and their circulation; for employing a more extended personal agency; for securing, in all the treaties of this nation with others, an express stipulation for friendly arbitration in all cases of difference which cannot be mutually adjusted; for inducing our Government to exercise in all its intercourse with other nations an influence in favor of peace; for direct appeal to other Governments, so far as proper opportunities may occur; and for action by all feasible and appropriate means upon public men and the general mind, both in our own and in other countries, in favor of the principles and measures of peace.

6. *Resolved*, That the late Titanic conflict in our country, though believed by most of the members of the Society not to come within its immediate scope, as not being a war between nations, but a struggle respecting national existence and the prevalence of government, not differing in its principles, but only in the vastness of its scale, from struggles which are daily going on between the officers of government and evil-doers, yet illustrates remarkably the evils of war, in its profuse bloodshed, in its multiplied and intense sufferings, notwithstanding unprecedented efforts for alleviation, in the voice of lamentation arising from almost every home in the land; in its interruption of industrial pursuits; in its individual bankruptcy and oppressive burden of national debt; and in the tumultuous surgings of a hostile, revengeful, and defiant spirit, that still agitate our beloved country, and will not "down at the bidding."

7. *Resolved*, That no efforts should be omitted by the friends of peace in England and the United States to secure a pacific solution of the questions which have arisen between the two countries in consequence of civil commotions in each. Any other solution would be fratricidal madness, a burning and indelible stigma upon the Christianity and civilization of the Nineteenth Century.

8. *Resolved*, That the late invasion of Mexico by European powers, culminating about the time of our last meeting in the ignominious execution of the foreign ruler forced upon this unfortunate State, but leaving behind a long series of evils to the nation, the end of which cannot be discerned, while it calls for our special sympathy towards a suffering people, holds up to the world a signal warning against the wrong and evil of the warlike intervention of one nation in the internal affairs of another.

9. *Resolved*, That the vast and unexampled increase of military preparations throughout Europe during the past year, indicates that the time is rapidly approaching when the burdens of the war-system will be found so enormous and oppressive that the people, no longer able to endure them, will demand an entire change of policy in regard to military armaments, or a political necessity that can neither be evaded nor postponed.

10. *Resolved*, That the people of Europe have given more unmistakable evidence during the past year of their appreciation of the great evils of their military establishments and organizations, than in any preceding one, and of their determination to compel their governments to abandon a system as onerous and costly, as it is absurd and useless.

11. *Resolved*, That the new and active interest which the numerous and powerful Industrial organizations of Europe have distinctly manifested during the past year, in the cause of Disarmament and Universal Peace, give great encouragement to hope that the day is not distant when Labor throughout the world shall be forever emancipated from the terrible thralldom which the war-system has hitherto imposed upon it.

12. *Resolved*, That our own country has the better claim to plead with other nations for a general disarmament, from the example which she has set in the late disbanding of such vast armies, and the return of so many soldiers to pacific pursuits.

13. *Resolved*, That the interests of the civilized world demand, and would now safely allow, a reduction of international armaments to the lowest point that may suffice in each country to enforce its laws among its own subjects, thus discarding the war-principle of blind brute force in the settlement of disputes between nations, and employing for the purpose only such peaceful expedients as those of negotiation, arbitration, or some system of international justice and security.

14. *Resolved*, That we regard with great satisfaction the large extension of the franchise in England made within the last year, as being favorable to the reduction of military expenditures, and preservation of peace; and we also look with much pleasure upon the recognition of the principle of universal suffrage made both in France and Germany within the last few years, as conferring upon the people a power which cannot fail to be exercised in behalf of the cause of universal peace.

15. *Resolved*, Finally, that the great Christian law of doing unto others as we would have others do unto us, of loving our neighbors as ourselves, and of not rendering evil for evil, but overcoming evil with good, apply as truly to nations as to individuals; for nations are only individuals aggregated.

N. H. — I consider the Peace cause second to no other in some important respects, and think the hearts of all ministers (himself one) and people should be in it. I have been considering the subject more deeply of late, and have thought of lecturing on the subject in the school district, and have strong hopes of awakening an interest ere long. I have already circulated some tracts you have sent me, and . . . ought not to call upon you for more. * * I enclose my own annual subscription of \$2.00, and would gladly quadruple it, if my circumstances would allow. Prayer and effort is the most that I can do at present, but hope to be enabled yet to do something in my feeble way.

Another friend in N. H., also a minister, in forwarding his \$2.00, gives a touching reference to his "only son and child who perished in the Salisbury prison, N. C.," and adds that he "is no less a friend of Peace."

LETTER FROM MR. COAN.

G. C. BECKWITH, D.D., SECRETARY, &c. : —

My Dear Brother, — I am happy to acknowledge your esteemed favor of October 9th. It was, indeed, a long time since we had interchanged letters. I had waited for a letter from you; but was surprised at the length of time since our last. Surely, all things have wings.

But although I have not written, I have not forgotten the cause which you advocate with such patient earnestness. It is the cause dearest to all intelligent, right-minded Christians; dearest to angels, and dearest to our Lord. A pure and heavenly peace, established in righteousness, is that for which our Redeemer died, and it is the inalienable legacy which he gives to all the redeemed: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you." It is only by "the peace of God which passeth understanding," that the "hearts and minds" of Christians are kept from tumult, strife, and all the shameful and bitter conflicts which pain and distract the men of this world. That those who have never felt this peace should have "bitter envying and strife," that they should, under irritation, "bite and devour," and "be consumed one of another," is what all history and observation prove.

But it is *not* Christlike or gracious, that God's own dear children should thus feel and act; or that they should in any way countenance or encourage these "unfruitful works of darkness." That so many ministers of the gospel, so many professed Christians, should directly or indirectly countenance war, as a national educator, as an element of glory and greatness, or as a *necessity* even, is a strange fact. We may well fear that Christendom, as a whole, has lost one of the simplest and purest elements of Christian education, and that "the disciple" takes a higher seat and assumes more wisdom than "his master." I think there is no evidence that our great Teacher and Saviour ever taught, as many of our modern preachers and Rabbis do on this subject; and I feel safer and happier at the feet of this Divine teacher than under any other instructor. The great "Prince of Peace" was a law-abiding and law-upholding character. He upholds right, and puts power into the hands of rulers to avenge wrong and protect innocence. On this plain principle, our Society cannot condemn our federal government for putting down an unprovoked, unscrupulous, and remorseless rebellion.

But that such a rebellion should have been *possible* in a country so enlightened and professedly so Christian as ours, is amazing. It shows a vast and awful deficiency in the moral and religious training of our people. Few believed such an unparalleled catastrophe, such a diabolical onslaught, to be possible; yet it came. From an almost cloudless sky, on a serene day, a storm of "hail and fire, mingled with

blood," burst upon our land. A tempest, a cyclone, of wrath swept over the nation. The bloody hoof of rebellion trampled on all that was sacred in altar, constitution, law, moral sentiment, and domestic happiness, and scattered with ruthless ferocity its billions of material treasures to the winds and the flames. Under the furious tread of war, the whole land trembled, and the nation surged like the great ocean in a tempest. God has brought us up out of this sea of blood, and fire, and sorrow, bruised, mangled, bleeding, with a load of debt sufficient to crush almost any nation on earth.

Surely, we should learn a lesson from this sore and solemn experience. And this lesson should sound out from all our pulpits and presses, from all our forums and legislative halls, from all our stages and platforms, from all our schools of instruction, from all our associations, civil, political, literary, scientific, social, commercial and religious, and from every nursery in the land. The voice of the nation should rise and swell into one mighty thunder-note, and roll over every sea and land, in condemnation of the cruel, reckless, heaven-insulting system of war.

I read with great interest the "Advocate of Peace," and all articles wisely written on the subject of Peace. Whatever others may think, I am sure the subject has been handled carefully, thoughtfully, logically, and in a most earnest Christian spirit. Nor is it in the power of any man to bring arguments from social philosophy, from experience and observation, from all history, from true political economy, from the social polity, from the everlasting gospel of peace and love, or from the life and teachings of the Divine Founder of Christianity, to overthrow the premises, to break the chain of logical reasonings, or to avoid the conclusions of some of our most candid and intelligent Christian reasoners on the evils and wickedness of war, and on the way, the duty of avoiding it. Whatever some may think or say, all the advocates of peace were not born or educated in Utopia. Many of them are men who have lived in this war-cursed world, have contemplated *verities*, have seen, felt, and handled statistical *facts*. The baleful fires of strife and war they have searched. They have stood aghast in view of horrid pools, rills, and rivers of blood. The products of war — its wounds, groans, ravings, tears, ruins — have affected them; and in their attempts to gauge and measure the ruins and woes of war, material, social, civil, and moral, they have been over-mastered, confounded, and overwhelmed. The evils are so gigantic as to defy all human measurement, and the sins so deep, and dark and diabolical, as to stun the human soul with horror.

I have great fears that many of my dear brethren in the church and in the ministry do not give themselves time to read, and think, and reason, and pray candidly and earnestly on this awful theme. The subject is heavy and oppressive, and nature might wish to throw it off, and excuses are many and at hand. We all have much important work

to do. We must try to christianize the world, and leave war to rulers. It will, of course, cease in the millennium. I find it difficult, even here, to get Christians to read some of the most lucid, eloquent, and able articles on the subject; and I sometimes feel amazed at the apparent ignorance of, or indifference to, the arguments which so clearly show *how* this evil may be checked, and finally rooted out of Christendom. It *can* be done by arbitration or an international code and court of adjudication; and if the Pulpit and the Press would candidly and patiently take hold of it, and all Christians who profess to believe that war is a great curse and calamity, would unite in prayers, counsels, petitions, and other wise efforts to discourage the savage, bloody system, this moral power would roll, like a vast wave of mercy, over the nations, washing the earth from its blood, and filling it with the fruits of righteousness and peace. Will not the clergy and the conductors of our presses take hold of the subject in earnest? It is a simple and natural duty, and such service can do no harm, while it may dry up fountains of tears, staunch rivers of blood, and quench continents of fire.

Hilo, Hawaii, Sandwich Islands, Dec. 27, 1867.

THE FLAG OF PEACE.

The day, that maketh all things new,
 The day of truth and grace,
 From out the heavens the banner threw,
 The flag of red and white and blue,
 To bless the human race.

The day, that maketh all things bright
 With liberty divine,
 Pluck'd from the heavens the starry light,
 And in the red, the blue, the white,
 Bade it forever shine.

O banner fair! O banner free!
 The red, the white, the blue!
 Unfurl to every land and sea
 Thy morning stars of liberty,
 And life and hope renew.

O good, and beautiful, and true!
 With mission all divine!
 Farther than Roman eagles flew;
 With wisdom Athens never knew;
 The last, great word is thine.

Say, that the work of blood is done;
 Proclaim, that wars shall cease;
 And shine, as when the smiling sun
 From storms his rainbow flag hath won,
 THE WORLD'S BRIGHT FLAG OF PEACE.

T. C. H.

A GLIMPSE OF CAMPS:

OR, THE HIDDEN HORRORS OF THE WAR-SYSTEM.

When we hear "the horrors of war" spoken of, our imagination naturally flies to such scenes of suffering as are incident to a state of *actual* warfare, to the battle-field strewn with mutilated and groaning wretches left there for hours, weltering in blood and writhing in anguish and despair; to the hospitals where, as on the Bosphorus during the Crimean war, "miles of agony," to use the terrible phrase of an eye-witness, are stretched in one unbroken line of the wounded, the diseased, and the dying; to the state of siege, where women and children are pining piecemeal in the dreadful death of famine, amid bursting bomb-shells, and crashing roofs, and flaming houses; to the hold of a ship after a sea-fight, where surgeons with their arms dyed in blood to the elbow, and surrounded with amputated limbs, are still cutting and carving in hope to save; and to many another scene of a similar nature, where the effects of "man's inhumanity to man" are so shockingly displayed. But few comparatively are aware of other horrors connected with the war-system, rarely spoken of, and indeed, altogether unspeakable, for they are such scenes of mingled vice and misery, as it is not possible to lay bare to the public eye without revolting that sense of decency which we are wont to plead in bar of revelations of this nature.

The entire organization of the war-system tends to foment vice. It is the ordinance of God that men should live in families. That, next to religion, is the best safeguard for virtue, and the noblest discipline of humanity. It is quite impossible to calculate the salutary effects on the moral character of the community which flow from womanly influence, exerted through the various relations of mother, wife, sister, daughter, cousin, friend, to restrain from what is evil, and to stimulate to what is good, to humanize, to elevate, to refine, to purify. But the institutions of war are framed in direct violation of this great ordinance of God. It takes large bodies of men, of young men in the flush and heyday of passion, often from the least reflective and disciplined classes of society, and masses them together in a constrained and artificial community, from which every trace of family life is excluded. It places them, moreover, in circumstances and under conditions the most unfriendly that can be conceived to the maintenance of virtuous habits; for it consigns them to a life, which is saved from being a life of idleness only by a coerced attention to a system of exercise, in which it is scarcely possible for any human being to feel any sustained interest. Col. Lindsay, in giving evidence before a Royal Commission on the Army, a few years ago, says of the soldier, "Perhaps no living individual suffers more than he from *ennui*. He has *no employment* save his drill and his duties. These are of a most monotonous and uninteresting description, so much so that you cannot increase them. In consequence

of the nature of his position, the soldier has necessarily a great deal of idle time on his hands; and of course, if he is idle, it naturally leads him to mischief."

And then their very association together under such circumstances, the comparatively innocent with the thoroughly depraved, tends more and more to corrupt the whole mass; and we fear that, as a rule, the whole mass is corrupted to a degree that we have little conception of. Every now and then certain facts which transpire in spite of official reticence, give us a glimpse of such a state of things existing in our army and navy, as may well horrify and appal every Christian mind.

The writer refers, as an illustration, to a recent series of letters in the *London Pall Mall Gazette*, on a camp at Curragh, near Kildare, Ireland, where live on an open common some sixty abandoned women, "from seventeen to twenty-five years old," in ten miserable huts called "nests," an average of six in each. These "nests have an interior space of about nine feet long by seven broad, and the roof not more than four and one-half feet from the ground. You crouch into them as beasts crouch into cover; and there is no standing upright till you crawl out again. They are rough, mis-shapen domes of furze, like big, rude birds' nests. Often bitter winds drive across the common, and sweeping rains for days and weeks together, and miles of snow-covered plain sometimes lie between this wretched colony of abandoned women and the nearest town. These bush dwellings get crazy; they fall towards this side and that; they shrink in and down upon the outcast wretches that huddle in them. The nest is nothing but a furzy hole, such as any wild beast might watch for comfort anywhere. In them these women sleep, cook, eat, receive visits, and perform all the various offices of life. If sick, there they lie. There they sometimes lie in child-bed, and there they sometimes die."

The correspondent, who actually crawled into their nests, says, "I verily do believe that the whole world contains no spectacle of degraded humanity so complete as these degraded women present when they come home in roving groups from their *hunting grounds* drunk" (i. e. from meeting the soldiers). "Their flushed faces, their imbruted eyes, their wildly-flowing hair, their reckless gestures, and above all, their strong voices competing in the use of the most hideous language that depravity ever invented, make such a scene as can be matched nowhere under the sun. There was a common look, shocking to see, of hardened depravity, the look of hopeless, miserable, yet determined and defiant wickedness. Yet this scene of degradation below the level of humanity, and, we may almost say, below the beasts that perish, is a part of an institution which Englishmen are wont to treat on all festive occasions with '*hip, hurrah*,' as one of the principal glories of our land." Establishments of the same nature grow as excrescences on all camps, barracks, and garrisons as certainly and inevitably as noisome and poisonous furze grows in dank soil and on rotten wood.

This leads us to another aspect of the question which it is very

difficult to touch. It is not the moral perdition merely of thousands of our young women that is one of the results of our military system. While scores and hundreds of them are killed off yearly in the most miserable of all ways, one effect of the hideous immorality of which they are at once the ministers and the victims, is, we are told, to fill the military hospitals with diseased and disabled soldiers. The *Gazette* says that "in the hospital of the Curragh *thirty-eight per cent* of its patients are recipients and disseminators of the most shocking and contagious diseases. This is the latest report, but not the worst of a long succession of reports. They are known to average *fifty per cent.*" — *Herald of Peace.*

MISSIONARY SUCCESS.

IN CHINA. — Mr. Yates, Baptist Missionary, speaking from twenty years' experience, said at "the week of prayer" in January, "that missions, so far from being a failure, were almost the only thing in China that had *not* failed. Diplomacy had failed; merchants had failed; others who had sought to benefit China had failed; but the missionary work had steadily advanced. Twenty years ago the neighboring cities could be visited only at the risk of life; today, missionaries may go freely wherever they wish throughout Shanghai and adjoining provinces; nor are they indebted to treaty stipulations for this liberty — the purity and morality of the religion they teach has won for them this respect. Rev. Mr. Muirhead, whose experience extends over a similar period, cordially endorsed what had been said, and spoke of 1200 converts in Shanghai and vicinity, who had made considerable attainments in Christian knowledge, some of them devoted and zealous Christians. Nearly all the churches in Shanghai had recently received additions, and many candidates were seeking admission. Several new stations have been opened in the country, and prospects were very encouraging."

We are glad, as friends alike of Peace and of Missions, to see such indications as these in China, supposed to contain some 400 millions of people, nearly, if not quite one-third of the world's population. The Chinese are a people remarkably pacific, and seem for long ages to have had few conflicts except with its own subjects; not international wars, but only rebellions like ours with our slaveholders. Should the Gospel in its purity and its genuine, peaceful influences, once gain a fair and full start among them, we may hope to witness a rapidity of progress and triumph quite unusual in modern missions.

We note one thing in this case as especially significant of good results, — the reliance of missionaries in China, not on the military power, or the diplomacy of nominally Christian governments, but on the truths taught, and the benign results reached under God by their labors. The success is clearly due to the Gospel alone, and may well

be taken as a reliable pledge of its steadily increasing progress. Christian Missions, planted under the wing of Christian governments, have relied far too much on their brute force, their fleets and armies, for protection, if not for moral success. All *such* success, as with Jesuit Missions in China and Japan long ages ago, must be precarious, if not suicidal in the end. The first missionaries of the cross, the Apostles and their immediate followers, had no such reliances; and their success came from their relying, not on any human arm, but solely on God, and the power of the Gospel they taught. No small part of its inherent efficacy has doubtless been neutralized in India by its identification with the wrongs and outrages inflicted on the natives by the British rulers of that country. The British Empire in India has been, in its rise and progress, a standing and glaring libel on the Christianity taught by its missionaries, an almost incessant and ubiquitous obstruction to its progress among the millions suffering from the cupidity and oppressions, the cruelties and crimes of men calling themselves Christians. It will take ages to efface the stains thus left on the mass of minds in India. So everywhere; and, while Christians should always carry the Gospel wherever the flag of a nominally Christian government is waving, it is suicidal for them to rely upon it for success in their heaven-appointed work. If they succeed, it must in most cases be not through but in spite of their agency or influence, in reliance under God solely on the moral power of his Gospel.

IN INDIA — “There are now 50,000 communicants. The attendance on the various Christian churches reaches at least 250,000. There are 204 native preachers.” We ought to be thankful for this degree of success; but is it not, after all, very meagre? England has had a foothold there for more than a century, and now rules, directly or indirectly, some 150,000,000 people. What is the Christian result? Only 50,000 professed Christians, and 250,000 hearers of the Gospel, both native and foreign, English and Hindoos. What a fraction of the whole! One Christian to 3,000 pagans, and one hearer of the Gospel, on an average to 600 people! Probably but a small part of the mere *increase* of the population. How long, at this rate, must it take for the thorough evangelization of India? Yet missions there have been on the whole a decided success; but, in comparison with the means used, not half so successful as the Cause of Peace, which has already accomplished in fifty years a larger *share* of its object than the missionary enterprise has of its work in ten centuries.

NATIONAL DEBTS. — GLADSTONE'S VIEWS. — In presenting his budget (1866), he gave some comprehensive statistics. “The British expenditure for last year was, for interest of debt, £26,233,000; army and navy, £24,829,000; civil service, including packet service, £10,250,000; and the collection of the revenue, £4,602,000. The expenditure of the year was £65,914,000, while the revenue was £67,812,000,

leaving a surplus of £1,800,000. Of the items of revenue, malt produced £6,410,000, and spirits the large sum of £13,950,000, or nearly seventy millions of dollars. He put the present national debt of Great Britain at £798,909,000, which is just about the point at which it stood on the breaking out of the Crimean war. Its highest point was, of course, at the close of the Napoleonic wars, when it was £902,264,000. He maintained that it is absolutely necessary that steps should be taken in earnest to reduce this debt as much as possible during this generation. He concurred substantially in the conclusions of Mr. Mill, saying, 'If our industry and enterprise proceed at the present rate, as it is nearly certain they will do, our coal, and with it our prosperity, will be exhausted within three generations; that decline, moreover, must long precede actual exhaustion; and that the commencement of that decline would probably be felt in a much shorter period.' He called the attention of the aristocracy and landowners to the fact, that the prosperity of England rests on land, movable capital, and labor; and that, in the case of a decline, capital and labor will be sure to go elsewhere; and that, in consequence, whatever remains to be paid or borne will take the form of a first mortgage on the land.

In the course of his exhibit, Mr. Gladstone gave the debts of nine of the principal countries of Europe, as follows: Holland's national debt is £85,000,000; Prussia's, £43,000,000; Russia's, £279,000,000; Austria's, £316,000,000; France's, 400,000,000; Italy's, £152,000,000; Spain's, £145,000,000; Portugal's, £33,000,000; and Turkey's, £51,000,000. A curious feature of these debts is, that, with the exception of Holland, Prussia, and Spain, they have been *increasing* at an aggregate rate of £61,000,000 per annum, during the last few years of profound peace. This is owing to rival armaments and a general mania for borrowing.

He also turned his attention to the debt of the United States, which he characterized as 'in itself something wonderful, as the creation of three or four years.' We will quote his own words. He says of our national debt: 'It amounts to £600,000,000, and the rate of its growth last year exceeded £200,000,000. That is a wonderful debt, and its charge is enormous. It is not possible, in the present state of financial arrangements in that country, to ascertain the charge with precision; but I believe I am not far wrong in saying, that it is considerably heavier than our own, although the capital is less. I estimate it at about £32,000,000; but, as the cost of raising the revenue in America is greater than here, I do not think the amount of the charge will be less — not including the Southern debt — than £35,000,000 per annum.

"Looking at these figures, a man would be apt to be struck with something like despair. But looking at the vigor and energy of the country which has to bear the burden, I must confess I think the future, as far as finance is concerned, will not constitute any difficulty to the American people. I am confident that, if they show, with

respect to finance, any portion of that extraordinary resolution which both sides manifested during the war, and if they show that equally remarkable resolution on the return of peace, which they did during their monstrous and gigantic war, in cutting down their establishments to within moderate bounds, I will not say, to use a modern phrase, that the debt will be a flea-bite, but that, in a moderate time, it will be brought within very small limits, and that even those now living may see it effaced. I believe that America is, at this moment, paying every one of her war-taxes; and the amount of revenue of the United States is, I apprehend, not less than £90,000,000, — the largest sum ever raised in a country for the purposes of a central government. Of this sum, only about £10,000,000 is borne impatiently by the people. The Finance Minister strongly urges the policy of reducing the debt; and I think we ought, from this side of the water, to send him our hearty good wishes for his success, both on account of friendly feeling, and because it is to be hoped that the example of America will react beneficially here.”

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ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT.

RECEIPTS:—

Balance from the last year's account.....	\$ 284.27
Receipts from the estates of William Ladd and Henry Dwight.....	430.00
Donations, collections, sales, and other sources.....	2,470.42

\$ 3,184.69

PAYMENTS:—

For rent of office, stationery, postage, etc.....	\$ 164.51
For paper, printing, stereotyping, and other expenses of publication.....	1,738.50
For agency services, and travelling expenses.....	1,117.41
For taxes, and advertising.....	26.94
Balance to next account.....	137.33

\$ 3,184.69


We have examined the above account, and find the items correctly cast, and all the bills properly vouched and receipted.


H. H. LEAVITT,
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Boston, May 25, 1868.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

We ask our friends to aid in circulating as one of the best services they can render to the Cause of Peace. Its cost, as now put, nearly every one can easily afford. Cannot every one now receiving it procure one or more subscribers? If he choose not to do this without charge, we will allow him fifty cents for every paying subscriber; and when ten or more are taken in one place, we will, for this volume, send ten copies for \$4.00. Less than the cost, but a good use of our funds. Can you not in this way get ten copies circulated among your neighbors, and at least furnish one for your pastor? An excellent way to help the cause. (See second page of cover).

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 **To all our Colleges, Theological Seminaries, and Young Men's Christian Associations,** we wish to send the Advocate gratis for use in their reading-rooms. To any not now receiving it, we will forward it on application.

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FORM OF BEQUEST. — I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge.  Be sure you give the Society its exact name, and have the will drawn in the way, and attested by the full number of witnesses required by the laws of your State, or the will may be broken.



THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

JULY AND AUGUST.

CONTENTS.

Cause of Peace in Europe.....	91	Speedy Success in Peace Possible..	100
European War Debts.....	92	European Preparations for War....	101
Common Sense Views.....	92	Patriotism.....	102
English Liberality to Peace.....	93	Our Rebellion.....	103
English Legacies to Peace.....	94	The Present State of the Peace Cause..	104
Moral Effects of the Rebellion.....	94	Pensions.....	107
London Peace Society.....	95	Peace Meeting at Paris.....	108
Loss of Friends.....	95	The Paris Press.....	109
Ordinary Operations.....	95	The London Press.....	110
Use of the Press.....	96	War and the Decalogue.....	111
Current Questions.....	97	National Retrenchment.....	116
Peace Congress.....	97	Effect of Disarming in Europe.....	116
Congress at Geneva.....	98	Banquet to Cyrus W. Field.....	117
Other Peace Associations.....	98	Militia Drills.....	118
Opinion in Europe.....	99		

 See cover, last page. 

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AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments.

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THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1868.

CAUSE OF PEACE IN EUROPE.

Our friends cannot fail to be interested in the facts we report in our present number respecting our cause in the Old World. On the continent, they are comparatively new, and in their results somewhat uncertain, but full of promise. The cause there is obviously in embryo, yet the germ of a grand movement, whose ramifications may, in time, cover and bless all Europe.

Our readers will observe several peculiarities in this movement. One is its remarkable spontaneity; another, its strictly popular character as the work solely of the people; and a third, the simplicity and directness of its aims as confined exclusively to doing away international war. It addresses itself to the single purpose of removing or mitigating this great evil, and without enquiring how each government shall deal with those of its own subjects who violate its laws, but treats all questions of this sort as lying outside the sphere of peace-reformers. Such has been our own course from the start, and those who would do anything to purpose in this cause, find, and always *will* find, that little or nothing can be accomplished in any other way.

We cannot well conceive how many difficulties the friends of our cause have to encounter in Europe. Not only do the great controlling influences at work around them set against them in a gulf-stream, but they are allowed few of our facilities for reaching the public mind. They cannot organize a society, nor hold a public meeting, nor establish a periodical for the advocacy of its claims, nor even publish a single article, without asking permission of the government. Under such circumstances, it seems quite remarkable that they should have accomplished so much as they already have. In England, our friends have facilities more akin to our own, and they are using them with much zeal, wisdom, and success. We commend their example to the

friends of peace here. Read the report of what they did the last year their labors and contributions. It seems that the London Peace Society last year had £4,284 sterling at its command, equal to more than \$30,000 of our money. A small amount, we know, for such an enterprise, yet large in comparison with what we have been wont to receive.

We trust such examples will stir the zeal of our friends here. We are anxious to attempt even more than our brethren in any part of the Old World are doing; but we cannot safely go much beyond the means we may have in hand, or in reasonable expectation. Still, we are venturing on an enlargement of operations that must tax the liberality of *somebody*; and we will hope soon for such a response as shall enable us to carry out what we have begun. We have recently issued some half a million pages in tracts or volumes, and are making arrangements to bring the cause more fully before the West, as well as the East, and ensure a much wider circulation of peace publications. Will our friends help us in these efforts? Certainly, we may now expect a great deal, especially from those who, during and since the rebellion, withheld their aid because so little was done. *Why* so little? Mainly because so many of its professed friends did nothing for it, except to croak. It must, of course, lean on its friends, and can do no more than they shall furnish the means of doing.

EUROPEAN WAR DEBTS. — These are all, or with very few and slight exceptions, debts contracted on account of war. England owes \$4,003,794,235. France owes \$2,340,029,890. Her debt has increased one hundred and thirty per cent in thirteen years, and increases yearly, while the population remains almost stationary. Austria owes \$1,316,103,201, and has increased her debt one hundred and eight per cent in eighteen years. Italy owes \$1,071,818,940, and her debt has increased in six years one hundred and fifty-eight per cent. Prussia owes \$245,766,593, and has lately spent much more than her income. Spain, with less than half our population, and not a twentieth part of our wealth or productive power, owes \$819,887,360.

COMMON SENSE VIEWS. — Franklin said he was inclined to think there *never was a good war or a bad peace*; and Jefferson avowed the belief, that war is an instrument entirely inefficient in redressing wrongs, and multiplies instead of indemnifying losses.

ENGLISH LIBERALITY TO PEACE.

Our coworkers in England have set an example worthy in most respects of all commendation, especially in the steadfastness, persistence, and unflinching zeal, with which they have adhered to it through sunshine and storm. They were obliged from the start to encounter a kind and amount of difficulties little known here before our rebellion. The war-system, the growth of long centuries, they found crystallized in the principles, habits, and usages of government and society, not only in England, but throughout Christendom. The Peace Reform arose as a bold rebuke of these, and was of course met with general contempt and scorn. All sorts of obstacles and discouragements, our brethren in England, as well as on the Continent, had to surmount; and with admirable fidelity, courage, and zeal, they have held on their way through them all, to a position that must in time command the respect and admiration of the whole world.

But we began with our eye upon a single point in their example — their *liberality to our cause*. We were looking, some months ago, over the list of their *monthly* contributions, reported in the *Herald of Peace*; and, with our experience of *American* liberality, we must own we were surprised at the result. One subscription of \$500, two of \$250 each, a third of \$125, a fourth of \$50, others of \$10 and \$5, and very few in a long list, less than \$2.50. The whole number *in a single month*, 154, with one legacy of \$250. We should also bear in mind, that these contributions in English currency are worth some forty per cent more than like sums would be in ours.

Is this an *exceptional* liberality? We think not, for every issue of the *London Herald* contains a like report of contributions from members of the Parent Society and its auxiliaries. The friends of peace there are wont to keep its treasury full *in advance* of its exigencies. At the close of every year, we usually find a balance, varying from £500 to £1,000, reported in its treasury, and this year nearly £2,000, a sum equivalent to nearly \$14,000 in our currency. Twelve or fourteen thousand dollars to *start* with upon a new year; twice as much as we ever had to spend in a whole year!

Nor is this all; such liberality is *habitual* and *reliable*. It is neither fitful nor temporary, but such that the men entrusted with the management of the cause, in forming their plans, can safely calculate on its continuance, and if necessary on its increase, to meet any special emergency. There have been several such occasions in the history of the London Peace Society; and its friends promptly met them all with a noble liberality. There have been two General Peace Congresses in London, and three on the Continent, besides a national one at Edinburgh, the expenses of all which were defrayed almost en-

tirely by the generosity of English peace-men. In one case, Joseph Sturge gave £500 ; and these congresses probably cost him alone several thousand pounds. This may have been an exceptional liberality ; but many others there have given sums that throw far into the shade the largest contributions we receive. With them it seems to be as much a matter of principle and habit to sustain the cause of Peace, as it is with Christians here to support the Bible cause, or that of Home or Foreign missions. They make it a part of their religion to aid this cause as they would any other enterprise of Christian benevolence or reform.

Here is the clue, in part, to the steady progress of our cause in England ; and until its friends in America shall meet its claims in like manner, we cannot hope for speedy or decisive success. Means are indispensable in everything ; and among these are funds, without which, little can be accomplished in this or any other enterprise. When will our friends bear this in mind, and cease from acting on the presumption that the great work in which we are engaged, the most difficult social reform ever undertaken, can be successfully carried on with a few dollars given by them once in five or ten years ?

ENGLISH LEGACIES TO PEACE. — Since writing the above, we find in the *July Herald of Peace*, a report of seven legacies the last year, varying in amount from £10 to £450, and reaching a total from this source alone, considerably larger than our entire income for any single year in the last ten years. This looks on the part of English friends of peace, like a real, reliable interest in the cause. We cannot repress a feeling of sadness at the contrast of our own experience ; for, with the exception of William Ladd's legacy, our Society has not from its origin, forty years ago, received in all its legacies so much as the single legacy above mentioned of £450 sterling. How long must our cause here continue to be thus neglected by its friends ?

MORAL EFFECTS OF THE REBELLION. — Few among us suspect, as yet, what a flood of moral evils the late rebellion brought, and is likely to entail upon our country. Governor Pease, of Texas, declared in his recent message that crime was never before as prevalent in Texas as at this time, and in proof of this, stated that the official returns from half the counties in the State showed that 2.06 homicides have been committed during the last six months, only a small number of which have been followed by any punishment.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

The late anniversary of this noble Society, long recognized as at the head of our cause through the world, we regard as the most encouraging it ever held. From its report, which was much longer than usual, full of facts and suggestions deeply interesting to every earnest friend of peace, we shall cull a few extracts.

LOSS OF FRIENDS. — Death has made sad havoc among some of its oldest and truest friends ; some of them men who had been in the Society's Committee for more than twenty-five years, and one a Vice-President, Edward Smith, of Sheffield. We think all these were Friends, trained in the principles of peace as a part of their religion, equally with repentance or faith, and consequently firm, reliable supporters of the cause ; men of means, character and influence. The loss of such it must be very difficult to supply. Another friend of the cause, much more widely known through the world as a man of science, died during the year, Sir David Brewster, "the President of the great Peace Congress held in London, in 1851 ; and ever from that time he was deeply interested in the question, and on several occasions, both publicly and privately, testified his faith in our principles, and his sympathy with our aims and efforts. On one of his last appearances in public, in addressing the professors and students of the University of Edinburgh, of which he was Principal, he delivered a powerful address, in which he denounced eloquently the military spirit of the age. 'On you,' he said, speaking to the large body of young men before him, 'who are to be the teachers of youth in the school and the sanctuary, lies heavily the duty of enforcing the great Christian precept, 'to live at peace with all men,' of checking that love of military adventure, and dispelling that *ignis fatuus* of national glory, which has so often accelerated the fall of the mightiest empires.'

ORDINARY OPERATIONS. — These operations have been carried on with undiminished and indeed with augmented diligence by a free use of the platform and the press. As regards the former agency, three lecturers have been almost constantly employed, with such occasional service of the same nature by the Secretary as his other duties would permit — Mr. Stokes in the Northern district, Mr. O'Neil in the Midland district, and Mr. Bonner in the Metropolis and elsewhere, with the special object of instructing the workmen in the principles and aims of the Society.

The circulation of Peace publications has been larger than in any previous year, and the attendance at the lectures more numerous than for several years past. In the large and populous towns of the North, there are debating societies, literary institutes, discussion forums, and similar collections of thoughtful and intelligent young men, who debate upon all the great questions of the passing day, such as the war question generally, capital punishment, the Abyssinian war, etc., etc., — and many are the applications made to furnish the young advocates of Peace and other right principles, with the means of meeting in argument the adherents of war and other corrupt practices.

There has been a large increase of interest in lectures and discussions on Peace. In former years, Peace lectures were chiefly asked for in large towns, or populous manufacturing districts; but lately, the spirit of inquiry on national and social questions has extended to the rural population. Many invitations were received, and some very successful meetings were held. Chapels or rooms were kept in readiness in case of rain: but it was found most suitable to meet in the open air, under the maypole or spreading chestnut tree, or on the village green. A wagon served for a platform, or the lecture was given from the carriage of some friend; and thus 400 or 500 persons have often been gathered to listen to sentiments they had never heard before, with great attention, and even with enthusiastic approval. Much interest and even surprise was shown when the various means were described which the Peace Society has proposed for the prevention of war, and the promotion of peace, such as non-intervention, arbitration, international congresses, and commercial treaties. The burdensome taxation caused by war and large armaments was fully dwelt upon.

It would seem that there must have been a pretty wide and thorough agitation of the subject among the people. In agricultural and manufacturing districts, the largest audiences were often gathered, and the lecturer was almost without exception besought to repeat his visit. It is a pity that such facts as have been laid before them should be new to them. Their ignorance of the subject is profound, a source of injury to themselves, and a discredit to the nation, especially to the Christian portion of the community. It is time that a sound, healthy opinion were created throughout the rural districts; and beyond doubt, the fruit of the addresses delivered and the thousands of tracts distributed in these districts, will in due season appear.

USE OF THE PRESS.—A larger use than during most former years. Besides a considerably increased circulation of the *Herald*, several special publications have been issued, to which an extensive circulation has been given. Among these may be mentioned one entitled *The Lessons of Fenianism*, intended to show, by the light of recent events, that the attempt to govern any people by penal laws or physical coercion is sure, not only to end in failure, but to set a dangerous example to the people themselves to have recourse to the same means to effect their own deliverance, or to avenge their own wrongs. A perception of this truth is slowly forcing itself on the rulers of the country.

A series of illustrated tracts, also, have just issued from the press. They are principally of a narrative character; and being written in studiously simple language, they may be of great service in arresting the attention and interesting the feelings of children and young persons. The aid of friends is invited in giving circulation to these little messengers of peace among the class for which they are designed.

Another method has been adopted in using the press. The Committee are well aware that any newspaper or magazine appearing as the organ of a society, or devoted to the advocacy of any special set of principles, must to a large extent be restricted in its circulation to the friends of that society or cause, and can with great difficulty be brought under the attention of that general public outside their circle which it is desirable, and indeed necessary, to convince before they can hope to secure a practical success for their object. The same remark holds true, though perhaps not in the same

degree, as respects tracts and pamphlets issued under similar auspices. With this conviction, the Committee have been long desirous of adopting some means by which they might give their views greater publicity through the medium of the general newspaper and periodical press of this country. With this object, they have recently adopted the plan of preparing short articles, paragraphs, statistics, items of information, etc., and sending them extensively to the journals and other publications which now appear in such profusion, and constitute so large a proportion of the mental food of our population. This experiment has been tried only for a few months; but, so far as it has gone, it has been on the whole very encouraging. Upwards of 800 communications of the nature described have been addressed to the periodical press, metropolitan and provincial. It is not accurately known in how many papers or magazines these have been inserted; but nearly forty, some twenty of them in London, are mentioned as having opened their columns. The sole object is to promote the public good by keeping before the people of this country, and, so far as they can, the people of all countries, a subject which is acknowledged to be one of unsurpassed importance in its relation to the moral, social, and commercial prosperity of nations.

CURRENT QUESTIONS. — Our English friends show how practical our cause is in their hands, by dealing with the questions that arise month after month in the intercourse of nations. They stand as on a lighthouse, from which they foresee coming storms, and try by timely warning and special efforts to avert, or to mitigate the evils likely to ensue. It was thus they treated the late expedition to Abyssinia, and another threatened into Afghanistan. "They have received several urgent communications from India, apprising them that a portion of the Anglo-Indian community are using every influence, straining every nerve, to push the Government on into another expedition to Afghanistan, on the old panic plea of resisting the progress of Russia in Central Asia. One might have thought that the utterly disastrous and disgraceful issue of the former invasion of that country, ending in the absolute annihilation of the invading force of twelve thousand persons, and the expenditure of seventeen million pounds of money, would have sufficed to deter even the most restless and ambitious from a repetition of the same folly. But it does not suffice; and therefore it behoves the people of England to place their interdict on so mad an enterprise before the first step has been taken. For ample experience proves that when once the country has been committed, by whatever rash counsels or headlong proceeding, to a policy of war and aggression in any part of the world, all remonstrances and complaints are vain. The *services*, like a horse that has got the bit between its teeth, will inevitably drag the nation after them, whithersoever they will. A pamphlet is now in the press on this subject, to try to rouse the attention of the British public to the necessity of taking action in the matter before it is too late."

PEACE CONGRESS. — The London Peace Society made strenuous efforts to secure an International Peace Congress in Paris at the time of the Industrial Exhibition there last year, but failed to secure the requisite authorization from the Government. They then issued an address of congratulation and encouragement to the Friends of Peace on the Continent of Europe, which was sent out extensively to individuals as well as to the journals of

different countries. Through a concurrence of untoward circumstances, it failed to obtain much publicity in France; but appeared in the Belgian, Spanish, and Dutch papers, in the latter very extensively, through the active zeal of Mr. Tiedman, of Amsterdam.

The Committee, with a view to see whether it was not practicable to hold a Peace Congress in Belgium, sent a deputation to visit Brussels. They received every kindness and coöperation from their old and tried friend, M. Visschers, and from many other influential gentlemen, members of the legislature and the press; but the same obstacle met them there as in France, in the fears of those high in authority. For it is a significant and painful fact, that those who are pressing forward in their respective countries enormous armaments as necessary to their domestic and foreign security, are unwilling to permit their own people to meet, and discuss, and pronounce any opinion upon this policy, although the armaments in question are professedly maintained in their interests and for their advantage.

CONGRESS AT GENEVA. — A Peace Congress, so-called, met last autumn at Geneva, but not in connexion with the London or any other Peace Society. Its promoters were "most respectable and intelligent men;" but with Garibaldi as its most prominent and influential member, it seemed, from its actions and utterances, to have been gotten up chiefly in the interest of Popular Liberty on the Continent. Out of this movement, however, sprang a new association, workmen of this country.

OTHER PEACE ASSOCIATIONS. — The Committee rejoice greatly that they can refer to other bodies in various countries now working for the same end as their own. Time was, and that quite recently, when, except the American Peace Society, theirs was the only association regularly organized and steadfastly laboring in the cause of International Peace. At present, there are several. Reference has already been made to that which originated at the Geneva Congress; but there are two others in France. One is called the *International League of Peace*, founded by M. Frederic Passy, and reckoning among its promoters some very distinguished men, such as M. Michel Chevalier, M. Arles Dufour, Baron Liebig, Mr. Charles Sumner, together with our old associates in the Continental Peace Congresses, M. Auguste Visschers, Mr. Joseph Garnier, and Dr. Varrentrapp of Frankfort. M. Passy, who gives himself with most disinterested devotion to the cause, published a very able pamphlet on the subject, large portions of which we have published in the *Herald of Peace*. This Society is preparing to issue a series of very valuable publications, under the general title of *The Peace Library*, which will comprise a reissue of the most important works on this subject which have already appeared from the French and German press, such as the writings of Erasmus, the Abbé de Sainte-Pierre, Kant, and Rousseau, together with original works from the pens of members of the League, among whom there are not a few able and distinguished literary men. The first of these has just been published, entitled *Les Guerres Contemporaines (Contemporary Wars)*, containing a most instructive statement of facts and statistics as to the enormous destruction of life and property occasioned by the wars waged in Europe and America during only the last fifteen years.

Another Society has been formed during the year at Havre, called the *Union of Peace*, principally through the initiative and exertions of M. Santallier, of that city. A few months ago, this gentleman published an

admirable pamphlet under the same title, which has been translated into different languages, and had a very wide circulation, the whole of it inserted in the *Herald of Peace*. Out of this publication grew the Havre Society. It numbers at present more than 7,000 adherents, "and it has," says M. Santallier, "centres of adhesion in many towns of France, in Germany, in Switzerland, in Italy, and in the French Colonies." The special object to which this body dedicates its exertions, is the preparation of an international code of laws; and a more important object it would be difficult to conceive.

If we turn to America, we shall find that one result of the terrible experience they have had in that country of the infinite evils of war, has been to stimulate to efforts in favor of Peace. A very significant indication of this is the fact, that in the South large numbers of persons show their abhorrence of war by joining the Society of Friends. This religious body also, *which always in England has constituted the backbone of the Peace enterprise*, has lately in the United States become actively alive to its responsibilities as respects this question. In November, 1866, a conference of delegates from various parts of the Union was held at Baltimore, "for the purpose," to use the language of the convening circular, "of considering the best method of promoting the efficiency of our testimony against war, and the propriety of inviting other religious denominations to unite with us in an effort to induce those in authority to settle national and international disputes without a resort to the sword." Seven of the Yearly Meetings have each set apart Committees, a Society called the "Peace Association of Friends in America" has been established, a subscription of 10,000 dollars is to be raised, and all means are being taken for an active and wide-spread propagandism of the principles of Peace. There is, also, increased activity in the American press on the subject, as appears by the fact that there have lately started into existence some half-dozen newspapers, which are entirely or mainly devoted to the promotion of the cause of Peace. Among these there is a *Herald of Peace*, *Herald of Truth*, *Christian Neighbor*, *Gospel Advocate*, etc.

OPINION IN EUROPE. — There are two conflicting currents on the question of Peace and War. Everywhere the people, groaning beneath the burdens which war imposes upon them, escaping more and more as they become enlightened from these old national prejudices which their rulers in past times turned to such profitable account for their own ambition, and drawn nearer to each other day by day by travel, commerce, literature, and social intercourse, are becoming penetrated with a sense both of the absurdity and the iniquity of the war-system. On the other hand, the governments, as if possessed by a hopeless spirit of infatuation, are plunging deeper and even deeper into warlike preparations, embarrassing their own finances, and exhausting the means of their subjects by calling out larger armies, building more formidable and costly ships of war, multiplying by the million weapons of destruction, and, not satisfied with these, they have got already, stimulating by every kind of emulation and reward, the invention of yet more deadly infernal machines, wherewith to afflict humanity, and desolate the world they profess to govern. It is perfectly obvious to unprejudiced observers, that however one sovereign or country may be singled out for censure, it is obviously a common madness in which all governments share alike, and almost equally. Nor would it be fair or honest, if we were not to acknowledge that England, far from being blame-

less in this matter, was one of the first to set that example of special rivalry in armaments which has marked the last twenty years. During that period it has delivered itself up to a series of groundless and ignoble panics, which has led to an immense development of our armaments of every description. Besides a large increase in our army and navy, which has nearly doubled our naval and military expenditure between 1851 and 1868, the militia was called out and embodied, the volunteer bodies of various kinds have been organized, and that enormous system of fortifications introduced which has already cost many millions of money, and will, if prosecuted, cost many millions more; but which our representatives in the House of Commons have lately, in a fit of penitence, declared were undertaken in a moment of panic, and are admitted by the highest authorities to be useless, or worse than useless, for the accomplishment of their professed object. "From all sides of the House," said the *Daily News*, "and from men at once scientific and practical, came this confession." The Peace Party steadfastly and strenuously, by all means in their power, from the platform and through the press, and especially by the mouths of those who represent their opinions in the House of Commons, have resisted this system of folly and extravagance.

SPEEDY SUCCESS IN PEACE POSSIBLE. — Success may be nearer than many imagine. We have had some remarkable illustrations of late in this country of the rapidity and even apparent suddenness with which public opinion has matured on questions of the highest importance in our social and political life. But this change is not so wonderful as it seems; for it is the effect of many years of patient and laborious toil, carried on by agencies which men in the majority, and even a large portion of our press, treated with studied neglect and disdain, ignoring or ridiculing their efforts as too insignificant to merit notice, until they were at once astonished to find that these despised instrumentalities have leavened the public mind with their principles, and generated an impulse which even they are powerless to resist. So it may be in the question of Peace. It may ripen rapidly and suddenly. Indeed, we may be quite certain that, in the conflict already referred to, between the policy of governments, and the desire and determination of peoples, the issue cannot in the long run be doubtful. The governments must yield on this point, as they have had to yield on other points, to public opinion, when that shall have learnt to express itself with sufficient emphasis and volume. For though there are numerous and formidable interests enlisted in defence of the War-system, there are also mighty, ay, mightier forces at work on the side of Peace. The spread of education and intelligence among the people is for us. The constant extension of international commerce is for us. The means of rapid locomotion, the tens of thousands of railway-engines and steamships that like gigantic shuttles are rushing to and fro over land and sea, weaving the nations into one, are for us. The growing power of the popular element in the government of all countries, is for us. The great heart and conscience of humanity, revolting more and more against the infinite absurdities and atrocities of war, is for us. The perception which is dawning upon many minds, that Christianity must be looked upon less as a system of dogmas, and more as a spirit of love and peace, is for us. And with all reverence be it spoken, we believe, deeply and devoutly believe, that the great God and Father of all, who hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell upon the face of the earth, and who *cannot* take

pleasure in seeing his children imbruing their hands in each other's blood ; yes, He who is, not the God of Battles, but " the very God of Peace," He is for us. And if God be for us, who can be against us ?

EUROPEAN PREPARATIONS FOR WAR. — Europe, says a Paris journal (*L'Opinion Nationale*), is ruining herself. If any one doubts it, let him read the last speech of M. Rouher. He would see from that, Italy could put on foot 900,000 men ; Austria, 1,200,000 men ; Russia, 1,400,000 men ; the Germanic Confederation of the North, 1,300,000 men. Adding to these 1,200,000 for France, we get a total of six millions of armed men, which does not include the contingents of England, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Turkey. Thus there can hardly be less than seven millions of soldiers in Europe. However, as the powers do not keep on foot the effective forces which they could raise in case of need, it is right to reduce these seven millions to about three, which do not cost less than six thousand millions of francs. This sum Europe annually expends for not making war.

The above statements are copied with some abridgment from the *N. Y. Observer*, a journal that, under the management of its founder, *Sidney E. Morse*, was a steadfast and reliable advocate of Peace, and used for years to contain one or more articles in nearly every number. We suppose it is now, as heretofore, one of our best friends on the list of our religious journals. However this may be, we quote it now as showing what the several hundred religious journals in our country could easily do, if they would, to serve the cause of Peace. One of them reports sixty or eighty thousand subscribers, and others down to thirty, twenty, ten thousand each. Suppose they average 10,000, or only 5,000, then two hundred such journals would issue one million every week ; and if read each by three persons, they would regularly reach three million minds, and be continually forming their modes of thought and feeling. Let them all unite in publishing an average of a single article, one-fifth or even one-tenth of a column long, in every issue, and do it with a hearty will, as if intent on promoting an object of vital importance ; and how surely, if not speedily, might they change the tone of public sentiment throughout the Christian community on this whole subject, and at length render war between ourselves and any other nation well-nigh a moral impossibility. Will not Christian editors more generally look at their responsibility in this matter ?

PATRIOTISM.

This is usually simply defined "the love of one's country," — a very vague and imperfect definition, and but little descriptive of the sense in which the word is commonly used; if it was intended to denote the sentiment, by which a person prefers the land in which he was born, to any other, as a residence; likes its peculiar climate, laws, customs and conveniences; or even cherishes that ideal affectionate attachment he feels for his dearest relations or friends, in a less intense, but more expanded degree; this would be in conformity to the definition, and is a natural sentiment, possessed by some of the worst as well as the best of men; has nothing of a moral character, and no merit or wrong can be ascribed to it. But the word is not commonly used in that sense; especially in political discussions; the sense which it generally conveys might more properly be defined "the pride of country," than the love of it; usually being understood to consist of a desire for its aggrandizement, fame and power, and a pride when it is deemed superior in those qualities to other countries. If this pride only assumed an eminence in intelligence, benevolence, integrity, and philanthropy; although we could not, even then, grant to such assumptions the character of a virtue; these qualities would be such as one might be innocently proud of; but unhappily these qualities in a nation, even if possessed, are disregarded; and the man who is lauded as a patriot, is he who is striving to augment its wealth, its extent of dominion, and especially its military power, by which it is to gain, not the affection but the dread and envy of other communities.

Such a patriotism as this, and as generally understood, is not sanctioned by Christianity; the universal brotherhood and unbounded philanthropy it teaches are in direct opposition to it; destitute of its light, all ancient nations cherished this self-estimating patriotism more intensely than is now done: the Greeks even considered all other people as barbarians; and the Jews held this claim to the exclusive favor of God, so strongly, that we cannot wonder at the hatred and contempt with which they have in all ages been visited.

In this arrogant delusion of nations; in this ever hostile, heathen patriotism, cannot the scripture doctrine of human equality be humbly discerned? True it is, and we may be thankful for it, that this Christian sentiment is beginning to be understood, even by statesmen; and political measures are taken to promote and secure it; but the inconsistency of legislation for equal private rights and harmony, in a community, and the denial of this equal estimation of nations, is not yet perceived: if you do not set the claims of your most depraved countrymen above those of the most estimable foreigners, you are not a patriot. If nations practiced to each other, the maxim enjoined on individuals, — "do unto others, as ye would they should do unto you," — much misery

and crime would be banished from the world ; and there is nothing but this heathen patriotism that forbids it.

We have legislators and men in other official stations, of the highest estimation, for righteousness of sentiment and life ; but, in their public debates, how completely is the idea of universal brotherhood lost ? How mournful, to hear the lips, which openly, and doubtless sincerely, express allegiance to the gospel of love, at the same time cast reproach on a brother Christian for his want of patriotism ; not perceiving that an avowal of this patriotism would be a sad violation of an essential doctrine of that gospel ?

Political patriotism has destroyed more human lives, demolished more peaceful dwellings, impoverished nations into deeper debt, generated more ferocious tyrannies, corrupted more virtuous minds into martial depravity, and diffused a wider extent of crime, than any interest or ambition of the human mind. Let all who would be real Christians expel it from their minds ! immerse it in the great ocean of universal philanthropy ! for until such a repudiation of it is everywhere made in the world, it is hopeless to look forward to permanent peace, justice or liberty : if you love your country for its rectitude and its beneficence, prize also with equal affection the wise and the good of other lands ! let your love of your countrymen be that of your race ! and although it is not possible or desirable, that you should esteem every human being alike, whatever may be his character, let not your affection be estranged from the kindred spirits of distant realms by the savage policy of political power.

J. P. B.

OUR REBELLION. — It seems that West Springfield, Mass., sent 208 men, more than one-tenth of her inhabitants (2,000), to suppress the late rebellion ; and of 44 who died, only three were buried in their native soil. A pretty fair specimen ; and at this rate, there must have been not less than 3,500,000 engaged on both sides of the conflict, and probably one-third of them all perished by battle, disease and hardship. The town also spent, in addition to the taxes levied by the General Government, more than \$50,000, more than \$25 for every man, woman and child ; an average that would make the sum-total of such incidental expenses reach the enormous sum of 875,000,000 dollars. If we reckon the five or six thousand millions which it must have cost the parties, and the hundreds of millions more which it wasted or wantonly destroyed, we shall reach a grand total, of not less than ten thousand million dollars !

You say all this was necessary ? If so, what made it necessary ? Both parties professed in common a religion of peace, and why did it not prevent such a world of evils and crimes ? The Gospel was meant to avert or cure them ; and why did it not do so in this case ? Where lies the fault, and how is it to be prevented in future ?

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE PEACE CAUSE.

Let us look first at some of its favorable aspects, and then at some of its difficulties and discouragements. Looking at home, it is impossible not to see that, on many points that have hitherto been strongly contested, public opinion is slowly but steadily drifting round to the views of the Peace Society. There are three or four subjects especially in which the members of the Peace party have, during the last twenty years, been at variance with the great majority of their countrymen, in regard to which it has been reluctantly and tacitly admitted on all sides that they were in the right, and the majority in the wrong. These are *the Russian war, the French invasion panics, the duty of British intervention in foreign and especially in continental quarrels*, and the necessity and efficacy of *large armaments for the security and peace of nations*.

1. In regard to the first of these, *we* have not forgotten, though many others have, or are trying to forget, that the Peace party resolutely opposed that war as unnecessary in itself, and as sure to prove abortive of all good results, while the great bulk of the people of England, under the inspiration of a bellicose press, not only declared that it was necessary and just, but that it was to become the fertile source of immeasurable good to Europe. But no one now is found to refer with any feeling of satisfaction or complacency to that murderous strife. After having sacrificed a million of human lives, and at least £300,000,000 sterling of money on the conflict; after carrying agony and desolation into myriads of homes; after having deranged commerce, disturbed credit, depreciated securities of all sorts to an incalculable extent; after having envenomed the heart of nations with malignant passions; after having given an enormous development to the military institutions of all countries, to remain as a lasting burden upon the peoples; if any one, after all this, asks the question, *Cui bono?* there is no answer to be given; or if any be attempted, it is in such stuttering and inarticulate accents as imply small faith on the part of the speaker in his own utterances. Indeed, many of our public men and journals, who were the open advocates of that war, have acknowledged, in the frankest terms, that they were mistaken. The results they expected have not been attained. The Turkish empire is not consolidated; the Turkish nation is not regenerated; the Christian subjects of the Porte are not emancipated, and are not contented; the Eastern question is not settled; the influence of Russia in that quarter is not destroyed; the kingdom of Poland is not reconstituted. In short, almost all the things that were anticipated, have not come to pass; while some things, which were neither anticipated nor desired, *have* come to pass, and so the conviction is coming slowly upon many minds, that, after all, the Peace people were right.

2. Another point on which we were compelled to differ from our countrymen, was the probability of a French invasion of this country, and the necessity of providing against it. It is difficult now to realize the state of feeling that existed on this subject twenty, or ten, or even eight, years ago. Without the shadow of a fact for foundation, with many facts and reasons and probabilities against it, the suspicion — we may say the conviction — had taken possession of the minds of thousands and tens of thousands of our countrymen, that our neighbors across the Channel were about to pounce upon our shores without notice, without a declaration of war; nay, indeed, without a dispute, or quarrel, or pretext of any kind; for, at the height of the panic, the governments of the two countries were not only living on the most amicable terms, but were cordially cooperating, sometimes in peace and sometimes in war. Well, the Peace party set themselves to deny the reasonableness of these cowardly alarms, and to condemn them as unjust and mischievous. For doing this they were most fiercely assailed, and denounced as unpatriotic, if not treasonable. But now, on this question also, most men are beginning to admit that we were right; that the panic was groundless, and hurried the nation into courses inconsistent alike with wisdom and dignity. Only two weeks ago, this confession was freely made on all sides in the House of Commons.

3. A third question was that of the duty of England to interfere in foreign politics, complications and quarrels. There was a policy called the "spirited foreign policy," of which Lord Palmerston was the great champion, which some years ago found great favor in the sight of a large number of persons in these islands. Its great principle was this, — that nothing should be allowed to go on in any part of the civilized world without England having a part and a lot in the matter. In private life, a busybody who meddles and makes in the affairs of his neighbors, in respect to which he has neither interest nor duty, is usually considered both a troublesome and a ridiculous character; and least of all, does any one dream of calling such conduct as that dignified, or likely to win for the man who pursues it either respect or influence. But somehow or other, our countrymen had persuaded themselves that what, by general consent, is held to be odious or contemptible in an individual, is the only worthy and honorable course for a great nation; and so they encouraged their Government to a mischievous activity in what did not concern them, sometimes in favor of revolutions, and sometimes of dynastic authority; but always diplomatising and protocolling, advising and remonstrating with, patronising or snubbing, every Government in Europe by turns, in such fashion as certainly we should not have tolerated from any government under heaven. The result was, not to increase the respect of others for us, but to make us everywhere suspected and disliked, and to bring us constantly into positions from which it was equally difficult to retreat or advance, though generally

in the last resort we had to retreat, and that often in a very shuffling and shabby manner. Against this system, the Peace party protested, and maintained that England could best serve the interests both of liberty and good government, not by thrusting its interference upon other countries, but by giving to other countries an example of liberty and good government. Well, on this subject both the Government and the nation are coming—indeed have already come—over to our side.

4. The fourth point respects the efficacy of large armaments for the security of nations and the maintenance of peace. For a long time, many very worthy people, who abhorred war as much as we do, nevertheless upheld the doctrine that the only way to be safe from attack was to be armed to the teeth, and the only way to preserve peace is to be prepared for war. In support of this, they were wont to cite a preposterous old Latin axiom, of apocryphal origin, *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, as though it afforded to their views “confirmation strong as proof of holy writ.” In opposition to this, we have held that security and peace are to be attained, not by increase of armament, but by decrease; because when one nation adds to its means of aggression or defence, it provokes, and in some sense obliges, other nations to do the same, and that the emulation thus generated must inevitably give rise to those feelings of mutual jealousy, suspicion and animosity, which lead to collision and conflict. Well, experience has of late years largely contributed to confirm our theory, and discredit theirs. While all the nations *have* been acting madly on the armed-to-the-teeth system, so far from enjoying any sense of security, they have been living in a state of constant disquietude and reciprocal alarm; while the prodigious preparations for war, which are to preserve peace, are so far from doing so, that they are the very things which, as every man in his senses feels, render the preservation of peace in Europe all but impossible. These convictions are gradually forcing themselves on men’s minds in all directions. And thus the views of the Peace Society on the various questions enumerated, after having been at one time branded as foolish and fanatical, are really beginning to be recognized as marked by truth and soberness.

So much for our own country. If we look abroad, it is impossible to doubt, in spite of the insane rivalry with which the Governments are pushing forward their armaments, that there are indications of a very hopeful nature, as respects the cause of Peace, appearing in many quarters. The popular literature of several European countries, notably so of France, is pervaded by a spirit widely different from that which formerly prevailed. Works of fiction, which paint war, not in its glorious, but in its grim, ghastly, horrible aspects, find welcome acceptance with the people, as proved by the numerous editions through which they run in a comparatively short time. The many Peace Asso-

ciations that have sprung into existence spontaneously in various parts, and without previous concert, show how strong and general is the sentiment against war that is fermenting in the heart of society. And this is all the more remarkable as, on the Continent of Europe, every conceivable obstacle and discouragement is placed in the way of such voluntary societies, by the action of the law and by the policy of the Governments. But more than all do we regard the movement that is taking place among the working classes in different European countries as significant and gratifying tokens of an awakening of the reason and conscience of the peoples on this question of Peace and War.

We have occupied so much of our time and space with the favorable aspects of the cause of Peace, that we cannot now dwell at any length on the other side of the picture. There are undoubtedly many influences at work which are unfavorable to our cause. We will now only briefly glance at a single one. It is the glory of the Peace Society, and in one sense, its weakness, that it stands aloof from all religious and political parties. It is its glory; for surely it is a noble thing to erect a platform on which men of all religious and political creeds may meet and work together on broad grounds of reason, justice and humanity. It is its weakness, because from this catholic nature of its principles and objects, it fails to enlist in its favor that feeling of sectarian and party zeal, which unhappily is far stronger in most minds than any considerations of reason, justice, or humanity. Among all religious denominations, whatever concerns the sect is regarded as of far greater interest and importance than any other object, however great, philanthropic, or Christian. Hence it is that we find men throwing themselves with wonderful zeal and zest into any project that is associated with the glory or success of their own particular body, whose minds can only be very faintly stirred on behalf of other enterprises, though they may involve the happiness of the whole human family. And hence also it is, that when the two come into collision, these broad claims of general humanity are sacrificed to sectarian preferences, without the smallest hesitation or compunction. — *London Herald of Peace.*

PENSIONS. — From April 1, 1861, to July, 1865, a little more than four years, 100,000 widows' claims, and 75,000 invalids' claims were sent for payment. In one month, 2,255 widows' claims were received and 1,948 invalid claims. These claims will continue for years; and the sum-total of what may be thus drawn from the national treasury, it is impossible to foresee. It is more than eighty-five years since the close of our revolutionary war, and we are not even now quite done with paying its pensions. At this rate, when are we likely to pay *all* the costs of our rebellion?

PEACE MEETING AT PARIS.

More than a year ago was organized in France the *International League of Peace*; and its first anniversary held June 8th, at Paris, was a meeting of much interest and promise. Jean Dollfus, Mayor of Mulhouse, presided; and among the persons present we find Hippolyte Passy, former Minister of Finance; Dèichtal, a distinguished publicist; Guérôlt, editor of the *Opinion Nationale*; Joseph Garnier, editor of the *Journal des Economistes*; Auguste Visschers, of Brussels; together with other distinguished names, a prominent Jewish Rabbi, Christian Ministers, both Protestant and Catholic, and such men from England as Edward Pease, Henry Richard, and Rev. James Davies, Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance. We copy a brief sketch of the proceedings, with some extracts from the Paris and London Press.

Founded a year ago, the International and Permanent League of Peace proposes to continue, principally in France and the neighboring countries, the work commenced since 1816 by the English and American Peace Societies. It held on the 8th June its first general assembly at Paris, under the presidency of M. Jean Dollfus, already well known to our readers as one of the most energetic and persevering defenders of the cause of commercial liberty. In a short but weighty speech, he reminded the meeting that war has, within fifteen years, cost to the civilized world 1,800,000 of men, and 50,000,000,000 of money. M. Fred Passy then presented an eloquent report, as to the moral and material condition of the new association. Its material situation is modest enough; but new adhesions reach it every day, and its resources gradually increase in a way which gives a good augury for the future. Already it has undertaken the publication of a *Bulletin*, and a *Library of Peace*; the first publication of which, "Contemporary Wars," by M. Leroy Beaulieu, has had a merited celebrity. Lectures have also been delivered by the general secretary, M. Frederic Passy, whose eloquent and earnest words have obtained in Belgium a success, of which many of our readers have themselves been witnesses. To M. Passy succeeded M. Aug. Visschers, President of the Peace Congress at Brussels in 1848, who presented, in excellent terms, an historical summary of the movement in favor of peace, in which he did justice to the persevering exertions of the English and American Peace Societies. Mr. Henry Richard, secretary of the Peace Society of London; M. Isidor, Grand Rabbi of the Jewish Consistory, and M. Martin Parchand, pastor of the Reformed Church, delivered fervid extempore addresses, which literally electrified the assembly. Let us add that all allusions to standing armies and wars of conquest called forth the most energetic demonstrations of approval from the large audience, which proved that the cause of Peace has made a real progress in public opinion. The meeting was altogether a good one; and if the League of Peace does not succeed any more than its predecessors, the Peace Societies, in preventing political cupidities and ambitions from setting Europe on fire, it will help at least in mustering the friends of Peace, and in organizing, if not for the present, which, alas! seems to belong to the needle-guns and the chassepots, at least for the future, a real "war against war."

THE PARIS PRESS. — "It is not merely in our own day that Peace societies have been founded in the various countries of Europe; but we may with good reason assert, that at no preceding period has there been presented a more favorable opportunity for the action of these persevering organizations, or a better chance of success for these continuous efforts of philanthropic persons for the preservation of peace. Never, indeed, has war appeared to be at the same time less improbable and less tempting than at present. It is at this moment the subject of apprehension to all Europe; but it no longer possesses the power of disguising the calamities with which it threatens us, under the aspect of a grand idea or a generous sentiment. It now exhibits itself as more murderous, more completely furnished with destructive appliances, and, it may be added, as more brutal and more merely mechanical and savage, than it has ever before appeared.

"In former periods, war was, as it were, the standard-bearer of principles of political renovation or national independence. This is no longer the case; but whilst war is now stripped of every pretext and every excuse derivable from the ever sacred principles of patriotism, it presents itself as more threatening and more disastrous than it has hitherto been, by reason of the horrible perfection which every day develops, through the aid of mechanics and chemistry, in the art of destroying mankind.

"It is, however, no longer mere visionary persons, or a few philanthropists, more or less sincere, who take part in efforts for the maintenance of peace. Industrial skill, commerce and labor, all the great interests threatened by war, are beginning to take measures for an effective conspiracy against this common plague. In England, in Germany, in Italy, as also in France, earnest men are uniting for counsel and coöperation in the work of influencing public opinion, and, by means of public opinion, their executive governments.

"Undoubtedly the right of declaring war is still committed to governments by orderly and vigorous national constitutions; but governments are now everywhere compelled to attach great weight to public opinion. It is, therefore, for public opinion to make itself manifest. We are told of approaching elections. Just so; and therefore let every candidate be required to declare himself definitely for peace or for war. We shall then soon see if the country really desires the latter. The League of Peace will powerfully contribute to this great cause by furnishing a means of union, a focus and centre of pacification, and by enlightening and agitating public opinion.

"A striking characteristic of this first session of the League of Peace, was the cordial adhesion to the same cause, manifested by men of various opinions, by Protestants, Jews, and Catholics. It was a curious and instructive spectacle to witness a Chief Rabbi publicly proclaiming the Deity to be other than a God of battles, to hear a Protestant minister reading the eloquent expressions of sympathy addressed to the League by a Catholic priest, and to see the friendly intercourse of men drawn out from their habitual exclusive association, from their respective divisions and subdivisions of society, by the attraction of a high and noble principle of union. What is this new power which unites men of opposite schools and rival sects, and which throws down the barriers which separate them? It is, in fact, an original aspiration; it is the rising of a new star; it is a sentiment more religious and comprehensive than any philosophy; it is the conviction, which we have just seen vigorously expressed in action, the conviction of the duty of a pacific alliance of nations and of the beneficent union of the human race."

THE LONDON PRESS. — "The International League of Peace which met this week at Paris, was composed of eminent representative men of all creeds and churches, of all professions and pursuits — of philosophers, economists, clergymen, lawyers, employers of labor, manufacturers, traders, and agriculturists. It was a highly-organized expression of the common sense and common interests of the thoughtful, laborious, and intelligent populations, upon whom the ills of war, and the miseries of military 'glory,' fall with all their weight. The League already counts among its leaders many illustrious and honored names, and enjoys the patronage of the Queens of England and Prussia.

"Nothing can be easier than to indulge in agreeable and unexceptionable common-places about the follies and miseries of a state of war, the tendencies of civilization and the interests of humanity. All the world is agreed upon the blessings and benefits of a state of peace. Even military monarchies, in their lucid intervals, pay to the superiority of peace, the homage which vice pays to virtue. Even absolute rulers take credit for being not the devourers, but the shepherds of their people.

"In the course of that most amusing correspondence between Frederick the Great and Voltaire, the king sends the philosopher an *Ode on War*, which might have been written by the Abbé de St. Pierre. 'I could readily believe,' writes Voltaire, in acknowledging its receipt, 'that the *Ode on War* was by some poor citizen, but good poet, weary of paying additional tenths, and of seeing his land laid waste. Nothing of the kind; it is by the King who began the noise, who has won a province by hard fighting and five battles. Sire, your majesty writes beautiful verses, but makes a fool of the public. And yet who knows but that you really think *all that* when you are writing?' It may be well that humanity speaks to you in the same cabinet in which policy and glory have signed orders for the assembly of armies. Today you are fired with the passions of heroes; tomorrow you will think like a philosopher. All this depends on how the wheels of the thinking machine are going; and I can assure you, I was never more convinced of the truth of what you wrote me ten years since on man's free-will.'

"Frederick was not the man to mistake these compliments. 'Do not be surprised,' he writes, 'at my *Ode on War*; those are my sentiments, I assure you. Distinguish the statesman from the philosopher, and understand that one may make war for a reason, and that duty may force a policy upon one who is a philosopher by inclination.' In another letter, Frederick writes: — 'As for you, a mere spectator of the sanguinary drama that is now being played, you are at liberty to hiss the whole company of us, such as we are. Pray do so to your heart's content; and be persuaded that I don't grudge you your happiness. I am convinced that one can never be happy except when both sword and pen are at peace.' 'You ask me,' writes Frederick on another occasion, 'for how long my royal brothers have agreed together to ruin this earth. My only reply must be that I know nothing about it; but that it is the fashion just now to go to war, and in all probability the fashion will last a long time.'

"The course of European events since his disappearance from the scene has not contradicted the anticipations of the royal cynic. Military monarchies, enormous standing armies, have not been found particularly pacific in tendency. The progress of philosophical enlightenment has introduced new causes of conflict. Ambition and interest have taken new and nobler names; but it cannot be pretended that 'the Revolution' has been a

peace-maker. The world has more to hope from the calm and passionless impartiality of science, than from the most amiable theories, and the most convincing homilies on the crime and madness of war. To science, it is true, and to science wielded by a minister of religion, the world owes the invention of gunpowder. It is to science, and to science wielded by soldiers, that the world will owe, perhaps, the reduction of gunpowder as an instrument of war to an absurdity, by perfecting the processes of mutual extermination. When a small arm, capable of killing twenty men a minute, has been put into the hands of an army of 500,000 men, and big guns can be carried on board ship which no iron plates can resist, it may be permitted to men of peace to hope that the end of war, as a system of settling international disputes, is not far distant."

Such platitudes as these are pleasant, but of little serious avail. We have no confidence in *any* expedients for doing away war that do not include as their main-spring a right, persistent application of moral Christian means to the case. Nothing else will ever prove permanently effective. It is well enough to encourage such incidental, superficial speculations as these on the general question; but never, till men's modes of thought, feeling, and conduct on the subject shall be recast in the mold of the gospel, can we hope for a full, permanent cure of this great world-wide, immemorial evil.

WAR, AND THE DECALOGUE.

Apologists for War, finding for it in the New Testament only rebuke and denunciation, are wont to quote the Old Testament in its justification or excuse. We deny, for many reasons, the right of such an appeal to a dispensation confessedly imperfect and partially obsolete; but, even if admitted, how far can it avail? Because God tolerated patriarchs in polygamy and concubinage, are we at liberty to indulge the same practices now? If David, a distinguished warrior, was still said to be in many respects "a man after God's own heart," can this prove the practice of war, the trade of human butchery, to be right for *Christians*, acceptable to the great Father of all, and consistent with our religion of purity, peace and love? Nay, will you find its spirit and deeds justified by the precepts of even the old dispensation? Taking the Decalogue as a fair epitome of these precepts, let us bring the custom of war in part to this test.

Thou shalt have no other Gods before me. War contravenes such precepts as this. It sprang from paganism; its spirit is essentially pagan still; and its laws everywhere require soldiers to obey their officers rather than God himself. Does it not thus dethrone Jehovah practically from the hearts of an army? Are not soldiers notorious for their neglect of God? Is not war a vast nursery of irreligion?

Every man, whether a private, an officer, or even a chaplain, is bound by his oath to yield implicit obedience to his superiors. He is not permitted to follow his conscience. A British officer was once cashiered by Protestants for refusing to join in what he deemed the idolatries of Popery; nor must soldiers scruple at the bidding of a superior to commit the grossest outrages ever recorded in the annals of crime.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain. War is a school of impiety and profaneness; blasphemy is the well-known dialect of the army and navy; you can hardly enter a camp or a war-ship without meeting a volley of oaths, or find a warrior on land or sea who does not habitually blaspheme the name of God. An eye-witness, speaking of our own armies, says we should not wonder at their frequent defeats, "if we could witness the drunkenness and debauchery from the general to the private, and hear them strive to outvie each other in uttering the most horrid imprecations and blasphemy, and ridiculing everything like religion."

Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy. War scorns to acknowledge any Sabbath. Its battles are fought, its marches continued, its fortifications constructed, all its labors exacted, all its recreations indulged, for the most part, as much on this as any other day of the week. It is the chosen time indeed for special and splendid reviews; the millions of soldiers in Christendom are compelled to violate the Sabbath; and where the war-spirit is rife, it will be found well-nigh impossible to preserve, in any degree of vigor, this main-spring of God's moral government over our world.

Honor thy father and thy mother. Here is God's shield of home with its garnered affections; but war sports with these affections, and rudely tramples the hearth and the altar under its bloody hoof. Its spirit, its aims, its very laws, its legitimate and designed results, are adverse to this command; and its whole history has been a crusade upon the endearments, the rights and interests of that domestic constitution which God established, in Eden itself, as the grand nursery of social virtue and happiness.

Thou shalt not commit adultery. War is a hot-bed of the foulest licentiousness. It is deemed the soldier's privilege; and, wherever an army is encamped, a war-ship moored, or a city taken, he is permitted to indulge his lusts at will. In 1380, some English troops, while wind-bound near Portsmouth, and waiting for provisions, forcibly carried off men's wives and daughters; and, among other outrages, their commander went to a nunnery, and demanded admittance for his soldiers; and, being refused, they entered by violence, compelled the nuns to go with them, and afterwards threw them into the sea! When an English man-of-war was accidentally sunk near Spithead, she carried down with her no less than six hundred lewd women; and amidst the fires of captured Magdeburg and Moscow were heard con-

tinually the wild, despairing shrieks of ravished mothers and daughters. War is a Sodom; and, could all its impurities be collected in one place, we might well expect another storm of fire and brimstone.

Thou shalt not steal. War is a system of legalized national robbery; the very same thing, only on a larger scale, and under the sanction of government, for which individuals are sent to the prison or the gallows. To plunder, burn and destroy is the soldier's professed business! At Hamburg, 40,000 persons were driven from their homes without clothes, money or provisions, of which their enemies had despoiled them. "Out of a plentiful harvest," says a Saxon nobleman, "not a grain is left. The little that remained was consumed in the night-fires, or was next morning, in spite of tears and prayers, wantonly burned by the laughing fiends. Not a horse, not a cow, not a sheep is now to be seen." The French troops, on their return from Moscow, often destroyed every building for leagues together; and around Leipsic nothing was spared, neither the ox, nor the calf two days old, neither the ewe, nor the lamb scarcely able to walk, neither the brood-hen, nor the tender chicken. Whatever had life was slaughtered; and even the meanest bedstead of the meanest beggar was carried off. All this accords with the laws of war; and every government, in its letters of marque and reprisal, licenses men to commit piracy at pleasure and by wholesale.

Thou shalt not kill. It is the very object, the main business of war to kill men. It is the most terrible engine ever contrived for the destruction of mankind; incomparably more destructive to life than the inquisition or the slave-trade, than famine, or pestilence, or any form of disease that ever swept over the earth. Survey the butcheries of the battle-field—50,000 at Eylau; 80,000 at Borodino; 300,000 at Arbela; 400,000 of the enemy alone by Julius Cæsar in a single engagement; more than 5,000,000 in the invasion of Greece by Xerxes; 1,600,000 by Jenghiz-khan in the district of Herat, 1,760,000 in two other cities with their dependencies, and, during the last twenty-seven years of his reign, an average of more than 500,000 every year! Look at the French butcheries in Spain or Portugal under Napoleon. Peaceful inhabitants massacred without distinction or mercy! "Often were the ditches along the line of their march," says an eye-witness, "literally filled with clotted, coagulated blood, as with mire; the dead bodies of peasants, put to death like dogs, were lying there horribly mangled; little naked infants, of a year old or less, were found besmeared in the mud of the road, transfixed with bayonet-wounds; matrons and young women dead with cruel, shameful wounds; and priests hanged on the trees by the wayside like felons!"

Thou shalt not bear false witness; the duty of perfect truth in all things. War glories in violating this prohibition. It cultivates the art of lying as one of its excellencies, and rewards it as a meri-

torious service. It is a part of the trade to misrepresent, and deceive, and traduce, and circumvent an enemy. It even hires traitors and spies to practice deception. Almost every war is a tissue of practical falsehoods on both sides.

Thou shalt not covet. We can hardly find a war that did not begin and end with the violation of this principle. What are countries wasted, territory conquered, cities plundered, all its legalized robberies and piracies, but so many forms of prohibited coveting? Such things are inseparable from war; a part of its business, one of its eulogized achievements.

Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. This precept is represented by Christ and Paul as embodying the substance of all the social duties enjoined in the Decalogue. But can the soldier do this, and still continue his trade of blood? Love is said to be the fulfilling of the law *because it worketh no ill to his neighbor*; but the soldier is required, as a matter of alleged duty, to do his neighbor all the ill he can! He is hired for this sole purpose; and he *must* do it, or die himself for neglect of duty! *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.* But would you like to have a gang of men burn your dwelling over your head, butcher your whole family, and then send a bullet or a bayonet through your own heart? This is the avowed business of war; its grand maxim is to do unto others just what we would *not* have done to ourselves.

Let us learn the soldier's prescribed duties from *Suwarrow's Catechism*, a series of directions by that great general to his soldiers. "Push hard with the bayonet. The ball will lose its way; the bayonet never. The ball is a fool; the bayonet a hero. Stab once; and off with the Turk from the bayonet. Stab the second. Stab the third. A hero will stab half a dozen. If three attack you, stab the first, fire on the second, and bayonet the third."

Are such things only *perversions* of war? No; they are inseparable from any of its forms; and as well might you talk of fire without heat, as of a war without fraud, and robbery, and murder, and misery by wholesale. Do you deem it possible for the deeds of war to be done from good motives? What! burn villages, plunder cities, butcher men, women and children, send thousands at once into eternity in unforgiven guilt, all from motives acceptable to a God of peace and love!

We do not wish, however, to ignore or underrate the difficulties which meet us on this subject in the Old Testament. No one can deny that the Israelites were engaged in many and often very destructive wars under the direct sanction and command of Jehovah. How can we reconcile such facts with what we have just quoted from the Decalogue? "Those wars," says Joseph John Gurney, "differed from all others in certain very important particulars. That very divine sanction which is pleaded, did in fact distinguish them from all those

in which any other nation is known to have been ever engaged. They were undertaken in pursuance of God's express command, and directed to the accomplishment of his revealed designs. These designs had a twofold object — the temporal preservation and prosperity of his peculiar people, and the punishment and destruction of idolatrous nations. The Israelites were sometimes engaged in war without any direction from God; but such of their military operations as were sanctioned by the Lord, assumed the character of a work of obedience and faith. They went forth to battle in compliance with his command, and in reliance upon his aid. These characteristics of their warfare were attended with two very marked consequences: first, their conflicts, so far from being attended by that destruction of moral and pious feeling which is so generally the effect of war, were often accompanied by high religious excellence in those who thus fought the battles of the Lord, as in the case of Joshua, the Judges, and David; and secondly, these contests were followed by uniform success. Now, it cannot be predicated even of the justest wars among other nations, that they are undertaken by the direct command of Jehovah, or that they are a work of obedience and faith, or that they are often accompanied with high religious excellence in those who undertake them, or that they are followed by uniform success. Even if the system of Israelitish morals, then, were still in force without alteration, we could not justly conclude from such an example, that warfare, as generally practised, is in any case consistent with the will of God."

It is clear that the Old Testament does not sanction war *as a custom*; for every case of lawful war was expressly enjoined or permitted; and if *such* authority were now given, we too might properly resort to arms. But this command or permission just neutralizes the example as a guide to us. God *bade* Abraham sacrifice Isaac. Will this justify parents now in murdering their children at pleasure? God *commanded* Moses to stone the Sabbath-breaker to death. Are we bound to do the same? God indulged patriarchs in polygamy and concubinage. Does their example in this particular make such things lawful for us?

You may perhaps remind us that God could never enjoin or permit anything that is *necessarily* wrong. You will find it more difficult than you suppose to specify an act that is in itself invariably wrong, wrong irrespective of all circumstances and motives, a real *malum per se*. But if *not* necessarily wrong, who now regards filicide, or polygamy, or concubinage, and many other practices, once allowed to the Israelites, as lawful under the Gospel?

The divinely authorized wars of the Israelites, moreover, differed in *their essential nature* from all ordinary wars. They were properly *penal inflictions*, punishments for crime, such penalties as God himself prescribed against transgressors of his law. Now, should a bevy of constables attempt to imprison or execute a gang of sentenced criminals,

and meet from them a desperate, bloody resistance, would the conflict deserve to be called war? Yet such were the wars of the Israelites, God's method of punishing crime. The idolaters of Canaan had committed high treason against heaven; God denounced upon them the penalty of utter extermination; the Israelites were commissioned to inflict this penalty; and all they did resembles an execution far more than it does war. God assumed the whole responsibility of the deed; and the Israelites were mere executioners of his will.

There were still other peculiarities which distinguish those wars from all others. They occurred under a theocracy, a government of which God himself was the head, and were expressly enjoined or permitted by him. Since the close of revelation men *cannot* be placed in the same circumstances, and therefore can never apply to themselves this example of the Israelites. If applied, moreover, it would prove far too much. The chief wars of the Israelites were wars of aggression, conquest and utter extermination; and such an example, if it proves anything, would justify the most horrid, wholesale butcheries ever committed in the strife of nations. Would any man now deem such wars right? If not, he should never quote those of the Israelites in excuse for war in any form. They were *by divine command* aggressors, and those who acted in strict self-defence were condemned, and doomed to utter extermination as a punishment for their sins. Taken as a precedent, the example would be a sweeping condemnation of all self-defence, and would reverse the whole mode of reasoning now current in all civilized communities on the subject of war.

NATIONAL RETRENCHMENT.—The general appropriation bill just passed by Congress, is only little more than \$160,000,000. A very large reduction from the last half-dozen years, and still an enormous sum in contrast with our expenses forty years ago, some \$12,000,000 a year under John Quincy Adams, an increase of 1500 per cent!

EFFECT OF DISARMING IN EUROPE.—A French statistician, M. Legoyt, Secretary of the Paris Statistical Society, makes the following statement:—If the great powers of Europe would disarm to the amount of one-half of their present forces, two millions of men, the flower of their respective populations, between the ages of 20 and 35 years, would at once be restored to peaceful avocations, and a reduction in national expenses be effected to the amount of more than 320 millions of dollars (£64,000,000); which, in forty years, would pay off all the European national debts, or complete an entire network of railways throughout the Continent, and provide for the erection and maintenance of an elementary school in every district.

BANQUET TO CYRUS W. FIELD.

Everybody knows the agency of Mr. Field in securing the Atlantic Cable, and, in honor of his services, a grand banquet was given him in London, July 1, attended by three hundred of the most distinguished men that could well have been gathered from the British Empire. We refer to the event as significant of the manifold influences at work to bind, not only these two nations, but Christendom and the world, in the bonds of perpetual peace. To and from Washington, New York and Canada, messages were interchanged, all breathing such a spirit as ought to render war between England and the United States forever impossible. Speeches, accompanying the toasts, were, of course, the order of the evening; but we can cull from only those of Mr. Field and John Bright a few condensed extracts:—

MR. FIELD. — Let us do all we can in the future to make the fruits of our experience beneficial to the world. Do not be content with having connected Europe and America together by the electric cord, but remember that India, Australia, China, and Japan, South America, and the isles of the sea, both in the east and in the west, have yet to be brought into instant communication with England and America.

I most fervently thank God that I have been permitted to live to see this enterprise, which binds your country to mine, completed; and that I am privileged this night, with some members of my family, to meet our English friends, and with them to rejoice over its success. I rejoice, because the cable brings into closer union the two great Anglo-Saxon nations of the world, which have a common origin, inherit the same glorious traditions, and are so bound together, that, if one were to receive a blow, both would suffer from the shock. I, an American, feel pride in remembering that my ancestors were English citizens, and lived and died under your flag. And do not all true Englishmen glory in the fact that the small expeditions which sailed from these shores some 250 years ago, and settled at Plymouth and on the banks of the James River, were so multiplied and replenished that at the time of the Declaration of Independence, the original handful had increased to 3,000,000 of people? while, in less than a century, the 3,000,000 have grown into a nation of 35,000,000; and now, thank God, not one slave among them, with a territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the St. Lawrence and the great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. There are undoubtedly many now within hearing of my voice who will live to see, within the limits of the existing United States, 100 millions of people all speaking the English tongue. I pray that hereafter no jealousies may be allowed to create a wall of separation between England and America; that all the ill-feeling that has been engendered between the two countries may be buried so deep in the Atlantic, that the ingenuity of man shall never invent a grapple to drag it to the surface; and that the only rivalry between them shall be the rivalry of coworkers in efforts to promote peace, industry, and commercial intercourse, and to extend the blessings of civil and religious liberty throughout the world.

MR. BRIGHT. — Sir Stafford Northcote has submitted this sentiment — *The peace and prosperity of Great Britain and the United States*. I presume we

all agree with this sentiment, and upon this head we express the unanimous feeling of these two countries. There may be amongst us, for there are cavillers and critics everywhere, some who speak of the people of the United States with scorn and bitterness. But, after all, can we forget that we are one nation, having two Governments; that we are the same noble and heroic race; that half the English family is on this side of the Atlantic in its ancient home, and the other half, there being no room for them here, is settled on the American continent. Thousands of individual families have connections scattered over that country. No member of my family, so far as I know, has emigrated to America for forty years past; and yet at this moment, I have far more blood relations in the republic of the United States than I have within the limits of the United Kingdom. And the same is true of thousands of families in this kingdom. I maintain that he is an enemy of the English race, and an enemy of the human race, who would interpose the slightest obstacle to the existence of permanent peace and friendship between the members of our great English-speaking family. No man will dare to say that the people of the United States and the people of the United Kingdom are not in favor of peace. Whence, then, can there come any chance of war between the two nations? The fact is, that, in dealing with nations, we do not take our stand on the same basis of morals that we apply to our transactions with individuals. Two hundred years ago, every gentleman went about with a deadly weapon; in those days there were, of course, treasons and violence, and fatal encounters between men of our own order in life; and, if you turn to the newspapers and magazines of that period, you will find references to scandals of that kind. Now, nothing of the kind happens, except to some limited extent, and under some unfortunate circumstances. But we have great fleets and great armies throughout the nations of Europe; and the moment anything happens to create the slightest disturbance, instantly it is asked, How is the navy? Have you ships? have you men — have you armaments in readiness? Instead of friendly negotiations, we turn to the question of the sufficiency of our armaments, whereas we should turn, as a matter of course, to acts of courtesy and friendly arbitration, and a settlement of our differences that would not in the slightest degree lead men into the hostile attitude out of which war invariably springs.

MILITIA DRILLS.—We find new proofs that the experience of our people during the rebellion is not likely to increase so much as we feared and expected, their fondness for military matters. Our officers in the late conflict, and political demagogues, seem quite eager, or did for a time, to galvanise our militia system into new life and popularity; but even our young men are, for the most part, disinclined to spend the time and money that such a purpose would require. The war-fever is clearly cooling off.

N. Y. — “I am very glad,” says a very intelligent friend at the head of one of our most distinguished seminaries of learning, “to find you maintaining your labor with so much courage, and spirit, and trust in the overcoming Prince of Peace. (\$10.00.) H.”

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

CONTENTS.

Chronic Rebellion.....	119	Rebellion in China	140
Auguries of Peace or War.....	122	U. S. Mines.....	140
Cause of Peace in France.....	123	International Forgiveness.....	141
Paris League of Peace	125	Cost of Cadets	142
Frederic Passy's Address.....	125	Pre-eminence of Moral Power.....	143
M. Visscher's Speech.....	128	Wearing Arms.....	144
Mr. Richard's Speech.....	129	Effect of Rebellion on Education....	144
Jewish Rabbi's Speech	132	Peace Reform Advancing	145
M. Paschoud's Speech	134	Favorable Omens.....	145
Significance of this Movement....	136	Publications on Peace.....	146
Standing Armies.....	138	Receipts.....	146
Our Losses in the Rebellion	140		

 See cover, last page. 

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
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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1868.

CHRONIC REBELLION.

Is rebellion to become chronic in our country? Such, we early feared, *might* be the ultimate result of our late rebellion. We have been slow to believe this of such a people as ours; but we see multiplying around us incipient tendencies, strong and manifold, to this fearful culmination of political evils.

With such apprehensions honestly entertained, what is our duty in the case? Shall we sound no alarm? Because the subject is complicated with the party politics of the hour, shall we shrink from a frank, prompt utterance of our fears? God forbid; it would be an inexcusable recreancy to our trust as pioneers in such a reform as ours. The question is clearly germane to our cause, and comes fairly in the range of our inquiries and duties as peace-men, since rebellion is among the worst forms and applications of the war-principle.

In season, then, let us look the evil full in the face. It is not a mushroom of a night to be brushed away in the morning, but a principle of slow, stealthy growth, that may in time expand and ripen into a political Upas, fatal to our very existence as a nation. The germ of it all is found in the slaveocracy, which first attempted to nullify such laws as they disliked, then claimed the right to withdraw at will from the government they had sworn to support, and finally drew the sword in open rebellion. After fighting us more than four years through six hundred battles, sacrificing on both sides nearly a million lives, and some ten thousand millions of property, they submitted, from sheer necessity, to the government they had so desperately sought to overthrow. In the men themselves, we see little proof of any real change. Indeed, they profess none, but scout the idea of having done anything intrinsically wrong. In spirit, principle, and aspiration, they even boast themselves rebels still, and gladly would, if they safely could, try their hand again at the

same game of blood. Can we trust such conversion? They have changed neither their character nor their aims, but only their tactics. They have furlled the rebel flag, and doffed the rebel gray *for the present*; and now they put on loyal blue, march under the Stars and Stripes, and try to keep step once more to the music of the Union.

But, under all this guise, what do we find? An honest, hearty, reliable loyalty? Spared the gallows, and all the other penalties threatened against rebels by every government on earth, our own not excepted, their property restored, and themselves reinstated, with few exceptions, to all political rights under our government — what do these ex-rebels, aided and abetted by Northern sympathizers, propose to attempt?

We will let them speak for themselves. "We regard," says the platform of this pro-rebel party now competing at the polls for the control of our Government, "the Reconstruction Acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary and void." The old nullification doctrine put down by Jackson; a denial of the right of a duly elected Congress to legislate for the nation, put forth as a plausible pretext for starting a new rebellion. But how can the laws of Congress be set aside? "There is," says Gen. Blair, the nominee as Vice-President, "but one way; and *that is for the President elect to declare the Reconstruction Acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State Governments, allow the white people (alone) to reorganize their own Governments, and elect Senators and Representatives.*" Measures these even bolder and more sweeping than what the rebels of 1860-'65 attempted; a second rebellion, with a witness and a vengeance.

In the wake of these pronouncements from the recognized leaders, let us catch some echoes from their followers, South and North. Gov. Wise, in view of these new, more hopeful auguries for another rebellion, exclaims, "*Secession is not dead, but more alive today than ever before; I support Blair, because he promises REVOLUTION.*" Robert Toombs, a leading ex-rebel, says, "the Reconstruction Acts are null and void, and *shall not stand.*" Howell Cobb boasts, "in war, we drew the sword, and bade them (loyal men) defiance; in peace, we gather up the manhood of the South, and gathering the good men of the North as well as of the South, hurl into their teeth the same defiance." Says the *Memphis Appeal*, "the day will come when the South will be independent;" and many papers and public men at the South are repeating the assurance, "by the election of our candidates, we shall gain all that was lost in 'the Lost Cause';" — "all that the Confederacy fought for will be won."

Such are some of the key-notes and watchwords that we hear echoing both South and North. Nor does there seem much scruple about the means to be employed. "The dagger of Brutus," we are told, "may aid in accomplishing our redemption." We hear of threats about "*more blood-letting*;" and such reminders as these, "the day *has* been when

Southern men could use the bullet ; and, if necessary, they *may* use it again." Even a Northern leader of the party (Gen. Ewing) speaks complacently of " Gen. Blair at the head of the militia, as a match for Gen. Grant at the head of the regular army."

What does all this mean ? What *can* it mean but a new rebellion ? Does it not say well-nigh as plainly as words can, " we *will* have our own way ; by fair means if we can, by foul if we must ; either by ballots or by *bullets*. We'll first try the ballot once more ; but if that fails, we'll draw the sword of rebellion again, and, with our new recruits from the North, will hope next time for better success."

It was thus the late rebellion began. Its leaders said, in effect, as long as you let us rule the country, we will be loyal ; but, if driven from power even by means confessedly legal, and allowed no longer to carry on the government in the interests of Slavery, we will rebel. Your votes, if successful in electing Lincoln, will strip us of this power ; and when we can no longer rule the country, we will do all in our power to ruin it. Its authority we will repudiate, its power we will defy, its laws and constitution we will trample under our feet, and, relying on our trusty swords, we will hew our way at last to victory and permanent power.

Such is rebellion ; its essential nature and principle ; and if allowed under any guise, where will it end ? Can it stop short of either despotism or anarchy ? Is it not utterly incompatible with stable, reliable government in *any* form ? To us, it seems the very quintessence of the war-principle, a strong, reckless will, bent on having at all hazards, its own way, right or wrong. It has been, in all ages, the great disturber of society and curse of mankind. If not checked, it will be so to us. If tolerated by us, it may go on until we find ourselves at last drifting, like Mexico and the South American Republics, into a state of chronic rebellion little removed from anarchy.

Here is the climax of our perils. Let us beware how we let our bark approach the maelstrom. A few more rebellions like the last ; and where are we ? At the south many already have gone too far to be entirely cured soon, if ever ; and certainly unless we put an effectual veto on the principle, it must in time work our ruin. Indeed, our fate is even now trembling in the balance. Let the disloyal element triumph in the coming and a few more presidential elections ; and what can save us ? Let the habit, started by our late rebels, of appealing to the sword for the decision of political issues be once established, and where will it end ? God only knows ; but we are sure the result will sadly verify what Milton said in his sonnet on Lord Fairfax, one of the generals under the Commonwealth.

" What can War but endless war still breed ? "

In this utterance of our fears, we seek no personal or partisan ends, but solely the public weal. The mass of voters even in the

pro-rebel party are far from meaning the evil we forbode ; but their ex-rebel leaders do mean it all, and have been cunning enough to dictate a political platform that covers it all. They mean now, as they always have, to rule or to ruin ; and if by the aid of misguided Northern voters they shall win the coming election, they will gain a pretty full, perhaps fatal opportunity to undo nearly all the good secured by our triumph over the rebellion, to wreak vengeance in countless ways on the supporters of our Government during that terrible conflict, and then start the country on its downward way to ultimate ruin.

AUGURIES OF PEACE OR WAR.

We have come to feel, as we think every thoughtful observer of passing events must, very little confidence in what the telegraph or the press may report about the prospects of peace or war, more especially in Europe. They are often even more uncertain than the wind. Today, Austria is reported as furloughing forty or fifty thousand of her soldiers, France as relaxing her warlike preparations, and Prussia as professing very pacific inclinations ; but the next day it doubts, if it does not directly contradict, these auguries of peace, and hints at serious apprehensions of war in one quarter or another. How truly do the governments of Europe seem to be continually sleeping with their armor on, ready at tap of drum to rush into deadly strife ; all armed to the teeth, yet uneasy, and full of mutual suspicion and fear ; no real peace or security, but only a general armed truce ; not unlike Wellington and Napoleon in their camps the night before the battle of Waterloo.

Such is the culmination reached at length by their cherished, vaunted war-system of Christendom on which she has spent in ages past so many million lives, and so many myriads of money ; on which she still continues every year to waste some twelve thousand millions of dollars, and some five or six million men in the full vigor of their best days, all just to watch each other, like the pickets or scouts of two armies on the eve of battle.

Now, is this *all* that Christian statesmanship and general culture can achieve on this subject so late in the nineteenth century ? Was nothing more or better to be expected at this late day from our religion of peace ? Ought its professors to be any longer content with such a state of things ? Need they be, or will they be ?

But the practical point is, how can all this be changed ? We have no space now to say ; but to us it is quite clear, first, that it can be, must be, and will be changed ; secondly, that the evil will never cure itself, but will, if let alone, become worse and worse ; thirdly, that little or no improvement can be expected from rulers, almost invariably

men of routine, who seldom dream of doing better than to keep safely trudging along in their immemorial ruts, ceaseless drudges in their governmental treadmill; fourthly, that all change for the better must come from outside of governments, not from rulers, but from the people enlightened on this subject by the press, the pulpit, and the school. They must take this great vital question into their own hands. They *can* do so, and sooner or later, they *will*. God speed the day.

THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN FRANCE.

In our last number, we reported quite largely on the Peace movements in the Old World; but we cannot refrain from copying entire the following article of Rev. Henry Richard, and the substance of his report respecting the Paris League of Peace:—

“The Peace movement in France is full of interest and encouragement. It was our happiness, while on our visit to Paris, to attend the assembly whose proceedings we have commemorated, to meet afterwards in private many distinguished men, members of the legislature and the press; and their testimony was unanimous and emphatic as to the desire for peace which all but universally prevails in France, outside the military circles. They assured us that, of all the journals published in Paris, whatever their political sentiments might be, there was only one, and that one among the least esteemed and influential, which can be considered as having any warlike proclivities. If it be asked how this is to be reconciled with the enormous increase in their armaments which has lately taken place, the answer is, that this increase has sprung entirely from the government, and not from the people, who have indeed opposed it strenuously, so far as the people have the power to oppose anything in France. And when the further inquiry is made, whether these great preparations imply any deliberate intention of going to war on the part of those in authority, the reply is usually in the negative, coupled with the explanation that they are pushed forward *mainly owing to the ascendancy of military men in the councils of the Emperor*, who have a professional interest in giving the widest development to warlike establishments. And this is more or less the case in every country in Europe. The influence of the military element is far too powerful in all courts, and cabinets, and legislatures. It has increased and is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and, as Lord Russell once said in a moment of unusual candor or unusual irritation, if governments were to listen to all the suggestions and demands of military men, the resources of no nation in the world could stand the drain that would be made upon them.

We are anxious to do justice to our French neighbors in this matter. They have somehow acquired the reputation of being more restless and aggressive than any other people. The general conception that prevails respecting them is, that they are always panting for warlike adventure and the glory of conquest. Whatever foundation for this may have existed in times past—and we have no doubt that, so far as the great bulk of the people is concerned, there has been at all times a great exaggeration on this point—it seems clear that now, at least, this is not their characteristic. During the

Crimean war, the French people were infinitely less excited and ferocious than the English. And even when the war in Italy was entered upon, there was comparatively very little popular enthusiasm felt, though the nation was proud of the victories that were afterwards won, as every nation, unhappily, is too prone to be of such brutal achievements. But we believe there is no ground, or very little, for the hostility to Germany with which it is the fashion to credit them in these days. In the debates on the state of the finances which have recently taken place in the Corps Legislatif, nothing was more remarkable than the eloquent protests that were made by the foremost orators in the assembly, not only against war, but against the spirit of war, to which they apply the term "militarism." "It has been remarked by a preceding speaker," said M. Jules Favre, "that we could, without danger, give the example of disarmament. Well, then, let France pronounce on this point. I say that the greatest, the most glorious, the most powerful nation will be that which shall first put the sword into its sheath, and teach the world that it is time to enter upon an era of peace. Science herself tends to this result. By a strange refinement, men seem now to be dreaming of nothing but the means of immolating their fellow-men; and I could not resist a very painful impression, when I heard the other day the illustrious marshal, the Minister of War, saying, that there had been offered to him more than six hundred improved chassepots. It is found that to kill fourteen men is not enough, we must kill thirty. Well, then, this is the end of war—it is the end, at least, of the glory of war, of individual courage; the end of that spirit of romantic adventure which impelled nations to the field of battle. It will no longer be war, but butchery, from which men will turn away with disgust.

"At the same time, science in another way leads to peace, by its miracles of invention. You say that it is necessary to fortify our cities, to surround with walls our smallest cities if they touch the frontier. All this belongs to a policy of hatred; and those who teach this policy, do not understand their age. The present age belongs to the people. You speak of frontiers: but they are overturned. A great king boasted that he had abolished the Pyrenees; and later, a great captain wished to crush them under the heel of his victorious boot. But they rose up again in blood; that which has really abolished them in these our days, is the hand of the engineer; it is the great steam ploughshare which opens up the furrows of peace; it is the progress of civilization, the hatred of war."

In another speech, delivered a few days later, the same illustrious orator reverts to the question of disarmament. "We shall not dissipate," he says, "the prevailing distrust by words. The ministers may acquire in this tribune oratorical triumphs, with their pacific declarations; but they have always behind them a concealed questioner, that is, the public conscience, which will apprehend war, while formidable armaments exist. Let France, then, give the example! In her wisdom, in her strength, in the profound consciousness of her inviolability, let France take the initiative in disarmament! She will then perform a great act, and the assurances of the ministers will no longer be met with distrust and doubt. But if you can't go so far as that, what reason can ministers have for rejecting the diplomatic project which I propose? Why could they not tomorrow, in their correspondence with foreign countries, address to them, I will not say merely an invitation, but a summons to a general disarmament, at the same time appealing to the public opinion of Europe? Yes, appeal to publicity; for if it is well understood that you preach general disarmament, that you summon other governments

to give their reasons for maintaining a state of barbarism unworthy of civilization, those governments must give you an answer. If you accuse me of vain sentimentalism, I, in return, declare to you that for every benevolent man it is humiliating and mournful to see such a state perpetuated in Europe by the fault of some and the complicity of all. What! gentlemen, are we yet in doubt as to the elements of morality? The sense of justice! is that not sufficient to defend us? Can we not be strong, can we not be truly defended, except as we surround ourselves with fire and sword? As though men must always act to each other as if they were savage beasts!"

PARIS LEAGUE OF PEACE.

ITS FIRST GENERAL MEETING.

We gave in our last some account of this meeting from English, French and Continental journals; but its proceedings, especially some of its speeches, deserve a fuller report.

FREDERIC PASSY'S ADDRESS. — It has been said that "in all things we must consider the end." Well, I am of the opinion that we should also consider the beginning. Our beginning has been a very modest one; and we have never pretended that we are introducing either revolution or a revelation. For a very long period the bowels of humanity have been yearning for peace. At least twenty years ago one of our distinguished colleagues, M. Michael Chevalier, wrote that even during the long wars of our fathers there arose, as from the inmost conscience of the nation, an ardent and growing desire for peace. It is, at any rate, an undoubted fact that since the termination of those protracted wars, there has been a continual effort in all directions against the spirit of jealousy and bitterness from which the world has suffered so deeply in past times. Taking the year 1816 as our starting point, we find that beyond the Atlantic as well as in Europe, in Great Britain as well as on the Continent, societies have ever since been springing up, at first like tender germs, but subsequently becoming more robust in their development, destined to diffuse throughout the world sentiments of justice, fraternity and love, in opposition to those of violence, cupidity and hatred.

As to ourselves, we have had to move cautiously at the outset, from motives both of necessity and of prudence. We do not seek to effect an abrupt change in public opinion, but a gradual and permanent one. We have desired that our League should, like a young tree just planted, first establish a firm root for itself. We do not wish to see it resemble one of the full-grown trees, suddenly transplanted for some special festive occasion, and which, after a day or two of apparently vigorous foliage in its unnatural position, speedily changes to a mere withered mass. We prefer to proceed slowly in our work, inasmuch as in every great movement there must be a necessary apprenticeship at first, a course of preliminary lessons from occasional mistake and failure; and it is preferable that these mistakes, which are to some extent unavoidable at starting, should lead to our escape from errors on a larger scale, and that we should thus acquire a powerful and established influence even by means of the somewhat unpleasant delays and difficulties which are in general inevitable at the outset of every good cause.

Our opening efforts have hence been very cautiously conducted ; and on this account they may perhaps have hardly met, on some occasions, the expectations which were excited by the enthusiastic inauguration of the League. It has not been without difficulty that we succeeded at first in organizing and retaining the co-operation of some of our friends who have subsequently manifested increasing confidence in our work and efforts. Several circumstances have contributed to hinder our course, and especially the aspect of political affairs, which at one period, even within the past few months, seriously threatened to involve our country in a war with Prussia.

At the moment when war appeared imminent, the friends of peace in this city received support from all parts, both from Germany and from our own French provinces. And it must not be forgotten that the very first appeal on behalf of peace, the first protest against the war, came from Germany, from Prussia, even from the very heart of Prussia. We must remember that on the other side of the Rhine, the writings and addresses of M. Simon of Treves, the speeches of Dr. Jacoby, the letters of M. H. de Fichte, the addresses of the German Association in Switzerland, concluding with the words " Prosperity to France, and prosperity to Germany also ! " the memorials forwarded from the Freemasons of Fribourg, in Briegan, from the Industrial and Musical Associations of Fribourg, and from almost all the Working-Men's Unions throughout Wirtemberg — all these, simultaneously with ourselves, raised a cry for peace which spread throughout France as with the rapidity of lightning. In addition to these pacific allies on that occasion, we might mention many others, as, for instance, the Industrial Societies at Bieberich, Frankfort, Hanau, Limbourg, Mayence, Offenbach, Oppenheim, and Wisbaden. We might appropriately acknowledge the influence of the letter written by M. Grothe, burgomaster of Schwelm, to M. J. Dollfus, Mayor of Mulhouse, and the pacific efforts of the *Gazette du Peuple*, at Berlin. As is well known, the conciliatory address of the working-men at Berlin was immediately followed by a similar one from the students of the Faculties at Paris, and also elicited a favorable response from Parisian working-men, which address immediately received 1,500 signatures.

The apprehensions of war were eventually allayed by the Diplomatic Conference of London, and tranquillity was established on both sides of the Rhine. It was everywhere acknowledged that we did our duty in this emergency, and we succeeded. Nevertheless some even of our friends have questioned the propriety of our continuing to agitate for peace, after the attainment of the special object of the efforts I have just mentioned. We have also had to encounter a greater obstacle than the mere indifference of some professed friends ; we have had to meet absolute opposition. So numerous are the sad vestiges of the party-spirit which has troubled our country during the past century, so great is the distrust and bitterness which this spirit has everywhere rooted in men's minds, that it is often very difficult to credit with genuine disinterestedness those persons amongst us who undertake any service for the public good. Even when their disinterestedness is admitted, it is further to be regretted that they seldom meet with cordial, or at any rate, with due esteem. Hence arise hesitation and apprehension lest aspirations for peace and denunciations of war should be made a cloak for secret ulterior designs. Hence the men who candidly avow that they seek no other object than the triumph of their acknowledged principles, are regarded with inconceivable pity and disdain. I speak from per-

sonal experience ; for, on several occasions, I have received the most eager offers of assistance to our association by persons who presumed that we had in view certain other ultimate purposes than those ostensibly avowed, but abandoned us when they perceived that we were only striving honestly for the triumph of our professed principles.

There is yet another difficulty with which we have had to struggle. I allude to a tendency, unfortunately too common in this country, towards lukewarmness, indifference, timidity, and a deficiency of self confidence. The indifference arises from a want of interest and of further examination into the nature of what is really a grand movement. The timidity is too often owing to an insufficient conviction that faith without works is dead. It also springs from a too prevalent unwillingness to profess, decidedly and openly, really good principles, and desires which are secretly cherished in the heart and mind. The want of self-confidence and of self-esteem is the result of a morbid depreciation of the value of individual service in any great movement. The greatest forces are often produced by the union in one direction of a multitude of smaller forces. It is drops of water which form streams, streams unite into rivers, and rivers roll down their tributary waters to form the vast and irresistible ocean.

After all, we have not had much cause for complaint. For, notwithstanding the limited extent to which the public have responded to our appeals, notwithstanding the difficulties of various kinds resulting from the circumstances in which our labors have commenced, and from our comparative inexperience hitherto, we have received from every quarter the most encouraging assurances of approbation and sympathy. In particular we have received promises of persevering and faithful co-operation from many of the public journals of Great Britain, the United States, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, and even from those of Sweden and Denmark. The Vienna Society of Political Economy, an association well known, has given us its cordial co-operation. In our own country, another association with similar objects to our own, and established previously to ours, is earnestly and successfully pursuing its pacific efforts. I allude to the Peace Union of Havre, which, if I mistake not, now contains 7,000 members."

M. Passy then proceeded to notice briefly some of the various documents and publications issued by the League of Peace during the past year, and alluded to some of the most interesting portions of the correspondence of the Association in several places and countries outside of France. As a practical proof of the sincerity of the sympathy of the working-men's unions with the Peace cause, many of them had accompanied their limited contributions, saved, in some cases, with difficulty from their limited wages. Other contributions had been received from the most distant parts of the world ; as, for instance, a draft for 100 francs from an unknown correspondent at Monte Video. Amongst the correspondence of the League special mention was made of letters of adhesion or sympathy received from Sir David Brewster, Elihu Burritt, John Stuart Mill, M. Moynier of Geneva, President of the Society of Public Utility, and his colleague, Dr. Appia ; M. Schulze Delitsch (the founder and chief organizer of working-men's unions in France), and from Mr. Blanchard, one of the oldest veterans of the Peace cause in the United States, now in his eighty-fifth year.

M. Passy, also, gave an interesting account of his recent tour in Belgium, where he had been received in the most friendly manner, and had held a succession of peace meetings, chiefly in the manufacturing towns, where he had addressed crowded audiences, who manifested the most unanimous

and enthusiastic approbation of the principles and objects of the League. Another portion of M. Passy's address, which elicited much applause, was his allusion to the recent earnest interposition of two royal ladies—the Queen of England and the Queen of Prussia—exerted for the maintenance of peace between France and Germany.

SPEECH OF M. VISSCHERS, of Belgium, President of the Brussels Peace Congress in 1848.

He began by a brief sketch of various Peace movements in the past half century, both in Europe and America, alluding in particular to the four international Peace Congresses held at Brussels, Paris, Frankfort and London. He also recurred with special and lively interest to the personal exertions of some of the prominent friends of Peace in England, and then recommended to the meeting the attentive consideration of the four fundamental propositions discussed and adopted at the Brussels Peace Congress, namely :—

1. Inasmuch as an appeal to arms for the settlement of international differences is opposed to the interests of religion, reason, justice, humanity, and the popular welfare, it is the duty and advantage of the civilized world to devise and adopt measures for the total abolition of war.

2. It is of the utmost importance to impress upon governments the necessity of arbitration (permanent arrangements for which should be settled by treaty) as a friendly and just mode of terminating international disputes. Special arbitrators, or a supreme Court of Nations should be called upon to decide, as a last resort, where ordinary arbitration proves unsatisfactory.

3. It is desirable that, at an early period, a Congress of Nations, composed of representatives from each country, should assemble to establish a code of regulations for the future mutual guidance of states in case of dispute. The institution of such a congress, and the adoption of a code sanctioned by the common consent of all nations, would constitute an effectual means for the attainment of universal peace.

4. It is requisite respectfully to call the attention of governments to the necessity of adopting, by a general and simultaneous movement, a system of mutual disarmament, which, whilst reducing the expenditure of nations, would at the same time remove a constant source of irritation and disturbance. Mutual confidence and the interchange of friendly offices are as advantageous to the interests of each country in particular as to the general maintenance of peace and the world-wide development of national prosperity.

M. Visschers made some general observations upon these four propositions, in particular in the importance of an international code as a basis for arbitration. The establishment of such a code is the special object of the efforts proposed by the Havre "Union of Peace"—an association whose principles are analogous to those of the Paris "League of Peace." As is well known, Professor Leone Levi, of London, has long labored assiduously in the great work of reducing to one general code all the various laws affecting the commerce of nations.

If time permitted, said M. Visschers, I would invite your attention to several illustrations of disputes between nations, as, for instance, those between the United States and Great Britain, and between the United States and Mexico, which have been satisfactorily arranged by means of arbitration, or mediation, or, in consequence of protracted negotiations, conducted with the calmness and dignity befitting free and independent states. The doctrines of the Friends of Peace are based upon the real interests of mankind; and these are now steadily making progress, and influencing even the con-

ferences of diplomacy. I hold in my hand an extract from the 23rd and 24th protocols of the conferences which were held in Paris, after the campaign of 1855, to arrange for the conditions of peace with Russia. I will not read this extract; but I may mention that the Earl of Clarendon, after having drawn attention to the calamities of war, which on that occasion had been but too recently and abundantly experienced, procured the insertion, in the 7th article of the treaty of peace, of a stipulation providing in future for "recourse to the mediation of a friendly nation, in case of any dispute between the Sublime Porte and any of the powers who by their representatives affix their signatures to this treaty." The British plenipotentiary was of opinion that this "happy innovation," to use his own expression, would perhaps obtain a more general application, and might thus become a barrier to the occurrence of conflicts which are often entered upon merely because there does not exist a certain and readily available means of mutual explanation and arrangement. He, therefore, further proposed that the contracting powers should take into consideration the propriety of agreeing upon some resolution which might in future facilitate the maintenance of peace without undue interference with the independent action of their respective governments. This proposal was immediately accepted by France and Prussia; and the plenipotentiaries as a body at once agreed "to express, in the name of their respective governments, their judgment that any states between whom serious differences may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances may permit, to the good offices of a friendly power."

It is not merely the intrinsic excellence of the principles held by the Friends of Peace in America and Great Britain, which has procured for them so successful a hearing in those countries. Their success has been materially promoted by the systematic and judicious manner in which they have set forth their views, organized their conferences and meetings, and industriously diffused their principles by periodical and other publications. They speak to you of a God of peace, and of the bonds which should unite all men as children of the same God; they show you the mode of promoting the popular interests of nations by conciliatory and friendly means; but they do not indulge in useless denunciations of governments, which are, in general, only the representatives of the prevalent public sentiment of the nations over which they are called to rule. In matters which demand reform, it is every way the best course to say to the governed classes, "Commence this reform yourselves." Force and violence are mere ephemeral means. Many men consider that to be the best government which carries out their own wishes and satisfies their own desires. But let us, in attempting to determine our future condition, and in all matters affecting the present also, banish from our hearts every thought of violence and of reprisal. It is wisdom only which achieves durable conquests, and charity is the only true founder and perpetuator of our best social institutions.

SKETCH OF THE LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

HENRY RICHARD, its Secretary, gave an admirable *résumé* of its course. "The Society represented here today by myself and my associates, has been in existence," he said, "for more than half a century, during the whole of which time we have never ceased, by the press, by the pulpit, by the platform, by the parliamentary tribune, and by all other means and agencies through which we act on the public opinion of our country, to propagate

and enforce our principles of peace on earth and good-will among men. We have issued and put in circulation, I may fairly say, many millions of publications, in the form of books, journals, pamphlets, tracts, and even placards on the walls, — for we have neglected no means by which we could arrest the eye and engage the attention of our countrymen, — while there is not a city, nor a town, and hardly a considerable village or hamlet in the United Kingdom, into which our lecturers have not penetrated, at one time or another, and have addressed the inhabitants in public meeting assembled, on the principles and objects of the Society. During the last year alone, there were more than two hundred and thirty of such meetings held. We have also, at different times, brought those practical measures, by which we desire to give effect to our principles, before the Imperial Parliament, especially by the mouth of our lamented and distinguished associate Mr. Richard Cobden, who submitted to the House of Commons, on one occasion, a motion in favor of International Arbitration, and on another, in favor of a mutual and simultaneous reduction of armaments. The Peace Society supported him by many hundreds of petitions sent from all parts of the country to parliament, and by memorials addressed by constituencies to their representatives, which obtained for his proposals greater attention and respect in the legislature than even his great name could have secured without these manifestations of public opinion.

“The Friends of Peace in England consist of two sections. One of these ground themselves on deep, earnest, religious principles and convictions. They regard war in all its manifestations as being opposed to the will of the Supreme Father, who has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth, and who cannot take delight in seeing his children rend and devour each other; and especially they condemn it as being essentially and eternally at variance with the spirit and teaching of Him whom Christendom professes to reverence as the founder of its faith, and who, in his own language, ‘came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them.’ The other section grounds itself on philosophical, humanitarian, economical views. It denounces war as an outrage on reason, as a scourge of humanity, as pregnant with manifold evil influences on the social, commercial and political well-being of nations. But these two sections of our party, while starting from somewhat different premises, do not find the smallest difficulty in combining and co-operating for the attainment of a common object.

“If I am asked what effect we have produced by our teaching on general opinion in England, I answer that it is difficult to measure moral influence. You cannot move for a parliamentary return of its operations; you cannot put them into a schedule, or in statistical tables. It is subtle, impalpable, like the light of heaven, and the air we breathe; but like them, also, it is penetrating, diffusive, irresistible. And my conviction is, that we have produced a very marked effect on the public opinion of our own country, which is revealing itself in various ways; but in none more remarkably than in this, that our countrymen have almost universally accepted our principle of Non-intervention, which means this, that while England continues to feel deep interest in whatever concerns other nations, it has no right to interfere in them by force of arms; that its duty is to mind its own business, and that it can far more effectually promote the cause of liberty and order by giving to other nations an illustration, by its own example, of liberty and order combined, than by intruding and intermeddling, and trying to impose its ideas and institutions upon others. I may, also, cite the testimony in our favor of a most competent and impartial witness, that of Lord Stanley,

our present Minister of Foreign Affairs, and in my judgment the best minister who has occupied that office within my memory, because the most conciliatory and pacific. In addressing a deputation from the Peace Society, which waited upon him a few weeks ago, on the subject of our relations with the United States of America, his lordship said that he thought he could congratulate the members of the Society upon the popularity of its principles, 'for now,' he added, 'it is known throughout Europe—the fact is, at least, acknowledged, however much foreign nations may be puzzled by it—that the policy of England is emphatically a policy of peace.'

"I need not say, that during a course of fifty years, our cause has had to pass through many vicissitudes. There have been times when we have been very popular, and when our countrymen have greeted us and our exertions with great applause. But there have been times, also, when, feeling it our duty strenuously to set ourselves in opposition to certain warlike propensities and outcries that have manifested themselves among them, we have fallen in their estimation, and have been reproached, reviled, and ridiculed. But throughout all these changes, we have never swerved from our principles, never lowered our standard. And if there be one word of advice which, as the result of our long experience, we may presume to give to our new associates of the League of Peace, it is this:—whatever may betide, whatever difficulties may beset your path, whatever temporary unpopularity you may incur, hold fast by your convictions, at every price, through evil report and good report. It is better to stand by the side of truth—which is eternal and immutable, even amid reproach and ridicule—than to try to accommodate yourselves to the shifting schemes of political expediency, or the capricious impulses of popular passion. By so acting, you will be sure ultimately to gain your reward, not only by having the approval of your own conscience, but by extorting from your very adversaries a tribute of respect to your steadfastness, consistency, and courage.

"And in this enterprise we have need of such qualities. For the evil we assail is one of formidable strength. It has struck its roots deep and far into the traditions and prejudices of the past. It is nourished by the influence of that classical education, saturated with the spirit of war, through which the most intelligent minds of Europe are made to pass. It gathers around itself a halo of historical and poetical glory which dazzles the eyes of the multitude; and it is unhappily closely associated with the interests of large and powerful classes who are pledged to its maintenance and extension. On the other hand, it is impossible to doubt that there are large and growing forces at work in favor of peace. No one can cast an eye of intelligent observation over Europe, without seeing among the people of every country an increasing horror and hatred of war. Oppressed with the terrible burdens which in various ways it imposes upon them, escaping more and more as they become more enlightened from those national prejudices and passions which have inflamed them against each other, disenchanted of those false notions of honor which those who had an interest in deceiving them so long turned to their own profit, at their expense, the people everywhere are beginning to feel that it is more glorious to produce than to destroy; that the blue blouse of the workman is the symbol of a nobler occupation, and often covers a braver heart, than the soldier's uniform; that human beings have been called into existence by God, and endowed with such various and marvellous faculties, for some higher purpose than that of cutting each other's throats. In fact, they are increasingly disposed to adopt as their maxim the burden of a song which some time ago was very popular in England, which said,—

“ ‘Let the men that make the quarrels
Be the only men to fight.’ ”

“ I believe that much of the hostility and alienation which divides the nations arises from pure ignorance ; and the nearer they approach and the better they know each other, the more will they be inclined to respect, to trust, and to love each other. I remember a story told of a farmer in Wales, my native country, who lived far away among the mountains. One cold November morning, he went out early to inspect his land. When he quitted his house, he found the whole country enveloped in a thick fog. As he advanced onward, he saw in the distance, looming through the fog, a strange figure that seemed to be gigantic in its proportions, and hideous and menacing in its aspect. It appeared to him like some monster or wild beast. He clutched his stout oaken cudgel with a firmer grasp, and went forward to do battle with the foe. But as he drew nearer the unnatural and repulsive form, the apparition began gradually to subside, and the sun at the same moment bursting forth and dispersing the fog, he found, when he came up to it, that the shape which had so excited his fears, was not a monster but a man, and not merely a man, but his own brother, who, from a neighboring farm, had come to pay him an early visit. Has there not been some delusion of this nature between nations? We have looked upon each other from afar, through the distorting fog of prejudice, so that an Englishman has appeared to a Frenchman and a Frenchman to an Englishman, almost like a monster. I am not sure that there is not something of the same sort even now between you and your neighbors the Germans. Judging from some of the journals published on either side of the Rhine, it would seem as if Frenchmen and Germans regard each other as monsters. But depend upon it, the nearer we all draw to one another, and the more the sunlight of intelligence breaks forth, and scatters the sinister prejudices of the past, the more we shall find that we are not monsters but men, and not men merely, but brothers, and the more shall we be disposed to stretch forth our arms, and clasp each other's hands in cordial and lasting amity.”

It seems that representative friends of Peace, not only from different countries, but from various and conflicting forms of religious belief, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, were present. We will quote a few specimens of each.

THE JEWISH RABBI'S SPEECH.—M. Isidor, Chief Rabbi in Paris, said, “ I have been invited by my esteemed colleagues on the Committee to address this numerous assembly. I enter upon the subject before us with cordial interest ; for the objects to which we aspire, are those which are in harmony with all the convictions of my mind, with every feeling of my heart, and with the most fervent hopes of my soul.

“ We assemble for the promotion of peace in its religious sense, that is to say, liberty of conscience in its relation to God, and peace in its social aspects, by which we understand the grand aim of a world-wide international alliance for the increase of the moral and material prosperity of all lands. Is not this fraternity in its best sense, and is not such fraternity the basis of all religion? Where we propagate peace principles among men, are we not walking in the footsteps of God, whose children we are, children all of whom He embraces in the boundlessness of his love!

“ Universal peace! Oh, energizing and celestial thought! Would that this noble conception might indeed be realized in this nineteenth century which

has already given birth to so many attractive and grandly progressive movements! Would that such a blessing could diffuse its presence among mankind everywhere! May the movement in which we are now taking part, be as the dawning beams of a glorious sunshine, whose meridian warmth and splendor shall at no distant period be universally participated in. Such are our prayers and our hopes.

"But after the interesting discourses to which you have listened, what am I to say? Yet, gentlemen, my very presence here among the representatives of the three great religious parties in France, is itself more eloquent than words of mine could be. For it proclaims the noblest conquest of modern times; it proclaims the cessation of religious persecutions; it indicates that the chief obstacle to the attainment of this universal peace, to which we all aspire, is surmounted; that one-half of the journey is accomplished, and that we have reason to hope the remaining half will ere long be also traversed, and the whole course completed. Then also our labors will be ended and our dreams realised.

"War has been attacked and proscribed in the name of philosophy, of social economy, and of national happiness. I have just attacked and proscribed it in the name of religion. I have just shown that war is contrary to the will and the purposes of God, and that it is further utterly impious; and I hope that under this quadruple assault it will eventually succumb.

"God has entrusted this world to man in order to populate, to fertilize, and to adorn it. God, the Father of all, desires the happiness of all; and yet we, deluded as we are, seek to change the purposes of God, and sometimes, under vain prettexts, we massacre our fellow-creatures, and carry mourning into the midst of nations. Tell us not that the glory of a country consists in its conquests, or in the extent and increase of its territory. No! the true glory is not that of an extended territory, nor of a numerous population, still less is it the possession of a large army. It consists in the great principles which a nation proclaims, in the noble ideas which it represents, in the happiness, the progress, and the civilization of its inhabitants.

"Allow me to relate an Eastern parable. I am, to some extent, myself of Eastern origin, and therefore, it is natural that my style should savor of that region. The parable to which I allude is to be found in the Talmud, a book with which few, if any, among you are probably acquainted, and hence I am not in danger of repeating what may have been already alluded to.

"Once on a time there was a great and terrible battle between two nations. In those days there did not exist, as now, the engines of war which kill hosts of men in an hour, and whose horrible efficiency has become a matter of modern military pride. In those days, the appliances of war were more rude, although, alas! their effects were too similar in the long run. After the combat, towards evening, when the ground was strewn with corpses and flowing with blood, there suddenly fell upon the ear, amid the sad silence of death, the loud and rejoicing strain of hymns and thanksgiving. This was the chant of the conquerors rendering their acknowledgments to the God of victory for past assistance, and supplicating, with praise and psalm, a continuance of His favor in the future. But suddenly there was heard a mysterious voice in the air saying: 'Cease your chanting; I will accept neither your prayers nor your offerings. These men, now lying in the dust and motionless in an eternal sleep, were, like yourselves, my children; and you grieve and insult me, and blaspheme my name by these manifestations of joy in the presence of the blood which you have shed.'

"That voice, my friends, was the voice of God; and it is his condemnation of all war waged in the name of the God of armies. The God of armies! what blasphemy! In the Bible, God calls himself the God of justice, of mercy, and of pity, but never the God of armies. That term is an invention of men, contrived to give specious warrant to an evil cause. I have read the Bible over and over again; I read it as a daily duty, and I almost know it by heart; and I defy any one to find in it these words, 'the God of armies.' It is a false and dangerous term. The expression which is sometimes translated as the 'God of armies,' or as 'the Lord of hosts,' signifies the God of heaven and earth, the Creator of all beings, who watches over all his creatures, and desires their mutual good-will in place of hatred, their union by a loving reciprocity, instead of their slaughter of one another by a ruthless warfare.

"Wherefore should our estrangements be justified by pleas of difference in religion and nationality, or by mere geographical boundaries of river and valley? Do these things alter the fact that we are brethren, the children of the one God who has created the north and the south alike? Oh, my brethren, yonder sun, guided by the mighty hand of God, the symbol of love and charity, sheds down energy and warmth and life upon all without distinction, on black and on white, on noble and on peasant, on the old world and on the new. But we, proud and disdainful as we are, seek to make artificial distinctions between ourselves and others, distributing our love and our hatred, our esteem and our scorn, among our fellow-men; forgetful meanwhile that we are all formed as by the hand of the same sculptor, and all alike endowed with the same glorious immortality. If I am the enemy of war, it is because I thereby fulfil a sacred duty, because I am faithful to that ancient religion of which I am a representative. Like all other religious bodies, we too have our articles of faith, and one of these which we are required to repeat daily, is expressed in these words, 'I believe assuredly that the day will come when men shall beat their swords into pruning-hooks, and when the lamb and the wolf shall feed peaceably together.'

"These, then, are our ardent desires and cherished hopes; and with such a hope for the future, let us mutually cultivate the most friendly relations. *Peace everywhere, and war no more!* Let us never cease to proclaim such a motto, until it is listened to and adopted in the councils of empires, and in the parliaments of nations. And even as a homely proverb says that the constant dropping of water eventually wears away the hardest rock, so the most inveterate prejudice will at length disappear before the light of increasing civilization. All the modern marvels upon which we pride ourselves — such as the steam-engine and the telegraph, drawing nations nearer together, and breaking down the old barriers between them — all these marvellous discoveries will also constrain us to mutual love and good-will. Children, as we are, of one and the same God, let us realize our unity, whether Catholics, Jews, or Protestants, whether French, English, or Germans, for truly One is our Father. May God grant that all nations may henceforth solve their mutual difficulties in a fraternal spirit, and that the ultimate decision of perplexing questions may be sought for, not at the cannon's mouth, but in the conciliatory judgment of wise men assembled in general Congresses of Peace."

SPEECH OF M. PASCHOU, Pastor of the French Reformed Church. — "I once took part in a large meeting presided over by a bishop, who commenced with these words, 'I have long observed that the best and most acceptable

speeches are the shortest, and sometimes even absolute silence occasions the most heartfelt satisfaction.' Gentlemen, I am very desirous of meriting your satisfaction by my own silence (Cries of 'No, no!' 'Go on, go on!'), but must not do so on this occasion, for M. Passy, who is the very soul of our committee, has handed me a letter, written by a venerable priest. I shall not read to you the whole of this exceedingly interesting letter from one who, as he tells us, feels himself to be standing as with one foot in the grave. His letter is too long to be read here at full length. His attention has been called to a newspaper article beginning with these words, 'By far the great majority of Frenchmen, including the most thoughtful, earnestly desire the prevalence of peace.' 'This is undoubtedly true. In our beloved country, wise men have proclaimed their abhorrence of all unjust war, and their deep desire for peace; nevertheless much remains to be accomplished in the way of pacific effort.' 'If perchance these lines should meet the eye of my brethren in the priesthood, I implore them to render their best aid to promote the triumph of this holy cause. For if this crusade, which is now being heroically entered upon by earnest-minded men, shall have the good fortune of throwing down the barriers of prejudice between nations, and of teaching them to understand and love one another, will it not have established in their hearts the fundamental law of Christianity? It is therefore a truly evangelical work to contribute to the successful accomplishment of this general union of nations. The same Christ died for us all. The love which flows from his Cross proceeds from an inexhaustible source, and must diffuse itself throughout the world. Let it be our honored privilege to prepare the channels for it.'

"At the same time that I received the above letter, continued M. Paschoud, another from a Protestant clergyman was placed in my hands; and with your permission, I will read the concluding portion. 'War is hateful to me in every stage of it, whether in its preparation, its course, or its sequence. In its preparation it is hateful on account of the demoralizing dangers which are inseparable from standing armies. It is hateful during its course by reason of the savage atrocities of the battle-field, which modern engines of war cover, as in a moment, with dead bodies. And it is hateful in its sequence, because of the prolonged ill-feeling which is engendered by so many disasters, and which so effectively estranges races created for mutual intercourse and amity. On every consideration of the question, I am afresh impressed with that sublime declaration of Jesus Christ, which might appropriately be adopted by your League as its motto, 'Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.'"

M. Paschoud, also, read a part of a letter from M. l'Abbé Gratry:—"Let us contemplate in its full extent the admirable thought of permanent, general, and ever-extending peace—a peace both social and international, diffusing its righteous influence throughout Christendom in the first place, and then over the whole habitable globe. Without predicting the precise course of events, I can positively affirm that it will become the duty and the honor of every man to labor to the utmost of his ability in the establishment of this divine peace throughout the world. Peace between Christian princes has ever been advocated by the Catholic Church, which not only endeavored to secure it during the middle ages, but which, as Roman Christians, still ceases not to inculcate it. Henry IV. almost succeeded in accomplishing measures for the establishment of that grand object. European peace again has long been the desire of wise men. Kant earnestly advocated it. Bentham pleaded for it on grounds of justice and expediency. Even Napoleon admitted it in

principle when he exclaimed, '*Every European war is a civil war.*' The whole science of political economy demonstrates the duty and importance of peace as essential to the very existence of nations. And whose duty is it, beyond all other men, to strive to the utmost for this sacred peace? *The minister of the Gospel!* When the Gospel minister in every place earnestly undertakes the effort, then we shall see the world advance in its progress as from glory to glory."

Further, a still more influential voice, a voice which reaches to the farthest extremities of the world, that of the reigning pontiff, Pius IX., has declared, "It is essential that war should disappear, and be driven from the face of the earth."

"In conclusion, permit me to say a word of myself. I am a Protestant. You know it has often been said 'every Protestant is a pope with the Bible in his hand.' Well, I say just as the Pope said: 'IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WAR SHOULD DISAPPEAR FROM THE EARTH.' I am humiliated, profoundly humiliated, that this Gospel which you the priests and we the pastors have so long been preaching, this Gospel which is the code of human fraternity, which was heralded by the celestial anthem, 'On earth peace'—I am humiliated, I say, that this Gospel has hitherto made so very little progress that we are able to estimate at not less than millions upon millions the number of our brethren who have massacred one another in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost! I am indeed humiliated that, at the present day, we have to establish a league to counteract the *possible*, or, as some say, the *probable* recurrence of similar calamities. Priests and pastors, perhaps the fault has been in some measure our own. It may be that in our religious teachings we have on all occasions too exclusively insisted on our particular ceremonies and our traditional dogmas, and not sufficiently enforced a hatred of war and a horror of bloodshed. It is a noteworthy circumstance that there is not a catechism, at least to my own knowledge, which contains a single section, chapter, or even word against the crime of war! Should it be left to mere chance, as among the ancients formerly, who had no law against parricide, that the fratricide of the battlefield should have no place among the condemnation of Christian laws? We must now enter upon another path, and must uncompromisingly oppose this glorified homicide.

"Priests, rabbis, and pastors of every religious denomination here assembled, are, then, all agreed on these two points: *First, It is essential that war should disappear from the earth. Secondly, The ministers of religion must labor to accomplish this result.* Very well, then, side by side with our respective manuals of religious instruction, let us have a common manual, a CATECHISM OF PEACE; and let every minister in every synagogue, in every consistory, in every diocese, let all the clergy everywhere, with this new breviary in their hands, march as one regiment to the conquest of peace, to the abolition of war!"

SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PEACE MOVEMENT. — We think it means a great deal. It proves a degree of popular interest on the subject wider and deeper than was ever witnessed before. It seems in several countries to have arisen simultaneously among the people, and looks like a protest from them to their rulers against the War-system which has been so long crushing them to the earth under its enormous burdens, and forcing so many of their sons, in the bloom and vigor of life, into its hard and murderous service. It is

an outcry of Humanity against the War-Moloch; the voice of those toiling millions, whose labor of hand or brain furnishes the only real support of society and government, calling on their rulers for relief from the vast evils under which they now suffer.

This movement, moreover, develops a new set of habits among the people of Europe. In ages past they left to rulers such questions as these; but now they claim the right themselves to deal with them in a way to subserve their own interests. They betray as yet no disloyalty to their rulers; but, should the evils complained of continue, they will in time compel either an entire abandonment of the War-system, or a very large abatement of its evils. Matters have reached a point where some decisive change in the interest of the people is inevitable. Already restive under its oppressions, they will become more and more so until rulers will be able to avert revolution, which they so much dread, only by concession to their wishes.

Another augury of success in this movement we find in the character of the men enlisted in its support. They are obviously among the best men in the community, the most intelligent and influential, men of culture and ability, men in the learned professions, authors and journalists, leading men in the principal religious denominations, Catholics, Protestants, and even Jews, representative men, who create or control public opinion on all the great questions of the age. Here is certainly a nucleus of vast moral power, that may yet make itself felt all over Europe. God grant it may, as it probably will in time if government does not interfere to neutralize its influence and impede its progress.

There is another aspect of this movement which seems quite suggestive. There has been no little diversity of opinion about the best way of carrying on our cause; but when men attempt anything in earnest and to good purpose, we find them almost invariably coming into the practical views and measures we have always urged. They push forward directly to the grand, sole object in view, *the abolition of the War-system*, and give comparatively little heed to side-issues, impracticable abstractions, or any extremes of either principles or measures. They see the huge, mammoth evil; and whatever or whoever will contribute aught for its removal or abatement, is gladly welcomed. Here is practical wisdom; and we rejoice to see radical men on both sides of the Atlantic, men who have heretofore been dissatisfied with us for not endorsing their extreme views, shaking hands so cordially with a class of peace-men in Europe far less thorough than we have always been. Our own course has aimed to cover the whole evil we seek in this cause to do away; and whoever in any way, on any principles, or for any reasons, will help us do this, ought to be welcomed as a co-worker.

STANDING ARMIES.

Before the French revolution of 1848, the wisest liberal statesman in Europe pointed out the wasteful armaments of its sovereigns as the chief hindrance to liberty and civilization. "They are foolish," he said, "because the increase of its military strength by one power only leads to a similar increase by its neighbors, and the result is clear loss to all. They are hypocritical and immoral; because the growth of them is always accompanied with new and continued assurances of frank and cordial amity. Above all, they are threatening;" in that they excite dangerous animosities between nations, and perpetuate the fear, hatred and suspicion which some day will break out in war.

These appeals of Richard Cobden were met by the cabinets of Europe, a generation ago, with scornful indifference. The few who heeded them were known to the wisdom of "conservative" politicians only as visionary and unpractical dreamers. But history has since brought the evil he denounced into yearly greater prominence, until sovereigns themselves can no longer be blind to its immensity; and the policy of disarming, which he urged before upon governments as a duty to the people, is now discussed in their own councils as a necessity of their own existence. The evil grows so rapidly, indeed, that it must soon be literally intolerable.

Of all the nations of Europe, Great Britain is conspicuously that which is least burdened by her army and navy. Having almost withdrawn from interference in continental politics, and abandoned Pitt's jealous guardianship of a fictitious "balance of power," she has little to fear or to hope from her relative military weakness or strength in comparison with her neighbors, and little motive to rival them in their establishments for terror. Yet the frightful expenditure of \$63,102,302 for her army and navy in 1833, which was the text of Cobden's splendid attack upon their uselessness and waste, had already doubled in 1860, and seems little likely ever to be less than \$120,000,000 again.

England is rich, and takes a pride in the very grandeur of the wastefulness, in spite of which she grows richer. But everywhere upon the continent of Europe the people are impoverished by this wanton rivalry of kings in their power for mischief. No war is raging. Every court is profuse of pacific assurances. The chief mischief-maker of the world himself, Napoleon III., distrust of whose purposes is the principal plea of all other rulers for arming to the teeth, keeps protesting that he means only peace. But France steadily adds to her army; Prussia, Italy, Austria, Russia, even Spain and Turkey imitate her; until now trade and commerce, all arts and all industries are crushed by a load which, if permanent, is hopeless, and from which millions are ready to turn for relief to the fierce but transient desolations of a general war.

The statistics of the number of men now withdrawn from peaceful labor, and the sums of money drained from the people, to be wasted in these "preparations for war," are startling. France has just increased her effective military strength, until the Emperor is able, within a month, to bring 1,200,000 drilled troops under arms. The other governments named are exhausting their resources to make proportionate levies. France has just negotiated a new loan to meet the cost; and Spain, Austria, Italy and Russia are already practically bankrupt. But the figures of all this destruction for former years, before the last and greatest increase of expense, are before us.

One year ago, the peace establishment of the standing armies of Europe, entirely apart from the police and from volunteers, militia and veteran reserves, included something more than 2,800,000 men actually under arms. The number of horses in the cavalry and artillery service was much more than 300,000. The "ordinary budgets" of the several governments, for their armies and navies, amounted to \$562,000,000 in gold. But much of the outlay for these purposes was concealed under the form of "extraordinary budgets," such as that of the French government for ordnance material and that for the new rifles for infantry. The actual cost of the armies to the laboring people cannot be estimated at less than \$700,000,000.

No imagination suffices to realize the loss this system inflicts hourly upon the world. Suppose that the wrath of the elements or a pestilence should sweep away from the most civilized nations three millions of young men in the prime of their strength and intelligence, would it not be the most appalling calamity in history? Yet they would be dead; and the human race would grow again to fill their vacant places. But now they are changed by the will of their rulers from producers to consumers; from laborers for the progress of man to a mere burden upon society. Nor is this done once for all, but every successive year the young who grow into usefulness are decimated by tyranny for this doom worse than death.

It is a thankless task to put into strings of figures the losses thus suffered. They are far beyond the limit at which figures cease to convey an intelligible notion; and, like the cycles and distances of which geology and astronomy tell us, they are only curiosities of knowledge, or, at most, themes for amazement. To say that the disbanding of these armies, and the restoration to industry of their members, would add six millions of dollars a day to the wealth of the world, is, however inconceivable, a moderate statement of the truth. Who can set any limit to the results which such a reinforcement of productive labor might achieve in a generation?

When it is remembered that the commerce of the world upon the water, with sixteen millions of tonnage, is carried on by the personal labors of only six hundred and fifty thousand seamen; and that these labors, transporting merchandize worth \$8,500,000,000 annually, add to its value not less than a fifth, or \$1,700,000,000, what shall be said of the magnitude of the crime which robs mankind every year of nearly five times that amount of service? Or, considering that the entire manufactures of Great Britain, which have made her the richest nation on earth, represent an industrial population of less than six millions, or say at most one million two hundred and fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms, what does it suggest of a system which practically destroys enough of human labor and skill to form two such nations? The number of able-bodied men thus thrown away in Europe, or made available only for mischief, is greater than that of all the laborers now engaged upon the soil of the great Northwest, from the Ohio and Missouri rivers northward to the Canada line.

Besides all this loss there remain unanswered and ever strengthening, Mr. Cobden's objections to these armaments, that they are foolish, because unavailing even for the worthless end they seek; that they directly tend to debase the morals of courts as well as of soldiers and of the people; and that, ruinous themselves, they threaten greater ruin by constantly provoking to war. The greatest achievement now possible for international statesmanship is their abolition. This failing, there remains only exhaustion or revolution. — *N. Y. Evening Post*, Sept. 4, 1868.

OUR LOSSES IN THE REBELLION — were doubtless far greater than have been, or ever will be, reported; yet the Surgeon-General long ago recorded 260,000, and these he supposed to be some three-quarters of the whole. At this rate, we lost outright nearly 350,000; but we presume, from what we know of reports and estimates in other wars, that this number was little, if at all, more than half of what were in one way and another *lost on our side alone!*

EFFECTS OF REBELLION IN CHINA. — A traveller in China, speaking of the awful carnage in the Tae-ping rebellion, states that a belt of land 400 miles long, and 200 wide, is literally without an inhabitant, and a district that once yielded 90,000 chests of tea per annum, is now a deserted waste.

The gospel was meant to avert such terrible evils as these, and *will* when rightly applied; but does *our* application of it in our own case promise such a result? Should our missionaries press the claims of the gospel on the Chinese, as the world's great Pacificator, and tell them how it would prevent such evils, might not the Chinese point to our own rebellion, and ask in bitter incredulity and scorn, what the gospel has done for ourselves? 'You bring us what you call a gospel of peace; but what has it done for yourselves? As understood by your practice, what is it worth as a peacemaker? For four long years you were butchering one another by hundreds of thousands, and inflicting upon each other in a thousand ways, a most appalling amount of mischief and misery. And now you ask *us* to become *such* peacemakers! Physician, heal thyself. First, show at home what your religion will do to prevent such crimes and calamities, before you preach peace to us.' What answer could our missionary make to such a home-thrust?

U. S. MINES. — The total gold and silver product in 1867, as near as could be ascertained, was for

California.....	\$25,000,000	Colorado.....	\$2,500,000
Nevada.....	20,000,000	New Mexico.....	500,000
Montana.....	12,000,000	Arizona.....	500,000
Idaho.....	6,500,000	Other sources.....	5,000,000
Washington.....	1,000,000		
Oregon.....	2,000,000	Total.....	\$75,000,000

In twenty years from 1848: —

California.....	\$900,000,000	New Mexico and Arizona...	\$5,000,000
Nevada.....	90,000,000	In jewelry, plate, &c., and	
Montana.....	65,000,000	circulation on Pacific	
Idaho.....	45,000,000	coast.....	45,000,000
Washington.....	10,000,000	Other sources.....	50,000,000
Oregon.....	20,000,000		
Colorado.....	25,000,000	Grand Total.....	\$1,250,000,000

INTERNATIONAL FORGIVENESS.

"IF YE FORGIVE NOT MEN THEIR TRESPASSES, NEITHER WILL YOUR FATHER FORGIVE YOUR TRESPASSES." — MATT. VI. 15; MARK XII. 26.

Appalling to vindictive desire is this award of retributive justice ; but in the angry emotion and ferocious animosities of men, how little is it considered. The pride of social or political power utterly ignores it. Literally considered, this declaration amounts to a condition of salvation. Of what avail for that hope, the soundness and firmness of your faith ? What the fervency of your piety, what your self-sacrificing beneficence, if you harbor resentment against your offending brother ? If you still seek to inflict retaliation for his injuries, you will not be pardoned for your own sins ; you are yet an object of punishment, and not of regenerated acceptance. This is not a mere casual remark, but is a permanent Divine law, as is evinced by a parable (Matt. xviii. 23 — 25), revoked only on repentance.

It is not to urge these consequences of revengeful feeling and action, as a theological doctrine, that this divine law is now brought to view ; not to oppose it to any of the tenets of sects ; not even to inculcate its humanity to those in subjection, who may offend the possessors of power. A more noble and more useful purpose is to exhibit its blessed effects on an offended party, who in magnanimous self-restraint shall entirely conform to this Christian injunction.

It is not wonderful that so ample a reward is promised to obedience in this case, when the difficulty of that obedience is fully appreciated. Resentment seems an instinctive propensity of all animated beings. Brutes are ever seen to return injury for injury, whenever unchecked by fear ; and the very sentiment of compassion given to man for the alleviation of misery, too often passes to anger against a cruel oppressor. The suppression of this ingrained sentiment is the most arduous moral conflict ever assigned to man, and to repay injury by benefit, insult by kindness, is an achievement, before which all the heroism of the warrior fades into ease.—PROV. xvi. 32.

Unhappily, the blessed results of such a self-conquest is not discerned by many. A powerful stimulus to the attempt would be furnished could the felicity of a mind in which love is the paramount sovereign, be vividly foreseen. If it is true that every sin or folly receives its inevitable punishment, and every good deed its reward, in future recollection, no person, however favored by his circumstances or character, can expect to be freed from disquietude, who is surrounded by moral enemies, made so by his retributions, however esteemed to be just ; while he who has made every enemy his friend, by forgiveness and kindness, enjoys a celestial serenity of mind, inconceivable to those who yet suffer revengeful passions to reign within them.

These remarks are especially applicable to *the intercourse of nations.*

Governments are but men, and many of them profess to be Christian men, and as such, as much amenable to divine judgment in their capacity as rulers, as they would be in private life. In receiving injuries or insults from each other, then, governments are not impelled to immediate retaliation, by sudden emotions of compassion or of anger, overwhelming for a moment all considerations of justice or expediency. Their preparations for hostility are made with deliberation, and in time personal feelings are precluded, and determination on martial coercion is made on the ground of protecting the interest or honor of the nations they represent. Here then the violation of the law of forgiveness is more coolly and deliberately made. There is no ungovernable passion or instinct to plead, even necessity is not always alleged, and seldom or never with truth. In entering on war, nations enact retaliation of injuries alleged, as calmly and even proudly, as if it was not a forbidden crime.

But national honor is sometimes pleaded as requiring this punishment for insults received. Submission to these, without retaliation, is deemed cowardly and disgraceful. But this so-called honor is only unforgiving vengeance in undisguised defiance of the injunctions of Christ. It is a malignant design to wash out imagined dishonor in the blood of martial murder, in ignorance of the far greater honor that would come from forgiving kindness, as well as disregard of all the sacrifices and miseries necessarily endured by war.

Greater and surer as are the safety and efficacy of the resort to forgiving kindness over those of physical force, these are not the highest inducements to adopt that course; it is the truly glorious and happy moral advancement it will promote. Let the principle of international forbearing kindness be assumed as the law of nations, and its spirit encouraged by rulers, among their subjects, and how harmoniously beneficent would be the aspect of society. Ferocious crimes of violence would seldom be known; the intolerable burden of military establishments would be removed; pauperism, the great evil of nations, would be diminished; political tyranny would subside into equalizing fraternity, and the sound of war no more be heard. Love, the essential doctrine of the Gospel, would be the dominant power, and the kingdom of Heaven, for the acceleration of which the prayer of Christ was offered, might be established, in which the will of God should everywhere be done on earth, as it is done in Heaven. J. P. B.

COST OF CADETS. — Every cadet in the Military Academy at West Point, that chief nursery of our embryo warriors, is said to cost \$15,000, the bare interest on which is about \$1,000 a year, and when he gets through, he is generally expected to live on the National Treasury at a cost varying from some two to eight or ten thousand dollars a year.

PRE-EMINENCE OF MORAL POWER.

In times past those men have sunk out of influence who have represented violence and passion. We read yet of the warriors of the earlier ages ; but who thinks now of citing them as influential persons ? Cæsar, Alexander, and Hannibal had great power in their day, but what influence have they now ? Napoleon and the host of warriors that rose up around about him, had eminent power in their day ; but what influence have they now ? They do not influence a single pulse in the world's economy. The questions which the world is now thinking about, the influences that are heating the hearts and stimulating the imaginations of men, are questions and influences that leave those old warriors quite out of sight. Their thoughts are our thoughts no longer. They were men of animal strength ; and they have gone down.

Next above these men are those who represent ideas ; and orators, poets, and philosophers now stand in honor near where they once did ; but the few names that have as much power now as they had when they lived, and even more, are the names of those who represent active goodness. In the old dispensation, what figure rises more august than that of Moses, the Law-giver of the Desert ? Or if you go among the islands and through the archipelagoes of the Mediterranean, of all men that have lived, what one is known to more than Socrates, and what one is felt so much ? Or, if you take your flight back again, and traverse any part of Southern Europe, what single man has so stamped his influence upon the minds of men as Paul, the lowest and the least in his own time ? Paul was a seed, an acorn, in his own day ; he is an oak now, covering an acre. Subsequent to that time, not the men that sat upon thrones or commanded armies, are now the most influential, but those who were then groaning under thrones, or suffering in dungeons. Martyrs, and philanthropists, men that lived and dared to die for a principle, are the men whose lives are now being written.

Yet how few are absolute believers in the promise, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth ?" How many men do you find believing that meekness is the road to success ? How many are there who believe that the man who refuses violence, and suffers wrong cheerfully and sweetly, is stronger and more sure of the ends he seeks than he who combats and rebels ? And yet this is the declaration of God's word. The men that know how to suffer and to wait ; that know how to return good for evil, and to overcome evil with good ; these are the men that have the most power. It is not the man that has numbers on his side, or laws on his side ; it is not the man that has the most eloquence, or the largest feeling, but he who manifests the greatest amount of true moral feeling, that is the strongest. It may take time to develop such strength, and to prove that man to be the best and strongest ; but it *will* be shown.

As the world grows older, these things ought to be better and better understood, because there are more and more frequent expositions of them.

I began to be cognizant of public affairs about the year 1810, and from that time, I have watched the course of the progressive men of the country, as they are called. How many who filled the whole land with their reputation, are even known today ? It takes only about ten years in this country to make a man a "great man," and to bury him. We raise more mushrooms than any other land in the world. It takes less time here than in any other land to bring a man into conspicuity, and to make him "great." When once a man is rooted in a newspaper (and mushrooms grow well on

dunghills) he springs forward with amazing alacrity. But how long do mushrooms live? How many men, whose names were once on everybody's tongue, are ever thought of now?

Let no Christian man seek eminence by the false methods of the world, or be ashamed of the true method of securing it. Let no man lack faith in the gospel way, the way of meekness, but the way of real strength, the way which old John Milton splendidly called "the invincible might of weakness." As the world ripens, the moral kingdom gains ground, and both in the individual and in the nation, it requires more to be a man today than it ever did before, more to influence men than it ever did before. As Jesus Christ was himself a sublime instance of the triumph of these truths, so he is today the author and inspirer of the same power in all who love him. His poverty made the world rich. His sorrow was more than the whole world's joy. His silence was more potent than royal proclamation. Christ's Gethsemane had in it more than all the splendor of Athens, or the pomp of Rome. His death was more than all the life of all the men that then lived upon the face of the globe. Without an earthly kingdom, without armies, without an exchequer, yet he is the Prince and the Saviour, and he will rule the world, and yet shall come to judge it.—*H. W. Beecher.*

A man who can consistently argue in this way, ought to be as outspoken and earnest a champion of Peace, as he has been for Temperance or Freedom.

WEARING ARMS.—Most governments forbid the practice of going armed as dangerous to the general peace and safety. We find the governor of even such a duelling State as Kentucky, in his recent inaugural address, protesting earnestly against it. He says "it has been the prolific source of much mischief, and the loss of many noble young men." Very true; but the principle underlies the whole war-system, and is fully sanctioned by its continuance throughout the civilized world. Thus nearly every local government, in legislating for its own subjects, puts the brand of a practical reprobation on the very system which they unite as a body to sanction and support. War is the great duel of nations, rests on the same principle with duels between individuals, and has even fewer excuses for its suicidal barbarism and brutalities.

EFFECT OF REBELLION ON EDUCATION.—"All our schools," says the *Biblical Recorder*, N. C., "preparatory as well as collegiate, are greatly depressed. There are not half the usual number attending schools of any kind; and as for our colleges, they have not one-fourth of their original numbers. What is to be the result of all this?" A full and true answer to questions like these, respecting all departments of education, in common schools, in academies and high schools, in colleges and theological seminaries, would doubtless reveal an extent of mischief, neglect, deterioration and degeneracy but imperfectly conceived at the North. We wish somebody at the South would give us the facts in the case.

THE PEACE REFORM ADVANCING.

THE advocates of peace have cause of gratulation, on a survey of the present state of the most enlightened portions of the world, at this period. The last Peace Convention, or Congress, held at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Germany, was perhaps the most effective of any, in view of the great number of delegates attending from almost every European nation, and from the United States. Richard Cobden, at the head of the English delegation, the largest present, was the most attractive and powerful speaker; while France, Germany, and the United States were heard in eloquent strains. The noted Austrian warrior, Haynau, who had no desire again to visit the London beer establishments, was sometimes present, and his presence was once alluded to by Mr. Cobden. At that period, the most public square bristled with Austrian cannon. While admitting the force of argument, Europe was not prepared to profit by it, as the subsequent events at Sebastopol, in Lombardy, and in Bohemia testify.

We may refer, also, to the long defence of Mexico against the French invasion, the seemingly interminable quarrels of the little South American Republics, the four years' defence of our government, and the subsequent triumph over a wicked rebellion. Gen. Napier has been sent to punish a Mahomedan African prince, and the Pope and Garibaldi are still *unreconciled*; the native Indians are far from being pacified, or satisfied, to say nothing about the awful threatenings of Generals Frank Blair, with Wade Hampton's, Forrest's, Semmes's, and Howell Cobb's threatenings of what they *intend*, in deeds of arms — in case of the united rebel and democratic success in November next!

Still, the most powerful nations of Europe, either through fear of one another, or from better motives, while retaining war positions, seem disposed actually to *keep the peace*. The influence of the British Queen, we doubt not, went far to prevent the threatened break between France and Prussia. Arbitration of differences is becoming more common; and let us hope and trust, that the great cause, through conventions and the powerful writings of its eminent friends, is steadily advancing in the civilized world. So, let us take courage. J. P.

We are glad to see in the above from a veteran in our cause, now verging on ninety years, one of our Representatives at the Frankfort Peace Congress in 1849, so hopeful a tone and spirit. May he live to see his hopes more than realized. — Ed. Adv.

FAVORABLE OMENS. — We think the prospects of our cause were never in the main brighter, the world over, than they are at this hour. True, only a fraction of its great work is yet done or attempted; but many

powerful influences and leading signs of the times are conspiring to insure and to hasten its triumph. In England, in France, all over Europe, throughout Christendom, even in the remotest nations of pagandom, are manifold and mighty influences at work in favor of the great consummation we seek. We cannot now dwell upon any of these; nor need we, for we think the dullest eye, if not asleep, must see them on every side. But these favorable omens, so far from relaxing, should just stimulate more and more our zeal in a cause which so imperatively demands a hundred-fold increase of effort.

PUBLICATIONS ON PEACE. — We have reissued fifty-one of our stereotyped tracts, from four to twenty-four pages each, and new editions of our popular volumes, *Peace Manual*, and *Dr. Hancock on Peace*. Most of these are being already distributed among the people; and we are hoping for a much wider and louder call for these and our other publications.

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

CONTENTS.

Preaching on Peace.....	147	Peace Views at the South.....	162
Commendation of the Peace Society.....	149	In other Sections.....	163
Increase of our Operations.....	150	Cost of English Wars.....	164
Prayer for Peace.....	151	Paying off our Debt.....	165
The Alabama Question.....	151	Peace Principles in the English Elec-	
Funds needed in Peace.....	152	tions.....	166
Contribution to our Cause.....	153	Standing Armaments.....	167
British War Debt.....	153	Non-Intervention in England.....	167
Success in the Peace Cause.....	154	England's Past Wars.....	168
Activity of Peace Men in England.....	155	War Expenses.....	170
Peace through Law.....	156	Peace Operations in France.....	171
Peace a Christian Work.....	157	Peace Election Documents.....	172
Anti-War Christians.....	159	Power of Love.....	172
Our Wars with Indians.....	160	Progress of Popular Rights.....	173
Sir John Bowring on Peace.....	161	Popularity of War Loans.....	174
Press on Peace.....	162	Death of Mr. Blanchard.....	174

 Please look especially at pages 147—53. 

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
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED, MAY, 1828.

Its object, as stated in its Constitution, is "to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and devise means for securing universal and permanent peace." For this purpose it seeks to form a public opinion in favor of superseding war by peaceful expedients more effectual than war, for the great ends of international security and justice, such as Occasional Reference, Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations. These expedients, identical in principle with the system of laws and courts provided by every government for its own subjects, we would have extended, with suitable modifications, to the brotherhood of nations for the settlement of their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals and minor communities do theirs. The Society prints and circulates pamphlets, tracts and volumes, holds public meetings, and maintains correspondence with the friends of peace in other countries, watches against the approach of national hostilities, and strives to prevent them by timely remonstrance. It endeavors, also, to enlist in this cause the Christian pulpit, the entire periodical press, and all seminaries of learning, as the chief engines for creating or controlling public opinion; and by such means it hopes in time to induce governments to exchange their present war-system for peaceful, Christian methods of settling their difficulties. It invites the co-operation of all who are willing to aid in thus promoting peace on earth and good-will among men.

FUNDS.—In carrying on these operations as they *should* be, there will be needed, at least for a time, quite as large an amount as in the Bible Society. Besides an office and a Periodical as its organ, the Society ought to establish in all great centres of business depositories of peace publications, and employ in every State one or more lecturing agents to keep the subject constantly before the whole community, but more especially to bring it before ecclesiastical bodies, seminaries of learning, and the State and national governments..

SOURCES OF INCOME.—Besides collections, donations, legacies, and the sale of publications, there are Life-Directorships, \$50; Life-Memberships, \$20; Annual Membership, \$2; to all which the society's periodical is sent without charge, and for a year, also, to every donor of \$1, or more, and to every pastor who preaches on the subject and takes up an annual collection for the cause.

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1868.

PREACHING ON PEACE.

An evil so deeply rooted and so universally diffused as War, can never be removed, or seriously abated, except by the joint, persistent efforts of Christian communities. Nothing short of this will ever suffice. It is glaringly absurd to expect that a handful of men, a mere fraction of the community, united in the Peace Society, can alone achieve a reform so vast and exceedingly difficult, the most arduous and far-reaching social reform ever attempted. We never made any such promise, never indulged any such dreams. We are only pioneers in this great work, and have undertaken not to do it all ourselves, but mainly to bring and keep the subject before the public as well as we can, until Christians as a body, the church of Christ and her ministry, can be induced to take hold of it in earnest, and use, at length, the means appointed of God for doing away this master sin and scourge of our race. If they will do this, we shall hope in due time for success; but if not, this mammoth evil must of course continue until they will. Like the officers of the Bible or the Missionary Society, we are only agents of the Christian community interested in this great Christian reform, and can do no more than they shall give us the means of doing.

Such is our mission; and in fulfilling it, we must call especially on Christian ministers of every name to aid us in this work. They all profess to be friends of peace like ourselves; and, as the cause is as truly theirs as it is ours, we ask them to treat it as such by giving it their countenance and advocacy. They ought to be, and must be, the chief leaders in every such enterprise of benevolence or reform; and without their cordial, habitual countenance and active co-operation can

any such enterprise hope for much success? They must put themselves before the public as its advocates, and from the pulpit and the press must keep its claims before the community. It is mainly thus that the power of the gospel can be brought to bear with decisive effect on such evils as war; and we ask them, in the discharge of their duty as ambassadors of the Prince of Peace, to enforce this part of the gospel with the same fidelity and earnestness as they would the duty of repentance or faith. In what way they shall do this, we leave each one to decide for himself. They may not do it in the best way; but if really intent on making an earnest, effective application of the gospel to the case, they cannot fail to help us more or less in this great reform.

We are anxious to have this subject, as a part of the gospel, and one of its promised results, brought before every congregation in the land. Ecclesiastical bodies, representing our chief denominations, have recommended that every minister preach on this subject at least once a year, and suggested the month of December, generally on or near Christmas, as a fitting season for the service. If each preacher cannot do this for his own congregation, could not the different ministers in a place unite, as they often have done on the subject of Temperance, in a general meeting on the subject?

We see not how any Christian minister can refuse a request so reasonable as this. Peace is confessedly an integral part of our religion, one of its grandest, most glorious peculiarities; and when rightly applied, we all believe it will one day banish war from every land blest with its light. Why has it never once done this in any part of Christendom for the last eighteen centuries? Such is the fact; but how shall we account for it? Where lies the responsibility for this long, sad failure? Certainly not in the gospel itself; but solely in the neglect of Christians to make a right application of its pacific principles to the case. It is a fearful responsibility this that has so long rested on the professed followers of Christ. In his gospel they now have, as for ages past, God's chosen remedy for this terrible evil; and had they done their whole duty on this subject, the custom of war would, centuries ago, have melted away from every Christian land. How much longer will they continue this neglect, and let the war-system continue to overspread all Christendom with its flood of evils?

COMMENDATION OF THE PEACE SOCIETY.

There has been no lack of such commendations. Ecclesiastical bodies, representing the principle denominations in our country, have repeatedly passed resolutions in favor of our cause, "commending it to the Christian community as eminently entitled to their co-operations and support." In 1853, when we were making a special effort in connexion with our co-workers in England, we received the following testimonial from the representatives of *nine* religious denominations. We copy it entire with its well-known names, though nearly half of them (in italics) have since passed to God's registry in the spirit-world.

"The cause of Peace we regard as an eminently philanthropic and Christian enterprise of great importance, and every way worthy of sympathy and support. It has already accomplished much good with a very small outlay of money. It would doubtless accomplish vastly more, if it possessed adequate means; and we think it deserves, as it certainly needs, a large increase of funds. The American Peace Society, charged with the care of this cause in our own country, and whose management has deservedly secured very general approbation, we cordially commend to the liberal patronage of the benevolent in all religious denominations; more especially to men of wealth, on whom this enterprise, more than almost any other, must chiefly depend for support."

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INCREASE OF OUR OPERATIONS.

The collapse of our rebellion did not, as some expected, open the way at once to wider and much more successful efforts in our cause. The improvement has been very slow. The sword was sheathed ; but neither the South nor the North was at rest, nor could be before the results of the rebellion had crystallized themselves into a permanent form and condition. The public mind was still kept on both sides in a state of extreme tension, and could hope for little or no repose, until the issues of the battle-field had been wrought into some system of reconstruction.

Anticipating this, we have been making arrangements for a much wider extension of our efforts, especially at the West which is so soon to rule the nation. We have already sent there within the last few months more of our publications than ever before ; and besides appointing several lecturers on that field, we have taken steps for the establishment of a *Western Department or Agency* under a Western Secretary.

All this will of course call for a larger number and variety of publications. Accordingly we have begun to stereotype new tracts, and several popular volumes. Charles Sumner's two admirable performances, his *True Grandeur of Nations*, and his *War-System of the Commonwealth of Nations*, works sufficient of themselves to mark an era in the Literature of Peace, are now in the stereotyper's hands, and will soon be in the press, each making a volume of considerable size. A revised and enlarged edition of William Ladd's able, popular work on a *Congress of Nations* is in a course of preparation to be stereotyped. We have in hand, also, the manuscript of a practical, popular, comprehensive work on the general subject of Peace, as valuable as any now before the public, making some three hundred pages duodecimo. Besides these, we wish to republish from England some popular works, designed more especially to interest and indoctrinate the young on the subject.

In the hope of carrying these plans into effect, our Executive Committee have recommended a special effort to raise *Ten Thousand Dollars* as indispensable for the purpose. The object needs a much larger sum ; but if promptly furnished, it would give a new impulse to our

cause, and a much wider extension than it has received for a long time. Now is the seed-time of this cause; and we earnestly hope our friends will soon furnish us the means of carrying all these plans into full effect.

We cannot, however, hope for success without a large liberality on the part of our friends who possess large means. Two friends, though of moderate resources, have pledged, one five hundred dollars, and the other one hundred dollars. A good beginning; and if others will do as well, we shall soon have our ten thousand dollars.

PRAYER FOR PEACE. — Christians are wont spontaneously to ask God's blessing on every cause in which their hearts are enlisted; and their reluctance or neglect to pray for peace through the world as one of the distinctly promised results of the gospel, proves how little interest they yet take in the actual fulfilment of this grand and glorious prophecy. The Peace Society, originally at the suggestion of ecclesiastical bodies, has requested Christians to unite during the month of December in an annual concert of prayer for the permanent reign of Peace first through Christendom, and finally, along with the gospel, through the world. Will not Christians unite this year in such a concert of prayer? If not in public, will they not in private?

THE ALABAMA QUESTION. — This dispute between us and England seemed, under our new minister, to be for a time in a fair way to a sure and even speedy adjustment; but for some reasons not yet fully disclosed there has come a hitch in the negotiations which threatens to protract and perhaps complicate the controversy. In the present state of the case, we can do little more than repeat what we have felt and said from the first respecting our difficulties with England consequent on our rebellion, that we entertain no serious fears of their ever leading to actual war. There is too much good sense, too much vital Christianity, and a public opinion too strong against any such suicidal folly, for us to believe that the people or the rulers of either country will ever allow an appeal to the sword for the settlement of any such issues. Still there is danger in delay; and the controversy should be hastened to a final decision. Left as it has been for years, it must breed ill-feeling, if nothing worse.

WHY THE PEACE CAUSE NEEDS FUNDS.

It is a great mistake to suppose that this cause needs little money or labor. It must have a very large increase of both. It is the most difficult of all reforms. Neither slavery, nor intemperance, nor any other evil, was ever more widely or more deeply rooted than war. Nearly as old as depravity itself, springing from the strongest passions of our nature, wrought into the texture of every society and government, the world's chief idol in every age and clime, how exceedingly difficult must it be to do away such a custom. Yet it *can* be done, but never without proper and adequate means. These means Christians are bound to use until the whole custom of war shall cease from every Christian land. With the gospel in their hands, and the promise of God's blessing on a right application of its principles, they *can*, if they will, secure this end by a persistent use of the means he has appointed for the purpose.

We cannot give here the details of this work. They will vary in subserviency to its great purpose of leavening the whole community with the principles of peace, and thus creating everywhere a public opinion that shall gradually bring the war-system into disuse among nations, discard more and more the sword as the arbiter of their disputes, and lead them at length to supersede it entirely by such rational, peaceful substitutes as Negotiation, Arbitration, or a Congress of Nations.

A consummation so important can be reached only by wise, vigorous, long-continued use of appropriate means. The great engines of influence upon the popular mind must all be kept at work. The press, with its four or five thousand periodicals existing here before our Rebellion, must everywhere be enlisted in earnest, habitual advocacy of this cause. Our own tracts, nearly a hundred of which have already been stereotyped, must be scattered in every city, village, and hamlet. Our forty thousand churches, each with its pulpit, sabbath schools, and other moral appliances, must all become so many nurseries of peace to educate a new generation of peacemakers. The subject, as a practical question, must everywhere be brought before the people. Able lecturers must traverse the land. In every important centre should be established a depository of peace publications, to be scattered in every village and habitation. There should be employed one or more agents to look after the cause in every State, to deliver lectures, circulate publications, and bring the subject by petitions before our rulers.

Now, can all this, or anything like it, be done without a very large increase of funds? Never; there must be a tenfold, if not a hundred-fold increase. With the pittance hitherto furnished, it is vain to hope

for any considerable degree of success. This can come only from adequate means; and until the friends of God and humanity shall use such means, this cause, so vital to the world's highest welfare for time and eternity, must continue to droop and languish. They must give it their time, labor, and money, as largely as they do to any other enterprise of benevolence or reform. There is no other way to success; but let them do this, and its triumph will be sure.

What amount of funds may be needed in this cause, we cannot say precisely, but vastly more than is generally supposed. We cannot issue periodicals, and send forth lecturers, and circulate tracts and volumes by tens of thousands, and bring the question before legislatures, ecclesiastical bodies, and seminaries of learning, and keep in operation all the other agencies and influences requisite for full success, without an expenditure akin to that of the Bible, Tract, or Missionary Society. Money is just as indispensable in this cause as in any other; and its friends, if intent on its success, must contribute to it as largely as they do to any other enterprise of benevolence or reform.

But how slight the utmost cost of peace compared with that of war! Less than one to a thousand. Her war-system costs Christendom even in peace some two thousand million dollars every year; and a single million, or quarter of a million, might, if used in season and aright in this cause, have saved nearly all these countless myriads. Our Rebellion is supposed, besides its fearful waste of life, to have sacrificed not less than eight thousand million dollars on both sides; and the bare interest on only one of these eight thousand millions, if wisely spent during the last fifty years in spreading the principles of peace throughout our country, more especially at the South, would doubtless have prevented the crimes and woes of this gigantic conflict. Can money be used to any better purpose than in averting such evils?

☞ **ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION TO OUR CAUSE.** — The usual time for this, as all our friends know, is in December. We hope they will bear this in mind, and, before deciding what they shall do for the cause, will read anew and ponder well several of the first articles in this number touching the special effort we are making to give it a new start, and a much wider extension than ever before. We need in this effort much more than they can give; and whatever they can give, we hope they will forward as soon as they conveniently can to the *American Peace Society, Boston*.

BRITISH DEBT — was reported, April, 1868, as amounting to £787,000,000 (\$3,935,000,000), and the annual charge upon it for interest and management, to £26,425,000, equal to \$132,000,000. The debt considerably larger than ours, but the sum-total interest less, as the rate of interest averages nearly three per cent less.

SUCCESS IN THE PEACE CAUSE. .

Most persons judge the merits of an enterprise mainly by its success ; and a fair, full examination of the facts in this case would prove that Peace, in proportion to the means thus far used, and the obstacles to be overcome, has accomplished much more than could have been expected. It is the most difficult social reform ever attempted ; and yet has it, with the merest pittance of means, already made itself felt on public opinion throughout Christendom. On this point no man can doubt who has carefully pondered only the facts we have published during the last six months respecting its progress in England and on the Continent.

Or take some facts of an earlier date. This cause started soon after the downfall of Napoleon ; and from that time, the general peace of Europe, excepting only the quarrels between its rulers and their subjects, its *international* peace, was preserved for forty years in spite of provocations that would, a half-century before, have overwhelmed that whole continent in blood. So of ourselves. In 1837-38 we were in imminent danger of war with Mexico ; and John Quincy Adams publicly attributed our escape at that time to the efforts of Peace Societies. We were seriously exposed, in the course of a few years, to war with England in three instances — the Canadian troubles, the Northeastern boundary, and the Oregon dispute ; and, had public opinion in the two countries been what it was fifty or thirty years before, no diplomacy could have prevented a conflict. The general peace enjoyed during this period was as fairly attributable under God to efforts in the cause of Peace as the spread of Christianity has been to the missionary enterprise, or the progress of temperance to labors in that cause.

Those who undervalue this cause as of little or no use, cannot be aware how much it has done to preserve peace between ourselves and England for more than half a century. It was in no small degree owing to its influence, direct and indirect, that in 1853 a commission was entered into for an amicable adjustment of *all* the claims on either side which had been accumulating ever since the war of 1812-15, and continually breeding provocations to war. But for a public sentiment far more pacific than prevailed fifty years before, it would doubt-

less have been impossible for us during our rebellion to escape war with either England or France; and today it is due mainly to their sentiment, created more by Peace Societies than by any other specific agency, that such irritating questions as that of the Alabama Claims did not long ago fret and goad these two nations into a terrible war.

ACTIVITY OF PEACE MEN IN ENGLAND. — We think their example worthy of all imitation. A very important election, under the recent reform bill, is coming on very soon; and we find them scattering far and wide facts, arguments, and appeals, bearing directly on various points of the peace question. Three of these in particular are found in the last *Herald of Peace*. One is on *the enormous waste of the public money*, quoting such men as Gladstone, Disraeli, Bright, Mill, Osborne. Another is *an address to electors*; and a third a series of stringent test-questions to be put to candidates for their votes.

Here are some specimens of what these documents contain: — “Since 1815, the Government has spent 1,068 millions sterling on its army and navy, and 1,529 millions sterling in the interest of the national debt for past wars. We have thus spent in fifty-four years of peace (interrupted for two years by the Crimean war) the enormous sum of 2,597 million pounds on account of war,” about equal to \$12,985,000 in gold. “The present year, 1868, the cost of the army and navy is £28,587,531; the interest on the National Debt, £26,571,750; the outlay on fortifications, £530,000; making a total for one year of £55,689,281, as war expenditure only,” or more than \$278,000,000. “This is at the rate of £152.573 per day, £6,357 per hour, or exactly one hundred guineas per minute, day and night, throughout the year, on account of war expenditure. The remaining 15 millions of the nation’s annual total expenditure (about 70 millions) suffices for the civil government and all other expenses. So that 9½d. out of every shilling, or 16s. out of every pound of taxes is appropriated to war expenditure. The remaining 2½d. in the shilling on all taxes suffices for all the liberal expenses of civil government.”

Here is one of the clues to this extravagance. “It has been said by a member of parliament that ‘the House of Commons hates economy.’ And why? Because there are 184 officers, 106 lawyers, 41 members of government and office-holders, and 41 who expect to be office-holders, all interested in expenditure;” in all, 372, or more than half of all the members.

PEACE THROUGH LAW.

The great desideratum of the day is to convince men that the intercourse between nations is to be governed by precisely the same principles as the intercourse between individuals. None deny that individuals must exercise toward each other forbearance, forgiveness, and brotherly love. Where, then, in scripture, or any code of ethics, is found the authority or sanction for nations resorting to brute force in cases of controversy? Where is the sanction, by God or man, for wresting territories from their lawful rulers, or sundering by force the constitutional allegiance which part of a nation owes to a whole? Is it said that an individual is debarred from violence because he may have redress under the laws of the land? Then surely it is only necessary that there should be a code of international law duly applied, to insure redress for an injured nation. One of the leading objects of the Peace Society is to procure, as a basis and guaranty of justice and security for nations, such a code.

The general use of Paley's Moral and Political Economy will account for much of the prevalent sentiment that war is sometimes necessary. But never was sophistry more weak than his. Paley says, "The only distinction which exists between states and individuals, is founded on this circumstance, that the particular consequence sometimes appears to exceed the value of the general rule." Here is the broad statement, that it is sometimes *expedient* for a nation to violate God's law, though never for an individual. But is not His law higher than the decisions of man's short-sighted expediency? A contract is not allowed to be violated by one of the parties because he may deem it expedient to do so. Neither should a treaty be broken, nor injustice allowed, though there be no treaty.

Just so soon as we allow expediency to be a sufficient ground for violating God's law, we are all at sea for a rule of right. Who but an omniscient God, seeing the end from the beginning, can tell what is expedient! He *has told us what is expedient*, viz., to do right, even when wronged, to return good for evil, to feed and clothe your enemy in need.

Our Government, at the beginning, deemed it *expedient* to allow slavery for awhile, believing that the system, deplored by all, North and South, would die out of itself. We now see and feel the tremendous results of that temporizing policy. So, too, it is deemed expedient to allow a great Territory to grow up in our Union, which practises polygamy. We shall yet see tragic results.

O Christians! Set yourselves in a solid phalanx against whatever God forbids, and bear whatever reproach your faithfulness may incur. Teach your children to rise above the prejudices of caste, color, or country, and to regard, not fellow-countrymen only, but ALL MANKIND AS BROTHERS.

PEACE A CHRISTIAN WORK.

The reforms needed in society are all a part of the great work which the gospel is designed and destined to accomplish for mankind. While seeking as its main purpose to prepare them for heaven, it overlooks none of their earthly relations or interests, but aims to guide, guard, and Christianize them all. It was meant for this life as well as for that which is to come, and is fitted to bless them both. The principles and habits of individuals, and the usages and institutions of society, it seeks to cast in its own perfect mould, and animate with its pure and loving spirit. It is the world's great social reformer; and this work, though chiefly incidental and secondary, is no less truly a part of its divine mission than that of converting men to God, leading them to repentance, and fitting them for heaven; nor ever can it fully accomplish this higher, more important service, without a direct, effective application of its principles to their earthly relations, duties, and interests.

We see not how such a view as this can be to the Christian either new or unwelcome. The Bible throughout deals with such questions as coming within its proper sphere. There is no habit of individuals, no usage of society, no institution or practice of government, on which it does not sit in judgment, and pronounce either its benediction or its curse. Especially on the subject of war is it emphatically outspoken, rebuking it as hostile to its own spirit, and repeatedly promising, as the result of its general prevalence, that 'nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and cease from learning the art of war any more.' No language could well be more explicit or more decisive; and thus clearly and beautifully does the Bible foretell the sure triumph, sooner or later, of that great reform in which we are engaged, the entire abolition of the war-system from every land blest with the light of the gospel.

Why, then, does this war-system still continue all over Christendom? Solely because the gospel, God's grand cure for such evils, has not yet been properly applied to the case. Had it been, this monster sin and scourge would long ago have melted away, like dew before a summer sun, from every Christian land. The fault is not in God or his gospel, but in Christians for not giving it a chance to accomplish this most comprehensive of all reforms. The remedy for this great evil has been all along in their hands; but they have failed to make a right application of it to the case, and no medicine, however excellent, can cure without being thus applied.

Here is the great want in this cause, — a right use of means. Such use is indispensable. God promises no end without them; and Christians must use them in this case, as in every other, before they can

hope for the abolition of war in any land. As well might they expect to see men converted to God without preaching the gospel to them, to sustain life without food, or breathe without air, as to do away the custom of war without a direct, persistent application of the gospel to the case. Such an application Christians have not yet made, but must make before God's promise, or their own expectations of peace coextensive with Christianity, can ever be fulfilled.

Is it, then, impossible to secure such an application of the gospel, such use of the means divinely appointed for the abolition of war in every Christian land? On such a point no Christian ought to doubt for a moment. There certainly is no impossibility in the case. It can be done; and Christians can do it if they will. Must we then doubt whether they will? Can they not, in view of all that the Bible says on the subject, and all they know of the evils inseparable from war, be persuaded to use the means which God has made necessary to secure a consummation so vastly important for the temporal and eternal welfare of our race? Can they never be roused to their duty on this subject? We cannot believe they will always fold their hands in indolence or despair, and float down this world-wide stream of pollution and blood, vice, crime, and misery, to the end of time. Will they never efface this brand of reproach from our religion of peace? God forbid. However profound their past or present slumbers, they will one day wake to their duty on this subject; and whenever they do, God stands pledged to crown his own appointed means, a right application of His gospel to the case, with full and glorious success.

It is, then, a question only of time. Sooner or later the consummation we seek *must* come; and it is for Christians to say, by their use or neglect of the requisite means, how soon it shall come, or for how many ages more of blood and misery it shall be postponed. The question should be brought home to every Christian, for he must meet it at the bar of God. We wish to press it now, since only now can it be of any avail. How much longer, then, will the disciples of the Prince of Peace continue their neglect of the means provided in his gospel for putting an end to war in every Christian land? Have they not already seen enough of its evils? In four short years, we alone lost an amount of treasure and life sufficient, with God's blessing, to spread the gospel well-nigh round the globe; and in the last five centuries, Europe has sacrificed enough to evangelize half a score of such worlds as ours. With facts like these staring them in the face, cannot, will not Christians wake at length to the claims of a cause so vital to the present and immortal welfare of our whole race?

The means requisite for success in this cause are very simple, and lie directly under every Christian's eye. They are all included in a right application of the gospel to the case; and these means are to be

used in the closet, around the fireside, in the sabbath and the common school, in all seminaries of learning, from the pulpit, the platform, and the lyceum, in halls of legislation, throughout the entire community, until public opinion on this subject shall be permanently recast in the mould of the gospel, the custom of war brought under its irrevocable ban, and the great brotherhood of nations led to supersede it forever by peaceful expedients alone for the settlement of their disputes.

Here is the cause of Peace in a nutshell. Let all this be done, as it can and must be in time; and just as far as it shall be, will the war-system, with all its enormous evils, melt away from every Christian land, and leave coming ages to wonder how it could ever have been tolerated by men professing a religion of peace.

ANTI-WAR CHRISTIANS.

All the professed followers of the Prince of Peace ought to be anti-war; but only a mere fraction of them have actually been so for the last fifteen hundred years. For some three centuries they did as a body treat war as incompatible with their profession as Christians, and refused, on peril of martyrdom, to bear arms. Of their logic we are not now speaking; we only assert the fact as undeniable. The nominal conversion of Constantine early in the fourth century turned the current; and, from that day to this, the mass of Christians have given to the custom their sanction and active support.

This war-degeneracy of the Church, however, has never been universal, but in every age there have been sporadic instances of dissent and earnest protest. Of such cases, we admit that history has preserved only partial, incidental, fragmentary records, yet enough to show that, in some form and to some extent, the strict principles of peace have in every age been held by the Puritans of the Church, the class of Christians, that, like the Waldensians, the Wickliffites, and a portion of Luther's followers, have always led the van of progress in the Christian world. Of these pioneers in Christian Reform there ought to be collected a fuller account than we have yet seen; and, should this ever be done, we cannot doubt that in our age some Christians, always the purest and best, will be found to have borne an unequivocal and earnest testimony against war as unchristian.

On this point, we occasionally meet facts of much interest to the friends of peace. We have recorded a number of such facts on our pages; and not long since, we came across one where we should have least expected it. In Southern Russia a friend of peace, travelling in that region, found a colony of "Defenseless Christians, or Mennonites," about thirty-six thousand from Prussia, who had left

their fatherland to escape the disabilities and military exactions which their consciences would not allow them to bear; and one of their number, Cornelius Janzen, sent to the London Peace Society fifty rubles (about £17) to aid in diffusing the principles of peace held by the Mennonites as by the Quakers. Their founder, Menno, was contemporary with Luther; and his followers, supposed now to number some two or three hundred thousand in Europe and the United States, have for more than three centuries adhered to their anti-war convictions and testimonies.

"On our way down the Danube to South Russia," says the traveller referred to, "we came a little into communication, at Vienna and Pesth, with some members of another remarkable religious society, who call themselves 'Bible Christians, or Believers in Christ,' but who are called by the outside world 'Nazarenes.' These people, also, hold that war is unlawful to the Christian, and uphold their testimony at all costs. One of their number, a tailor by trade, named Peter Zimbricht, was drawn for the army, and, refusing to serve, was sent prisoner to Vienna shortly before the late war in Prussia. He was treated there with lenity by the authorities, and allowed occasionally to visit his friends, who consoled him, and strengthened his faith. But when the war broke out, he was sent to join the army in the field, his sword and musket being tied to his body. At the battle of Sadowa or Konitzgratz, his commanding officer, finding him resolute in his refusal to fight, ordered him to be shot; but in the act of pronouncing the fatal order a ball or shell terminated his own life."

Could we trace the history of the most devoted followers of Christ in every age and clime, we should doubtless find among them far more of the pacific principle than is now suspected, even by its staunchest friends. Indeed, some germs of this principle will be found, on careful scrutiny, latent in nearly all that have ever claimed to be Christians.

WHENCE OUR WARS WITH THE INDIANS. — There is much, if not entire truth in the statement, that we are "charged before the civilized world, by the testimony of our own witnesses, of having been 'uniformly unjust to the Indians;' and it is stated by Gen. Sherman and his associate commissioners, that this injustice has been the cause of all the wars which they have waged against us." We have been for ages in frequent conflict with our red brothers; and now it seems on our own showing, that it has been all, or nearly all, our own fault. A modicum of William Penn's kindness, combined with his practical wisdom, would have averted most of these evils. Our Commissioner enumerates as the chief causes of our difficulties with the Indians,—

1. The dissatisfaction of the Indians in consequence of having been betrayed into the cession of their lands by pretended treaties.
2. The constant failure of the Government to fulfil in good faith its treaty

obligations with the tribes. 3. The frequent and unprovoked outrages and murders of Indians by soldiers and white citizens. 4. The impossibility of obtaining justice in local courts, or of punishing white criminals for the reason that *the testimony of Indians is not allowed in those courts*. 5. The unlawful occupation by the whites of lands not ceded nor treated for. 6. The shameful fact that of all the appropriations made by Congress for their benefit, but a very small part ever reaches them.

SIR JOHN BOWRING ON PEACE. — In 1843, at the first Peace Congress in London, we recollect well the prominent activity of Dr. Bowring, now Sir John, as a member of that Congress. Raised since to high places of diplomatic trust, we are glad to copy from the *British Friend* the following record of what he has achieved in this capacity : —

“ A treaty has lately been negotiated between Baron H. Rothschild and Sir John Bowring, the respective plenipotentiaries of the King of Sweden and Norway and of the supreme King of Siam, in which an article has been introduced, providing that in case of any misunderstanding between the sovereigns or subjects of the two countries, the dispute shall not be settled by an appeal to arms, but by the friendly arbitration of some neutral power. We are informed that this is the fourth treaty signed by Sir John Bowring in which this pacific clause has been made an international law. The first occasion was between the Belgian and Hawaiian Governments, in which the intervention of King Leopold induced his ministers to accept the proposal which has been since conceded in treaties made by the Italians and the Swiss. We are glad that Sir John Bowring (who was for many years the Foreign Secretary of the Peace Society) has been enabled in his old age to give practical effect to the convictions of his youth.”

It is thus that the cause of peace is silently diffusing its benign influences not only through Christendom, but even among the remote Pagan nations. We cannot say how far such influences from our cause have already gone in averting war, and gradually Christianizing the international policy of the world ; but we have no doubt they have extended much farther than is generally supposed, and are now undermining the war-system everywhere, and preparing the way for a general, permanent Policy of Peace. Such a policy Christendom ought to teach all nations, and might, we think, if she would, teach it soon, and with great success. Could she in any other way perform a higher service for God and Humanity?

THE PRESS ON PEACE.

SOME SPECIMENS OF BETTER VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT.

PEACE VIEWS IN THE SOUTH. — We early spoke a word in favor of the *Christian Neighbor*, published at Columbia, South Carolina; and we rejoice to see it justifying more than all we said in its commendation. It is an excellent little sheet, *multum in parvo*, and nearly everything in it quite to the point, especially on the peace question. We did not suppose the South anywhere contained views so thorough and well-reasoned on peace. We have been much interested in the discussions of the subject, *pro* and *con*, in the *Neighbor*. We give a specimen or two: —

“War separates and antagonizes, Christianity unites and harmonizes. War excites hatred, Christianity love. War encourages deception and treachery, Christianity sincerity and affection. War leads to theft, and disregard for private rights, Christianity to honesty, and a regard for the rights of others. War encourages revenge, Christianity forbids it, and teaches forgiveness. War degrades and demoralizes, Christianity elevates and makes virtuous. War desecrates the Sabbath, Christianity sanctifies it. War destroys the means of education, and environs its subjects with ignorance, Christianity leads to the improvement both of the mind and heart. War destroys churches, and leads to barbarism, Christianity builds churches, and spreads civilization and prosperity. War is the enemy of woman; Christianity is her friend. War makes enemies of friends, Christianity makes friends of enemies. War destroys manufactories, commerce and agriculture; Christianity is the friend and patron of them all. War leads to profanity, and blasphemy. Christianity says, ‘bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.’ War makes heroes of the cruel and ambitious; Christianity of the meek, gentle and forgiving. War destroys the very means of industry, and leads to idleness and profligacy; Christianity husbands the former, and encourages energy and enterprise. War is the most bitter curse that can possibly visit a nation, causing blight, desolation, and death, wherever it goes; Christianity is an angel of mercy, scattering her blessings, both temporal and spiritual, wherever she moves. The spirit and principles of war are from below; the spirit and principles of Christianity are from above.

We see in the following case how the question of the lawfulness of war is discussed, *pro* and *con*: —

“When you say Christianity condemns war as wrong under all circumstances, do you not, in effect, say God has contradicted himself? It is not necessary to quote Scripture passages to prove that He in ancient times not only *allowed* war, but *commanded* the Jews to engage in it. Now, is He ‘who changeth not,’ the author of a Christianity which condemns as wrong in *toto* that which He himself in time past enjoined as a *duty* under special circumstances? He commanded the Israelites to go forth to battle; but did He command them to *commit sin*? Yet you would have Christianity

condemn as wrong that which He himself did, or commanded to be done, only a few thousand years ago. It seems to me, that war was wrong then, or that, under certain circumstances, it is justifiable now. If war be absolutely wrong now, it must have been so then."

To this the editor answers: "We agree that obedience to God's command of *old* was incumbent on the Israelites; but war in the olden time, much more under the reign of Christ, would be wrong *in the absence of such specific command*. As there is found no authority for war either in the old covenant, the Decalogue, or the Gospel, it follows that war can be right *only when covered by a special order from God*. On this special order hang all the life and point of C. T.'s argument. And if he cannot produce a divinely authenticated special order for war in the Christian dispensation, he has nothing under heaven to hang his argument on. Where is there such an order? Going to war without it is absolute presumption, and, in the light of Christianity, absolute rebellion. To say there are 'certain circumstances' under which war would be justifiable now, and yet have no specific command from God to indicate *when* a war has those certain circumstances, is to do exactly what every warring nation has done since the coronation of Christ — take the question wholly out of the light of Christianity."

Such views as these are now published *at the South* by a Methodist, whose church in this country numbers more than a million.

PEACE VIEWS IN OTHER SECTIONS. — Take a specimen from the *Herald of Truth*, an organ of the Mennonites: —

THE TRUE DEFENSE. — I was riding in a stage-coach in Massachusetts. was full of passengers. There was one man whom the others called Colono. He talked a great deal about expending fifty millions of dollars to put the country into a state of defense. It would be a happy thing, I said, just what the nation needs; for it is in great danger, and ought to be put into a state of defense. "I hope," said he, "Congress will appropriate all the surplus revenue for that purpose." So do I, I replied. He began to think I was on his side, and to make quite free with me. But, said I, we may differ as to the *best way* of putting the nation into a state of defense. How would you do it? "Why," said he, "there is but one way." What is that? I asked. "To build forts and fortifications," said the Colonel, "all along our sea-coast and on our frontiers, to build more ships of war, to increase the army and navy, to fill the nation with implements of war, and improve the military system." I thought we should differ, said I. Now, I believe every gun and sword, every fort and ship of war, and every soldier, only adds to our danger. These are the very things that portend our ruin. We have too many of them already. If we had not one, we should be safer. "How, then," he asked, "would you put the nation in a posture of defense?" I would use the money to make all the people love their enemies, and be willing to die rather than kill them; to make all the world feel that we loved them, and that we had no means or disposition to hurt them in any way. Then we should be in a posture of defense. The people would all be armed with a power before which no nation could stand. No nation would desire to invade us. No nation *could* do it. Would not this

place the nation in a better posture of defense than forts, armies and navies? He confessed that it would, if the *whole nation* would adopt the method.

"If the *whole nation would.*" There's the rub; but if they will *not*, what shall be done? Continue the present suicidal policy? Of course they will until they shall learn and put in practice the wiser, safer, policy of peace. Whenever any nation shall do so, they will find it as effective as that of William Penn, which secured perfect peace with our most warlike Indians, just as long as it was continued in good faith. The only question is whether nations professedly Christian can be trained to treat each other in this way. We fully believe they can be, and sooner or later will be. But how? Never by the kind of training taught or tolerated for the most part in Christendom during the last fifteen centuries.

COST OF ENGLISH WARS.

We condense, mainly from English sources, an abstract, or bird's-eye view of the chief wars in which England has been engaged since her great Revolution in 1688, nearly two centuries ago. It will be found a text or starting-point for a world of thought.

War of 1688 lasted 9 years, costing	£180,000,000
Borrowed £100,000,000, the simple interest on which in 177 years (to 1865), at 34 per cent amounts to	203,000,000
War of the Spanish Succession, 11 years, cost	532,200,000
Borrowed 324 millions in 152 years, to	142,900,000
Spanish War, ending 1748, 9 years, cost	54,000,000
Borrowed 29 millions; interest in 127 years	128,905,000
War of 1756, 7 years, cost	112,000,000
Borrowed 60 millions; interest in 102 years	214,200,000
American War, 8 years, cost	136,000,000
Borrowed 104 millions, interest in 90 years	327,600,000
French Revolutionary War, 9 years, cost	461,000,000
Borrowed 201 millions, interest in 63 years	443,205,000
War against Bonaparte, 12 years, cost	1,159,000,000
Borrowed 380 millions, interest in 50 years	679,000,000
Crimean War cost at the time	74,230,000

Total £4,234,435,000
Or \$21,172,175,000.

Ever since the Crimean War, the annual cost of the British Army and Navy has been upwards of £10,000,000 per annum *greater* than in the years preceding that war. Eleven years of this extra cost amounts to

£110,000,000

which might fairly be added to the above sum, making the total amount of money *actually paid* by Great Britain upon her principal wars (and not including such "small" wars as those carried on in India, China, etc.), about \$22,000,000,000, or upwards of one quarter more than the whole estimated wealth of the United States before the late rebellion!

But the expenditure occasioned by these wars does not end even here; for the meddling policy in which they took their rise, has impelled our statesmen ever since to enter into that fatal system of rivalry in armaments by which the Great Powers are so strenuously striving to ruin their respective countries. Our statesmen having habituated themselves to believe that it was England's duty to take a part in every quarrel that may arise between its neighbors, it followed, as a necessary inference, that England must keep its military preparations on the same footing as theirs. With what result the following table of the sums expended on our army and navy *since the peace* will show:—

WAR EXPENSES FROM 1815 TO 1868.

Army and Navy, 54 years	£1,063,232,139
Interest of national debt, 54 years	1,529,032,268
Fortifications, 8 years only (1861 - 1868)	5,030,000

Total	£2,597,294,407
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or \$12,986,472,000, which, added to the above-mentioned \$22,000,000,000, makes nearly \$35,000,000,000.

WAR EXPENSES IN 1868 ALONE.

Interest of debt	£26,571,750
Army and Navy	28,587,531
Fortifications	530,000

Total	£55,689,281
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War expenditure <i>above</i>	£4,640,773 per month
	1,070,947 per week
	152,573 per hour
	105 per minute

One hundred guineas per minute, night and day, all the year round, is the expenditure for present armaments and for the interest of debts for past wars!

It is said that figures will not lie, and if so, how different would have been the condition of England if for the last one hundred and eighty years she had pursued a policy strictly pacific. In this period her war-policy has used up her entire property nearly twice over. Had this vast amount of wealth, with all the hands and heads employed upon her war-system, been engaged with equal zeal in developing her resources, and taxing her energies, she might have been, every rood of her territory, like the garden of Eden, such a wonder to the world as would have done a hundred times more by her home example to win converts to her religion of peace than all her devoted missionaries have yet done, or can in long ages to come.

PAYING OFF OUR DEBT.—We see it stated by a reliable writer on finance, that the cost of our late war amounted, in 1865, to \$3,287,733,829, and that no less than \$800,000,000 of this had been paid. If we did seem at first to plunge headlong into debt, we certainly have begun to set a good example by a prompt, determined effort to pay it all off as soon as possible.

ENGLISH ELECTION—ITS DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE PRINCIPLES.—The friends of peace in England wisely seized the occasion of the late election to make a wide distribution of short tracts and handbills, full of telling facts and statistics addressed to the electors, for the purpose of securing from candidates a committal in favor of a pacific policy. The result, so far as known, seems to have been quite successful in calling forth views far in advance of those which have heretofore ruled in the British Government. These avowals must, in some cases, if not in all, be received with some allowance; "but these professions," as the *Herald of Peace* well says, "are at least significant of what is thought acceptable to the country. And it is impossible not to be struck with the number of those now asking for the suffrages for the people, who give PROMINENCE in their addresses to the necessity of *peace, non-intervention, and reduction of Military expenditure.*" Clear and striking proofs that the friends of peace have already wrought a great change in public opinion on such practical issues, and are sure in time to revolutionize the war-policy of their government.

The November *Herald of Peace* quotes brief extracts from more than forty candidates for Parliament, giving their views in favor of such measures as the Peace Society has been urging for half a century. "On our naval and military establishments, alone," says *Thomas B. Potter*, "we are spending the enormous sum of £40,000,000 (\$200,000,000) per annum as a *peace establishment!*" "In foreign affairs," says *Hon. George Broderick*, "my voice will ever be for peace. I conceive that we shall best maintain friendly relations with foreign powers, not by disguising our sympathy with the cause of political liberty on the Continent, or the cause of personal liberty in America, but rather by abstaining from engagements which can only serve the purposes of dynastic ambition." "There would seem in these days," says the *Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson*, "to be a rivalry amongst the nations of Europe in the extent of their military and naval armaments; and the industrious classes of those countries are all suffering from the heavy burdens thus imposed. I believe *these great warlike preparations do not tend to preserve peace, but rather beget a desire to engage in war.* I earnestly hope that public opinion may be awakened, and declare itself opposed to the maintenance of excessive military and naval establishments in time of peace." "The deplorable extent," says *Mr. Torrens, M.P.*, "to which the Great Powers of Europe have, for thirteen years, been wasting their revenues in military armaments, for the purpose of distracting the attention of their people from the extension of their liberties, and the increase of Liberal institutions, can in no way justify us in the increased cost of our army and navy during the same period, the more so as this country has declared itself so unequivocally against interference in the affairs of its neighbors. I hold that it would be the first duty of the new parliament to give a finishing blow to the worn-out crotchet of England being called upon to maintain the balance of power in Europe, or to impede the national development of other states, whether on the Rhine, the Danube, Central Asia, or on the American continent, and that our energies and attention should be concentrated on the development of the true strength of this empire—her commerce and her colonies."

EVILS OF STANDING ARMAMENTS. — They are a curse, a threat at the same time to the independence of neighboring nations, and to the liberty of citizens at home. Their maintenance, and their inevitable and progressive increase, are everywhere the principal cause of the debt which preys upon the finances of most nations. They dry up the springs of mutual confidence, without which there can be no prosperity, so that, directly and indirectly, they drain all the sources of national well-being.

But it is not merely as respects material interests that standing armies are a curse; they are perpetually a cause of decadence and of moral weakness. For, are not the most essential qualifications of a soldier passive obedience, the abnegation of the reasoning faculty when his chief speaks, and the renunciation of personality? We know that bayonets ought not to possess intelligence. A good army, well-disciplined and well-organized, is a compact mass of human forces placed under the absolute direction of a single will. It is a hammer, a club, a mechanism, a living engine. There must be no discussion, no scruples, no moral objections. The order of the officer must be the standard of right, and his instructions must be regarded as the guarantee of justice. The chosen motto must be, "our country, right or wrong."

And how many other circumstances might be taken into consideration in addition to the foregoing? Is it not true, that the enforced celibacy which standing armies impose upon the most healthy and robust of men during the best years of their youth, deteriorate both the blood and the morality of the nation? Idleness, too, being the mother of all vices, the prolonged military discipline which is requisite to make the citizen or the laborer a thorough soldier, cannot fail to constitute a permanent source of demoralization. What can be more injurious to the heart and mind than the life of the barracks or the garrison?

NON-INTERVENTION. — *Change in England's Policy.* — It is the misfortune of this country, says the *London Herald of Peace*, to have been governed in past times by statesmen who thought it for the interest and glory of England to intermeddle in every quarrel that might arise on the Continent of Europe. "We stand forward," said Fox, the great orator, "the principals in every quarrel, the Quixotes of every enterprise, the agitators in all the plots, intrigues, and disturbances that are every day arising in Europe."

Happily, a wiser policy has of late years been adopted. The principle of non-intervention which, when first proclaimed by Mr. Cobden and the Peace party, was ridiculed and denounced, is now being everywhere acknowledged as the true principle on which the foreign relations of our country should be conducted. That principle does not forbid our taking the warmest interest in the destinies of other nations, nor does it forbid our doing everything in our power by moral influence, by the offer of friendly services, and by a calm and conciliatory example, to avert or to adjust quarrels between them. It only means that we should, as a community, act as every man of common sense acts in his individual capacity, and not rush headlong to take part in every murderous fray that may take place around us.

This change is frankly acknowledged by the present Foreign Secretary. Lord Stanley, before he came into office, declared his acceptance of the principle of non-intervention in the following emphatic language: 'We may be

called cold and indifferent to the affairs of foreign countries; we may be accused of selfishness and isolation. I am very well content to take my share of these reproaches, because I firmly believe that by minding our own affairs, by living at peace with our neighbors as long as we can — and we may depend upon it, when we don't quarrel with them, they won't be in a hurry to quarrel with us — and by setting them an example of economy and good order in our government at home, we are doing more for other countries, and more for the good of the cause of freedom and order, and commercial prosperity throughout the world, than we could by any armed interference.' The noble lord has acted on these views ever since he has been in the Foreign Office; and the result is that never has England been more honored and respected by other nations than she now is.

This change has been effected chiefly by men engaged in our cause; and if the Peace Society had never done anything more, this alone is worth to the world a thousand-fold more than all that has yet been spent in the cause. It starts or presages a new era in the international policy of the civilized world.

ENGLAND'S PAST WARS :

THEIR EXPENSE AND SUICIDAL FOLLY.

Great Britain has been, during the last two centuries, more frequently engaged in war than any other nation in Christendom: and the result of all these goes far to justify the question of her great Puritan poet in his sonnet on Lord Fairfax —

What can war but endless war still breed?

Of the five great wars waged by England since her Revolution of 1688, and before the wars consequent on the first French Revolution, the last was the *Seven Years' War*; a war deemed at the time one of the most eminently successful in which she had ever engaged, not only in a great deal of what is called glory, but in a large increase of territory, chiefly Canada. But, as Kant says that almost every war, besides the infinite mischief it inflicts on the world while it lasts, leaves behind it the seeds of other wars, so was it emphatically as respects the *Seven Years' War*. Of course it had increased enormously the burdens of the country, both by the immediate pressure of taxation, and by a large addition to the national debt. It was necessary, therefore, that the ministers of the day should cast about for the ways and means by which they could meet this augmented expenditure. One of the expedients for this purpose was an attempt to tax, without their consent and against their vehement protestations, those North-American colonies, the lasting security of which, as an appanage to the crown of Great Britain, was regarded as the grand compensating triumph for the sacrifices and sufferings of the preceding war.

We need not detail the story of the lamentable conflict between the mother country, and her favorite offspring, to which that attempt at "taxation without representation" led. We suppose there is not a man to be found now on the face of the earth, who would undertake to defend that war which Great Britain waged against her own children for defending

their liberties. It is abandoned to universal condemnation as equally iniquitous and absurd. And yet it is estimated to have cost 200,000 British lives, while in money there was expended £136,000,000 and £104,000,000 added to the national debt, the interest upon which for the ninety years that has since elapsed amounts to £327,600,000 (\$1,638,000,000).

The American war furnishes another illustration of Kant's remark, that almost all wars leave behind them the seeds of other wars. The great triumph of this war was our success in snatching Canada from the French. But then what was a great triumph to us, was an intense mortification to them, for which they were certain to watch their opportunity of revenge. And when we quarrelled with our North-American colonies, that opportunity came, and was eagerly seized. France, as well as Spain and Holland, who had also retribution to seek for wrongs inflicted in the Seven Years' War, backed our insurgent colonists in their revolt against our authority, and the former Power had the satisfaction of seeing our total loss of the noblest colonies that any country ever possessed, placed in the balance against the loss of Canada, of which we had despoiled her. But what was far worse than that, the violent severance from the British Crown of the North-American States, planted between us and men of the same race, language, and religion as ourselves, a root of bitterness, which has not even yet ceased to bear disastrous fruit.

Now mark another illustration of Kant's law of reproduction. Of course England bitterly resented France's interference in favor of our refractory colonists in America, and she in turn watched *her* opportunity of revenge, which was not slow in arriving. It was in 1783 that the Peace was concluded, which brought to an end the American war; and six years after, in 1789, the French Revolution broke out, and there can be no doubt that the rankling remembrance of the part which France had played across the Atlantic, was one element in the feeling which prompted our Government, in an evil moment, to embark in what may be fairly termed one of the most inexcusable and wicked wars in which this country was ever engaged, and which, in the striking language of Earl Russell, "mangled the face of Europe" for a quarter of a century. It is not necessary that we should enter here upon the history of that war. It has been described by one writer most justly as "a monstrous war, the banding of a free nation with a host of despots, to quell the efforts of an oppressed people for its own emancipation." After long and bitter controversy between the men of that generation and their immediate successors as to the necessity and justice of that war, the calm verdict of history, as contemporary passion more and more subsides by the lapse of time, is being pronounced with ever increasing explicitness and emphasis against it, and against the entire system of the meddling policy in which it took its rise. But this war, and the war with Napoleon Bonaparte, which was its immediate and inevitable offspring, has cost this country from first to last £2,742,000,000 (\$13,710,000,000)! And, unhappily, it is going on costing us still, and will, we fear, do so for centuries to come, in the form of interest on the national debt, which our children and children's children to the thirteenth and fourteenth generation will have to pay.

Our last war was the Russian, or Crimean, war of 1853. This is fresh in the memory of our readers. They remember how the nation, lashed into frenzy by the press, forced the Government, we believe against the convictions and wishes of the majority of its own members, into that guilty enter-

prise. They remember how the few of us who had the courage to oppose it, were denounced and reviled beyond measure. But now, brief as is the period that has elapsed since its conclusion, it is scarcely possible to find a man who will undertake its defense. "The Russian war," said the *Pall-Mall Gazette*, three weeks ago, "is among the follies of the recorded history of England." The papers which were its most strenuous advocates at the time have since uttered against it words of most emphatic condemnation. "It is with no small reluctance we admit," said the *Times* in 1861, "a gigantic effort and an infinite sacrifice to have been made in vain." Several, at least, of the Ministers who conducted the war are known to have openly confessed that it was wholly unjustifiable. Mr. Bright, in one of his speeches, says, "I recollect speaking on this subject to Sir James Graham in the House of Commons. He was a Minister at the time of that war. He was reminding me of a severe onslaught which I had made upon him and Lord Palmerston for attending a dinner at the Reform Club when Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the command of the Baltic fleet; and he remarked, 'What a terrible thrashing I had given them in the House of Commons! I said, 'Sir James, tell me candidly, did you not deserve it?' He said, 'Well, you were entirely right about that war; we were entirely wrong, and we never should have gone into it.'"

But who can estimate the mischief which this war has occasioned in Europe? M. Beaulieu, in his admirable work *On Contemporary Wars*, states that in the Crimean War 784,991 men, at a low estimate, died on the field of battle, and from wounds received in the conflict. His calculations of the pecuniary cost of the war, in mere money expended at the time by the different nations of Europe, amounts to £340,000,000 (\$1,700,000,000). But these figures, prodigious as they are, represent only a comparatively small portion of the evils which flowed from that war. It unchained the unclean spirit of war, which had been bound for nearly forty years, since which it has nearly made the round of what is called the civilized world, carrying malice and murder in its train wherever it has gone. It roused the fighting temper of the nations everywhere, and so enabled their governments to precipitate them into that insane system of rivalry in armaments, and in the production of more and more deadly and costly "infernal machines" for the destruction of human life, which has raged, and is still raging, over all Europe. — *Herald of Peace*.

WAR EXPENSES. — The excuse, says the President of the Reform League to the working-men of England, "for our increased and ruinous expenditure tends to aggravate the evil. It is attempted to be justified on the ground of the alleged necessity for maintaining a larger army and navy than would be ordinarily required in time of peace, in consequence of the large armaments kept on foot in France, Prussia, and other European countries, and the further alleged necessity for competing with those countries in their various inventions for war purposes and the more complete and profuse destruction of human life."

"Surely, here is a matter for the profound consideration of all men professing to be Christians in this country, a country claiming especially the title of a Christian and, land already burdened with a gigantic debt of some 780 millions of pounds caused in former days of misrule by that great curse and sin of mankind, war. Is it not time to protest ourselves, and call loudly and urgently upon the people, the sons of labor and industry in every other

European country, to protest against the continuance of a system, the very mention of which ought to inspire the deepest horror? Our American brethren at once disbanded their army on the termination of their great civil war. Is it not time for us, for the whole European people, to refuse positively and absolutely to be made any longer the instruments of mutual and wholesale butchery upon the most improved scientific principles? Is it not time to refuse positively and absolutely to rulers the men or the means for continuing the accursed trade of blood and slaughter, the hideous gamble of war? Is it not time to insist upon our being left at peace, in this vaunted age of advancing knowledge, science, and civilization, to enjoy the full advantages and blessings of freedom of intercourse and freedom of trade, and so that nations may mutually contribute to each other's comfort, welfare, wealth, and happiness, instead of plotting each other's misery and ruin, and maintaining armed hosts in costly and vicious idleness to prey like locusts upon the fruits of impoverished toil?

"If our Christianity be not a mere sham and hypocrisy, it should be impossible for a system of things to exist that could give rise to such questions. The one commandment given to us especially as Christians, is to love one another, and by so doing to show that we are the disciples of Him who gave us this new commandment. In that commandment are contained both the germ and fruit of all real reform, social, political, religious, individual, national, European. In it is contained more true wisdom than in all the schools of philosophy that ever existed. The practice of it assisted to overthrow the whole power of imperial and once universal paganism, and turned the then world upside down; the revived practice of it would again change the whole face of the habitable globe, disband every bloated armament, link nation to nation in amity and brotherhood, and settle their casual disputes by friendly arbitrament instead of diplomatic artifice or brute force and rifled cannon.

"It was to the poor especially that Christ came to preach the glad tidings of God's love and man's salvation. It may yet be reserved for the poor to teach the rich and the rulers of the earth to be Christians, not in mere name and profession, but in truth and practice, and give to democracy its noblest triumph in securing not only the freedom, but the peace of the world."

PEACE OPERATIONS IN FRANCE. — We give a specimen of the way in which our co-workers there propose to carry on the cause: — In Havre is an organization called *Union of Peace*, of which F. Santalier is the chief actuary, and whose general plan of operation may be seen in the following, —

"*Declaration.* — The undersigned, united by a common love of peace through justice, and by a common faith in the progressive destinies of humanity; convinced that if wars in times of barbarism had for their ordinary motive, on one side spoliation and conquest, and, on the other, defence and patriotism, there exists at present no avowable motive for warlike conflicts, but disputes on points of international right; persuaded that the principle, *no one has any right to do justice to himself*, is one of the foundations of social order, and that this principle, which rules individuals in all civilized coun-

tries, ought logically to be extended to the relations of one people to another; hoping that the creation of an international jurisprudence, deduced from the collective interests of peoples, will effect in diplomatic contentions the same salutary revolution which national codes have effected in regulating individual dissensions, and will gradually prevent the infinite evils which war engenders; declare that they consecrate their personal and earnest efforts to the propagation of *this International Union of Peace*, which has for its object — 1. To collect adhesions to the ideas above expressed and to draw together the sympathies of the whole world; — 2. To collect the largest number possible of subscribers to the works published under the auspices of the *Union of Peace*; — 3. To direct attention among all peoples to the question of an international jurisprudence, as introductory to the creation of an international tribunal elected directly by universal suffrage."

POWER OF LOVE.

Dear is the sacred bond which binds,
In union sweet, harmonious minds;
Thrice dear the sacred links which run
From heart to heart, and make them one.

No cold, averted hand and eyes.
No variant thought, no dark surmise;
But words and acts are there which show
Sincere affection's living glow.

'Tis this, that calms the scenes of strife;
'Tis this, that heals the woes of life;
'Tis this, the bond of heavenly birth,
Which makes a new-born heaven of earth.

O Love! O Unity divine!
What mighty miracles are thine!
Descend, and, with thy sweet control,
Rule, king and empress of the soul.

v.

PEACE ELECTION DOCUMENTS. — To show how the friends of peace in England worked during the late political canvass there for our cause, we copy the titles of some tracts and placards circulated by them: — 1, The Cost of War. 2, Opinions of Living Statesmen on the Enormous Waste of Public Money. 3, Address to the Electors on Extravagant Taxation. 4, The folly and expense of Past Wars. 5, Questions to be asked of Parliamentary Candidates. 6, War-System

of Europe. This tract contains a summary of the immense loss of life and property occasioned by the wars of the last fifteen years in Europe and America, together with an abstract of the opinions of eminent statesmen as to the practicability of a general system of Reduction of Armaments and of International Arbitration.

PROGRESS OF POPULAR RIGHTS. — In Europe this progress is slow, but sure and pretty steady. The chief of these are popular suffrage, the right of public meeting and free speech, the freedom of the press, and inviolability of legislators, representatives of the people, for words spoken in debate. These are central hinges on which the question of nearly all progress will be found to turn.

On most of these points, we see throughout the Old World unmistakeable proofs of improvement. The people, as in England, France, and Germany, are beginning to exercise the right of voting, and thus deciding who shall be their rulers, and what the form of their government. This right will draw after it a multitude of others, and eventually enable the people, in one way or another, to secure in time nearly all their rights.

The working of this process we saw last year in Prussia. The right of free speech is professedly guaranteed to members of the legislature; yet the leaven of other ages still remained so influential, that a member of the Chamber of Deputies was arrested for what he had said in debate. A long and earnest discussion ensued, and ended in a very decisive vote denouncing the arrest, and vindicating the inviolability of members for words spoken in debate. The point may seem to the unreflecting of little consequence; but the principles, fully carried out, will suffice to insure in time a thorough permanent reconstruction of both government and society. And such a process is now going on in nearly all parts of not only Europe, but the whole civilized world.

Following this process must come, sooner or later, a decisive demand from the people for such measures of government as shall relieve them in part, if not entirely, from the enormous burdens imposed by the war-system. How soon such results may be reached, we know not; but come they must and will in time, as inevitably consequent on agencies and influences now at work all over Christendom.

Since writing the above, we find Spain, after ages of misgovernment and oppression, alike by priest and king, has achieved, with comparatively little bloodshed or disorder, a political revolution which proceeds on essentially the same principles with nearly all others in the last century. It asserts the rights of the people as paramount to those of rulers, and demands that government shall aim to insure the general welfare of the people, and that the latter shall have a voice in deciding what its form shall be, and who shall be their rulers. The doctrine of

the divine right of monarchs, or any class of aristocrats, to rule, is in a fair way to be exploded forever all over Europe; and when the people shall be left to determine, by free, full vote, whether the present war-system, with all its burdens of taxation, conscription, and other nameless evils, shall be perpetuated, we cannot doubt that its doom will ere long be prospectively sealed.

POPULARITY OF WAR-LOANS. — We may marvel at this; but the fact seems undeniable. The French minister of finance lately called for a loan, and more than ten times as much as he wanted was at once offered. The number of subscribers was more than three-quarters of a million (781,292), and their aggregate subscriptions more than 3,000,000,000 francs, considerably more than the whole national debt of France.

DEATH OF JOSHUA P. BLANCHARD, ESQ. — In the death of this venerable man, late in October, at the age of eighty-six, the cause of Peace has lost one of its earliest and most devoted friends. He entered its service from its very start under Dr. Worcester its pioneer, and with such men as Dr. Channing, Mr. Blanchard's pastor, as its ablest, most eloquent champion. For more than fifty years he bore its interests continually on his heart, and labored for it in many ways. His purse, and pen, and tongue, were ever put under contribution for its advancement. His mind was to the last teeming with plans for its wider extension. He held a ready pen of considerable ability; and at the time of his death an article for the *Advocate of Peace*, to which he was a frequent contributor, was in press for the last number. He wrote, first and last, a great deal on the subject. In our Society's series of Tracts two were from his pen; and at different times during his fifty years of zeal for the cause, he furnished a multitude of articles for the press. Though infirm for the last few years of his life, his mind still retained most of its characteristic elasticity, and he continued to write on his favorite theme.

Mr. B. was quite radical in his views on the Peace Question, and went beyond those of many who deem themselves sufficiently radical. He stood among the members of our Society almost alone in condemning the efforts of our government to suppress the late rebellion by a direct, decisive enforcement of its laws against the rebels. Thinking that our government had the right, and was bound to put these laws properly in force, we differed from him all along on this point; but for some years before his death, he renewed, of his own accord, his cooperation with us in the great work that we all had at heart, and seemed to retain at last little, if any soreness of feeling from our different views touching a rebellion which he deplored as wrong but thought it wrong for our government to put down by force. A truer, more steadfast friend our cause has never lost.

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